A DECENNIAL PUBLICATION

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE ANDHRAS

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Mudigonda Veerabhadra Sastry

Compiling Editor
Chimakurti Seshagiri Rao

KOMARRAJU VENKATA LAKSHMANA RAU
VIJNANA SARVASWA SAKHA
TELUGU UNIVERSITY
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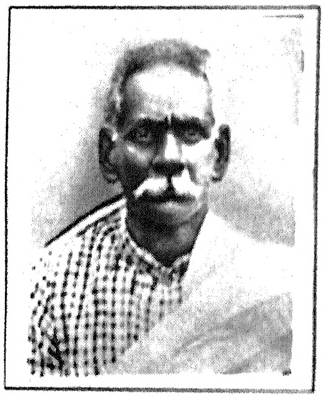
MALLAMPALLI SOMASEKHARA SARMA

(1891-1963)

DEDICATION

This volume is gratefully dedicated to the sacred memory of Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, the scholar who devoted his life to the cultural studies of Andhra.

RESPECTFULLY REMEMBERED FOR THEIR VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CULTURAL STUDIES OF ANDHRA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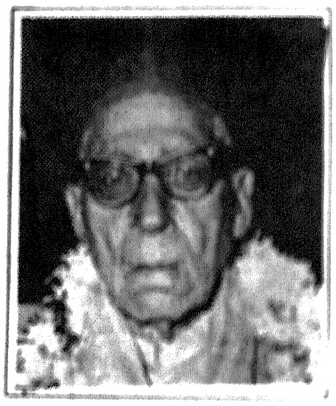
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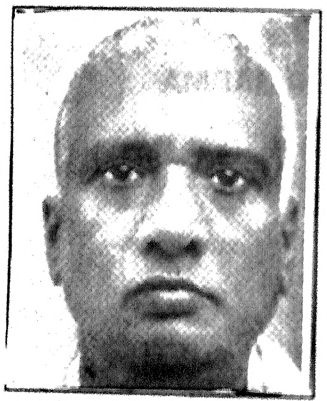
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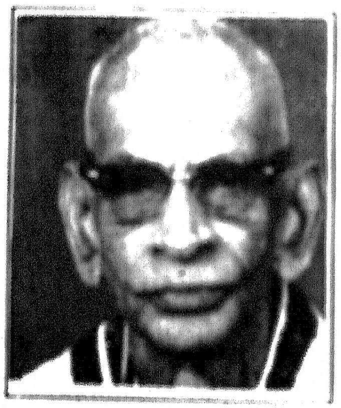
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FOREWORD

I am happy that the Department of Encyclopaedia has brought out a volume in English on the History and Culture of the Andhras based on the earlier Telugu publication Telugu Samskriti.

Komarraju Venkata Lakshmana Rau, after whom this department is named, was a pioneer in the field of encyclopaedia preparation not only in Telugu but in the South Indian Languages. He published three volumes between 1915 and 1917. His untimely death was a blow to the activity. The great nationalist-editor and philanthropist Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao attempted to revive the effort but it did not work. A major success was achieved by the Zamindar of Devidi, Kandukuri Bala Surya Prasada Rao when he prepared and published an encyclopaedia in Telugu in a set of seven volumes in late thirties and early forties.

Telugu Bhasha Samiti, which was established in 1947 in the wake of Independence, decided to prepare and publish a subject-wise, multi-volume encyclopaedia in Telugu with the active participation of renowned scholars. Between 1955 and 1985, the Samiti brought out 14 volumes on a wide range of subjects. In 1986, the Samiti was merged into the Telugu University to form a centre for preparation and publication of encyclopaedia in Telugu.

Mention should be made also of the achievement of Sangrahandhra Vignana Kosa Samiti, which, under the stewardship of Prof.K.Lakshmiranjanam, published a multi-volume encyclopaedia.

It has been noted that though several books and articles on various items concerning Andhras, their history and culture are available in English, there was still a need for a comprehensive study and a cohesive narration all at one place. The present volume is intended to satisfy the need. I have seen that a great and dedicated effort was made in bringing out this volume and I congratulate all the concerned.

We decided to dedicate this volume to the great historian and scholar, Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, whose contribution to the Telugu Studies is memorable.

The volumes of encyclopaedia brought out by the department consist of two distinct sections - a concise but comprehensive account of the subject concerned to be followed by notes on alphabetically arranged important items that need further explanation. Following this pattern, the department would be shortly taking up the preparation of a companion to this volume.

This volume is being issued to mark the decennial celebrations of the Telugu University. I hope the readers will find this useful and rewarding.

Hyderabad
July, 1995

(PERVARAM JAGANNADHAM)

A NOTE

Andhras are one of the ancient peoples of India with a known record of more than twenty five centuries. Their many achievements in a variety of areas have enriched the fabric of life in India. But, surprisingly, not much about them is available in English and other languages. It is our intention to present the continuous story of the Andhras and their cultural achievements in a concise but comprehensive manner in preparing this volume.

Telugu Bhasha Samiti, a voluntary organisation under the stewardship of Dr.Bezawada Gopala Reddy and Dr.Moturi Satyanarayana, took up a project of preparing and publishing a multi-volume, subject-wise encyclopaedia in Telugu. As a part of it, the Samiti issued for the first time a comprehensive and compact account of the Andhras and their culture in two volumes (1959). Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, an eminent historian played an active role in bringing out those volumes. Nearly a quarter of a century later, the Samiti revised and enlarged the volumes for a second edition (1983), taking into view the studies and researches during the period.

At about the time when the samiti was merged into the Telugu University, it was felt desirable to bring out a suitably edited version of the two volumes in English for the benefit of the non-Telugus who would like to know about the Andhras. Several scholars and researchers were invited to an informal gathering to discuss the idea and how it could be translated into action. Since studies in Andhra history and culture were being carried on at various centres by several scholars, the gathering recommended that articles might be obtained from experts and specialists on individual topics and then weave them into a connected and well-knit narration. This process has its share of disadvantages too. Not all the scholars responded and sent their articles and in many cases time schedule could not be maintained. Even against all such odds, the editors rendered an invaluable service in going through them, supplementing information where necessary and in filling up gaps. I am thankful to them. I take this opportunity also to thank the eminent scholars who contributed resource articles and the members of the Editorial Board.

My grateful thanks are also due to the successive Vice-Chancellors - Prof.T.Donappa, Prof.C.Narayana Reddy and Prof.P.Jagannatham for their keen interest and guidance in bringing this out and successive Registrars - Prof.N.Sivarama Murthy, Prof.B.Ramakrishna Reddy, Prof.T.Venkata Reddy and Sri D.V.Subba Rao for their benign and active co-operation.

My thanks are also due to the artists and designers of the book, the members of the staff of the Encyclopaedia department of the University for their continuous assistance. I also thank the DTP operators, M/s.Navya Printers for their co-operation in bringing out this volume.

Hyderabad
July, 1995

G.CHENNAKESAVA REDDY
Head, Dept. of Encyclopaedia

EDITORS' NOTE

The territory now known as Andhra Pradesh and its surrounding areas occupied a pivotal position in integrating major cultural currents, thus paving the way for Indian nationhood. For long it stood as a melting pot for diverse cultural trends not only from within South India, but also from the north, mainly due to its geographically central position. Further, the relative freedom from foreign invasions enabled it to carry on scholastic and artisitc pursuits uninterruptedly. It is unfortunate that due recognition of these facts escaped the attention of historiographers until recent times. Though some monographs and articles in English had come out on different facets and aspects of history and culture, there was still a need for a comprehensive and cohesive cultural history. The Encyclopaedia unit of the Telugu University undertook to fill in this gap by publishing this volume.

A select group of experts was invited to design the format of the proposed volume. On its advice, articles on different areas were invited from specialists and researchers to be used as 'resource materials'. It was also decided that this resource material should be used to weave a connected story, with an emphasis on continuity and cohesion. Accordingly, the Editors shared, among themselves different sections of the volume and prepared the final version. However, their task became more arduous as a fairly good number of articles could not be obtained. Some of the contributors wrote their articles in Telugu which led to additional work. Naturally, articles on individual aspects concentrated on details explaining the limited phenomenon of their concern. In presenting a chronological study, the editors had also to provide an overall conceptual framework, accounting for all the phenomena. Thus the editors had to translate the resource materials submitted in Telugu, contribute articles on the missing areas, fill in the gaps and provide links so that the whole volume reads like a continuous document of the cultural history of the Andhras.

The editors also took care that each section in this volume and each sub-section therein would stand as a separate entity by itself, so that readers interested in a particular component of Andhra culture or literature find it a homogenous and self-explaining study. The expertise of the members of the editorial board helped the editors to sort out several of the difficulties.

The editors are well aware that any work on such a wide area will have its limitations. They hope that the present publication, being the first of its kind, will pave the way for the publication of many more comprehensive volumes of this nature in future.

We take this opportunity to thank all the authorities and officers of the University for giving us this challenging opportunity and for their unstinted co-operation.

M. Nagabhushana Sarma
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LAND AND PEOPLE

LAND AND PEOPLE

LAND

Geographical Position

Andhra Pradesh is the homeland of the Telugu people, who are also known as the Andhras. According to historical geology, it is one of the very few oldest land masses of the Indian sub-continent – older in geological age than the Himalayas or the Indo-Gangetic plain. It is covered by the oldest rocks on the earth, the archeans, and had attained stability earlier than many other parts of India. Geologically; Andhra Pradesh is situated in the 'Indian shield', one of the eight shield-areas of the world, where the technical term 'shield' denotes a hardened and stable complex.

Geographically, too, Andhra Pradesh occupies a unique and pivotal position in the sub-continent. Curiously enough, the northern and the western borders of the State approximate respectively with the central latitudinal and longitudinal lines of the Indian subcontinent. It is situated on the central part of the eastern sea-board and spreads westward into Deccan plateau upto 77°E. The northern boundary runs roughly across the latitudinal line of 20°N. Though it is accidental, this central position has been, all along the course of history, a decisive factor in giving shape to Telugu culture. To the south, Andhra Pradesh spreads upto 12° 41'N. It has a common inland boundary – on the south with Tamilnadu and Karnataka, on the west with Karnataka and Maharashtra and on the north with Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. On the east is the Bay of Bengal.

The total area of Andhra Pradesh is 2,75,045 sq. km.

Structure and Physical Features

The geology of the area may be described as an epitome of the geology of peninsular India.

The granite rocks of the Deccan, the special Indian rock types of charnockites and khondalites of the Eastern Ghats and the schistose rocks of Nellore belt – all belong to the archeans, the oldest of the rock types in earth's history, aged 1500 to 3000 million years. The rare manganese deposits of the Chipurupalli area of Vizianagaram district and the high quality variety of mica deposits at Gudur in Nellore district occur in these formations.

Rocks occuring in the Cuddapah basin, mainly confined to some parts of Rayalaseema, are also quite old - ranging between 600 to 1500 million years. The world's largest barytes deposits of Mangampet and the high quality Chrysolite asbestos of Pulivendula in Cuddapah district occur in these formations.

The coal-bearing northwest-southeast Gondwana belt of the Godavari grabens and also a few small patches along the east coast between Rajahmundry and Nellore, are comparatively younger than the above.

Deccan traps, 70 million years old, occupy a small area of approximately 10,000 sq km in the north and northwest part of the state (Tandur, Vikarabad, Pargi areas of Rangareddi district).

The rocks belonging to the tertiary area, aged less than 60 million years, are confined to a small area in the West and East Godavari districts and are known as Rajahmundry sand stones. The petroleum deposits of eastcoast occur in these formations

The vast quantity of lava that spreads over the western plateau of Andhra Pradesh must have deposited itself there as a result of a stupendous volcanic outburst that took place in the peninsula at some period in the hoary past. The thickness of the lava in the region is 30 m. to 90 m.

The river basins of the plateau must have been formed due to parallel fissures in an earlier age. The gradual sinking of the ground along the lines of weakness naturally gave rise to basin-shaped depressions. Later, there must have been many geological upheavals, and the continual subsidence and sedimentation should have resulted in the formation of coal seams. These naturally follow the linear trends of the rivers. The Singareni coalfield of Andhra Pradesh is one such.

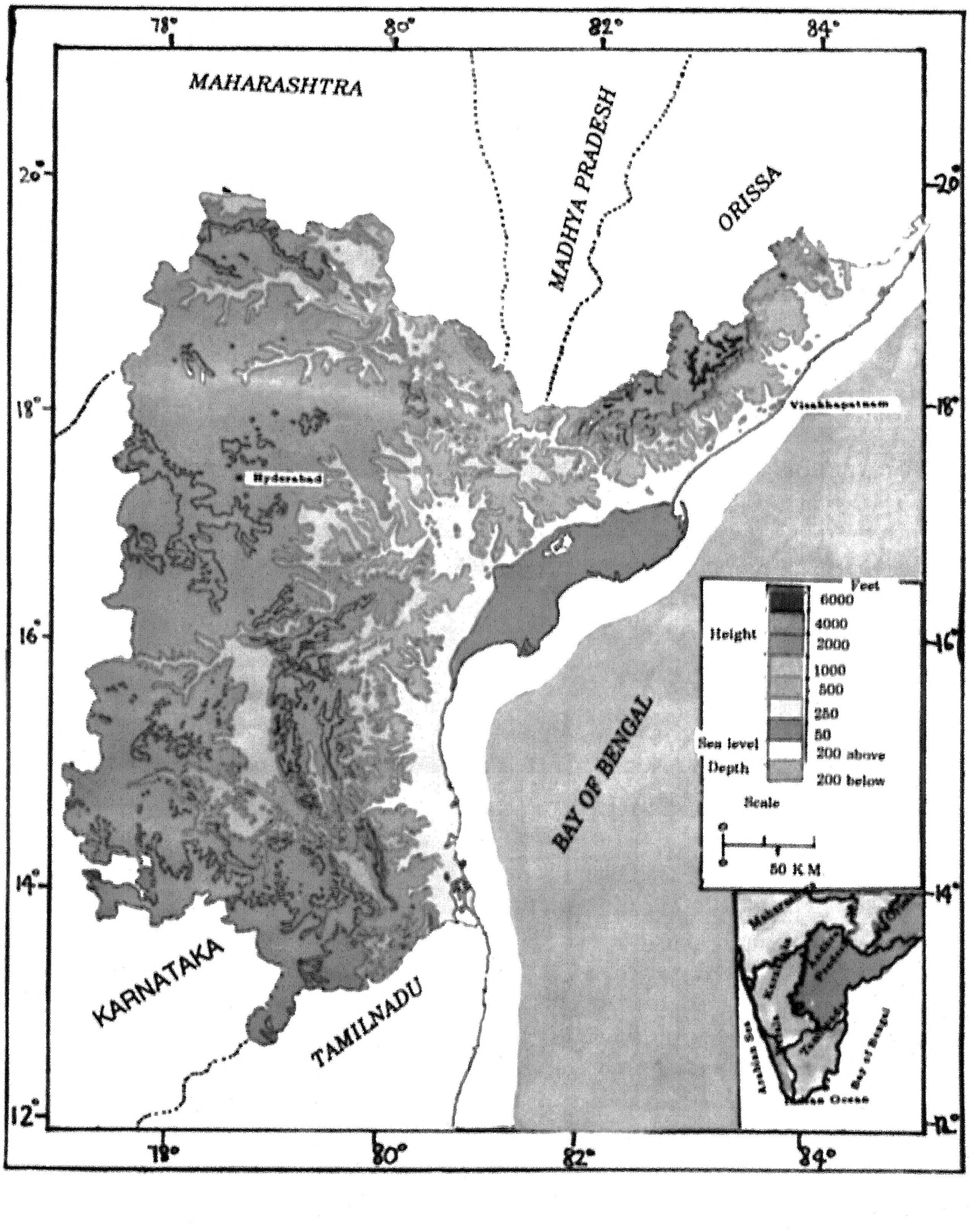
Looking broadly at the physical features of the area, we can easily distinguish five zones
1. The Krishna-Godavari Delta, 2. The Foot-hill Zone, 3. The Eastern Ghats (north and south),
4. The Western Plateau and Basins and 5. The Hyderabad Plateau.

In common usage, the first three are grouped together under the name of the Coastal area, the fourth as Rayalaseema and the last as Telangana (or Telengana)

The Krishna-Godavari Delta is a composite delta of the two great rivers, the Krishna and the Godavari. This area has been, since the dawn of history, a habitat of man and was mentioned by Ptolemy (90-168), the ancient Roman geographer, and others as a prosperous one. The discharge of the rivers is irregular and it is estimated that in high flood the Krishna carries enough silt daily to cover an area of 8 sq. km. to a depth of 2.5 cm. This delta area is known as a granary of rice, and also produces many other commercial crops like tobacco and sugarcane. The coastline of the delta was the site of some of the earliest settlements of Europeans in India.

The worn-down margin of the hinterland of these two rivers is a poor soil, with undulating plains broken by little hills with waste and stony ground. For several miles the inland coast is largely fringed with mangrove swamps or sand-dunes rising from 9 m. to 15 m. Between the relatively barren upland and the completely arid coast line, lie the rather limited areas of true delta. The Godavari delta begins 65 kilometers inland at Dhouleswaram and that of the Krishna

ANDHRA PRADESH PHYSICAL MAP


78°
80°
82°
84°
20°
18°
16°
14°
12°
MAHARASHTRA
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
Hyderabad
Visakhapatnam
BAY OF BENGAL
KARNATAKA
TAMILNADU
Feet
6000
4000
Height
2000
1000
500
250
50
Sea level
200 above
Depth
200 below
Scale
0
50 K M

at Vijayawada, 15 km. inland. The deltas, of course, are liable to floods, at times disastrous. Between these two deltas, the Kolleru lake occupies a depression not yet completely silted up. This is the only natural fresh water lake in Andhra Pradesh. It covers about 250 sq. km. during rains. This lake is known to history as 'Kolanu' and the chieftains, who ruled the adjoining territory and played a fairly notable part in the history of Telugu people, called themselves 'Saronathas' (Lords of the Lake).

In the Foot-hill Zone or the zone of the coastal plains and undulating uplands, the average elevation of the coastal plains is below 75 m. and that of the uplands is between 75 m. and 300 m. In fact, the 300 m. contour demarcates the Eastern Ghat zone from the coastal plain on the east and the plateau on the west. In the northern extreme, it recalls, in a measure, some of the features of the west coast. Near Visakhapatnam, the edge of the ghats comes near to the sea and this restricts the coastal lowland to a narrow elongated strip. The spurs of the ghats jut out to the sea to end in headlands like Dolphin's Nose. The lowland narrows to 20 km. near Mahendragiri situated in this area.

Andhra Pradesh has a coastline of 972 km. As one goes south, the coast widens. The coastline is practically unsheltered and is lacking in natural harbours. But it has open road-steads that can provide anchorage to ships of moderate size. As such, the coastal rivers served as decent ports upto the modern period. Not very far from the mouth of the Krishna did Ptolemy locate the point of departure (*Apheterion*) of ships bound for the 'Suvarnabhumi' (Lower Burma) and the islands such as Java and Sumatra. South of the double delta, the land is very poor, except in the deltas of the smaller rivers. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium, 3 km. to 22 km. wide, between the low level laterites and the blown sands of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt water lagoon of Pulicat in the extreme south of Andhra Pradesh.

The next physical zone is the Eastern Ghats, which forms the eastern flank of the Deccan plateau, over-looking the Bay of Bengal. The term 'ghats' itself is a misnomer, for they have no continuity, structural or topographical, which is essential for ghats. It is an uplifted peneplain, the continuity of which is broken by the interfluvial uplands between the Krishna and the Godavari. Two independent divisions can be recognised within the zone: (1) the northern section lying between the Godavari and the Vamsadhara rivers, and (2) the southern section consisting of the Nallamalai, Velikonda and Palakonda hills. The former runs from northeast to southwest, whereas the latter runs from north to south. The average elevation of the northern section varies from 600 m. to 1200 m., while that of the southern section varies from 300 m. to 600 m. The two famous Hindu religious places, Srisailam and Tirumala, lie in the southern section of the Eastern Ghats in the Kurnool and the Chittoor districts respectively. The Godavari in the north and the Penna in the south pierce through steep gorges of the Eastern Ghats. The spurs almost interlock the course of the Godavari, enhancing the scenic grandeur of the Papikonda gorge.

The Western Plateau consists of a series of basins around the middle course of the Penna and its tributaries. The whole area is crossed by trap dykes, some running north-south and others northeast to southwest. These have some influence on the remarkable drainage pattern. Beyond the Krishna lie the Cuddapah ranges and basin. The region forms a great crescent, the heart of it being the wide Nandyala valley, 210-245 metres in height, drained by the Kunderu.

The Hyderabad Plateau consists mostly of peneplains developed in the old gneissic rocks. The most general level lies between 490m. to 600m. In the south, the Krishna-Tungabhadra valley lies at 300 m. to 450 m. On the northwest, the watershed between the Bhima and the Godavari is a great swelling upland reaching a height of 730 m. in some places. But the general aspect everywhere is that of practically senile peneplains, intersected by broad, open and almost completely graded valleys. Hyderabad (17° 20'N., 78°E.), the capital of Andhra Pradesh, is situated in this region, fairly close to the western border of the state.

Soils

Much of the soil of the Telugu area is of red variety, deficient in organic matter and poor in plant nutrients but rich in phosphoric acid. Unlike in the black soil, the moisture holding capacity in red soil is poor and hence irrigation is a necessity for these soils to produce a large variety of crops.

The black soil occupies the next place in extent and is found predominantly in the lava districts of the Telangana region, though they are found here and there in other districts also. The areas are rich in calcium and potash but poor in nitrogen. Irrigation is not necessary in these areas, as they can retain moisture for a long time.

Next comes the coastal alluvium which stretches as a belt throughout the length of the coast, except for a short interruption of a few kilometres near Visakhapatnam in the north. It varies greatly in breadth, but nowhere does it exceed 80 km. In places where Eastern Ghats approach the sea, only a comparatively narrow sandy tract remains. Coastal alluvium is generally not rich in plant nutrients and organic matter. These soils vary usually in composition from sand to sandy loam.

Another kind of soil, by far the most important one, is the deltaic alluvium found in the double delta of the rivers, the Godavari and the Krishna, extending over hundreds of kilometers around the Kolleru lake. The deltaic alluvium is mostly clayish in character. It is rich in plant nutrients, rendering agriculture easy and high-yielding.

The remaining soils are the laterite ones. They vary from deep red to brown or black in colour. These soils are usually well drained and porous. They are generally poor in organic matter and in plant nutrients. From an agricultural point of view, they are well suited for gardening and for the production of pulses and oil seeds.

Rivers

The Telugu area can aptly be called a riverine land. It is a gift of the five rivers - the Nagavali, the Vamsadhara, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Penna - which flow down from the crest of the Deccan plateau. It compares well in this respect with the Punjab, which is equally a gift of the five rivers that come down from the Himalayan cap. In the Telugu area, apart from the five rivers with their large tributaries, there are 29 minor rivers. All these major and minor rivers carry annually 150 million acre-feet of water into the Bay of Bengal. This is nearly 15% of the water that flows in all the Indian rivers, excepting the Brahmaputra.

The biggest of all the rivers is the Godavari, also known as 'Dakshina Ganga'. It originates at Triambuk near Nasik in the Western Ghats, about 110 km. N.E. of Bombay at a distance of eighty km. from the Arabian sea. Here we find the water dropping from a high cliff through the mouth of a cow sculptured in stone ('Gomukha'). After descending from the Western Ghats, it flows in a south-eastern direction across the peninsula. It enters Andhra Pradesh near Basara in the Adilabad district. It joins the sea after flowing for nearly 615 km. in the Telugu area. The main tributaries of the river are the Manjira, the Pranahita, the Indravati and the Sabari. The Nizamsagar dam is constructed across the Manjira.

The Godavari flows through a picturesque gorge known as Papi hills before it emerges out at Polavaram into the coastal plains. The depth of the river in the gorge during non-flood season varies from 30 m. to 60 m. The river divides itself into two main branches 30 km. below Polavaram. Between the two lies the central delta. The two arms further split and form into seven branches altogether, which are known as Vasishtha (on the west), Vaisvamitra, Vamadeva, Goutami, Bharadwaja, Atreyi and Jamadagni. With these seven branches the river reaches the sea dividing the delta into a number of islands. The scenic beauty and the fertility of this region are unique and the early Andhra settlers of this area, taking the seven branches into account, named this tract as 'Sapta Godavari', probably in reminiscence of an equally fertile homeland of their forefathers, the 'Sapta Sindhu'. Among these seven branches, the Gautami on the east is considered to be the most sacred one. From Polavaram the width of the river rapidly increases. It is about 3.3 km. at Rajahmundry and nearly 7 km. at Dhouleswaram.

The next river in importance is the Krishna, the traditional source of which is a spout from the image of a cow's mouth in the ancient temple of Mahadeva at Mahabaleswar (Maharashtra). This place is situated at about 1,455 m. above sea-level and has a rainfall of 650 cm. in a short season. It enters Andhra Pradesh near Gadwal in Mahabubnagar district, and flows through the plateau region for 335 km. before it emerges out into the plains at Pulichintala. On the way, it flows through a continuous gorge running from Siddheswaram to Nandikonda, a distance of 195 km. At Vijayawada, 65 km. down of Pulichintala, the river flows through a gap in the hills, about 1,220 metres apart. For a further distance of 65 km. the river runs as a single stream and then branches off at Puligadda. The main river then flows for 25 km.

and divides itself into three branches before it reaches the sea. The total course of the river in Andhra Pradesh is nearly 720 km.

The main tributaries of the river, which flow through the Telugu area, are the Dindi, the Musi, the Paler and the Manneru in the north and the Tungabhadra in the south. Of these, the Tungabhadra has got its own importance. It is formed by the union of the two rivers, Tunga and Bhadra. It joins the Krishna at Sangameswara (Kurnool Dist.)

The Penna, which originates in the hills northwest of Nandidurg in the Karnataka state, flows 40 km. before it enters Andhra Pradesh. It empties into the sea branching off into several mouths at Utukur, 29 km. south of Nellore. The bed of the Penna at its entry into the Telugu area is 610 metres above sea-level and so can better be utilised for the irrigation of the uplands of the Rayalaseema region.

The Nagavali in Srikakulam District, also called the Langulya, is another important river with an annual flow of nearly two to three million acre-feet. The total length of the river is 220 km. of which the first 95 km. lie in Orissa. It empties into the Bay at Mafaz Bandar near Srikakulam.

The Vamsadhara rises in Orissa and is the biggest of the rivers flowing from the Eastern Ghats into the Bay. The total length of the river is 185 km. of which a portion of 95 km. lies in Orissa. The catchment area spreads over 1,127 sq.km. with a good rainfall and as such the river has a large and perennial flow.

The minor rivers are of very short lengths and the main rainfall being concentrated in the monsoon period, the rivers empty themselves quickly into the sea.

Climate

The climate of Andhra Pradesh may be described as tropical-monsoonal type. Differences of rainfall, both regional and seasonal, are more pronounced than differences of temperature. The slight regional differences of temperature that are observed in the area are due to differences in altitude and the geographical location with respect to the sea. The maximum temperatures are recorded usually in May and the minimum in December. The hottest places are situated either farther inland on the coastal plain or on the Deccan plateau. The winter in Andhra Pradesh is not so rigorous as that in the Gangetic or Punjab plains, though the western highland portion will have colder nights than the coastal districts. In the coastal area, the maximum temperature in a day in May usually varies from 39.0°C to 43.7°C while the minimum will be somewhere near 37.8°C. In the month of December these places record maximum day temperatures varying from 29°C. to 29.5°C. and a minimum temperature of about 15.6°C. Places like Rentachintala in the Guntur district and Cuddapah record, in May, maximum temperatures of 44°C - 45°C, whereas the minimum stands at about 37°C - 38°C. In Telangana, the mean maximum and minimum temperatures in May and December at Ramagundam are 44°C. and 13°C. respectively.

As in the rest of India, in this area also the rainfall is governed by the vagaries of monsoons. More than half of the Telugu area receives less than 87.5 cm. rainfall and the variability is very high. Though this variability of rainfall is as high in the Krishna-Godavari deltas as in the other parts of Andhra, the natural irrigational facilities available there protect the delta peasant from the dire consequences of such variations.

The central plateau, which is termed as Rayalaseema, is the endemic famine zone of Andhra, the rainfall being less than 62.5 cm. in general. The maximum is in September, with a slight secondary in June. Precarious agriculture is the characteristic feature of this area. The Tungabhadra, Srisailam and Telugu Ganga projects are intended to put an end to this state of affairs.

In the Telangana region the rainfall varies from 77.5 cm. in the south to 102.5 cm. in the north but the annual fluctuations are considerable. The frequent fluctuations recorded for the city of Hyderabad are typical and the variability for this section is between 22% to 25%. The proportion of serious droughts is much lower here than in Rayalaseema.

In the coastal area, the average rainfall is 100 cm. But north of the Godavari, the rainfall goes upto 112 cm.-125 cm. especially on the coast. This high rainfall on the coast is due to both the monsoons - northeast and southwest. For the whole of this east coast, October has maximum precipitation.

Though the area, as a whole, is affected by both the monsoons, the Eastern Ghats act as barriers for southwest monsoon winds and deprive the coastal plains of its full benefit and also prevent the retreating monsoon winds from reaching the plateau.

Annual fluctuations in rainfall are sometimes very heavy in Andhra Pradesh. Excess is as bad as a deficit and a flood is as disastrous as a drought. During the period between 1870 and 1990, Coastal Andhra witnessed twelve floods and five droughts while Rayalaseema suffered eight floods and fourteen droughts.

Most of the rain water is led by the streamlets into the rivers and a good lot is stored in tanks, especially in the highlands, for irrigation purposes.

Flora and Fauna

The natural vegetation of the area comprises either forest or mixed jungles of trees, thorny bushes and grass, depending on the amount of precipitation, soil conditions and interference by man.

The principal forest tracts are situated in Telangana, in the Agency areas of Visakhapatnam and Godavari districts, and in the Nallamalai range of Kurnool and its extensions. These have a rich variety of flora, among which the more useful species of timber are kosum, toon, rosewood, irul, sandalwood and teak. The Agency tracts and the Nallamalais contain enormous quantities of bamboo, awaiting exploitation.

The scrubland region, which is to be found in every district, specially in the foot-hill zone, has mostly stunted trees and, in some places, palmyrahs. Patches of grass are found in the forest on the plains and on the hill-sides.

The forest wealth of Andhra can in no way be compared with that of such states as Assam, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka. The forest area comprises 21% of the total area and this is higher than the all India figure of 15%. But a large part of this forest area is unproductive.

This defect in natural vegetation is to a good extent compensated by the efforts of man. Cultivated vegetation is fairly high when compared with the rest of the peninsular India and some parts of the Gangetic plain.

No account of the flora will be complete without the mention of the two trees - the banyan *(marri)* and the pipul *(aśwattha* or *râvi)* - the presence of which is a conspicuous feature in all the villages of Andhra since the dawn of history. This is evidenced in the description of villages given in *Gâthâ Saptaśati* of Hala, the Satavahana ruler of the first century A.D.

Coming to the fauna, it is to be mentioned at the outset that the larger carnivores, excepting the tiger, practically get no representation in the Telugu area. Even the tiger is rarely met with, that too in the Telangana forests only. The panther and the cheetah are the only large carnivores to be often seen in the forest areas. The smaller carnivores of the cat group, and the other carnivores such as wolves, jackals and the bears, get a fairly good representation.

Of the odd-toed, hoofed mammals, the rhinoceros had long been extinct in the southern peninsula, though some bones recovered from a deep stratum in a cave near Kurnool reveal that the animal had once inhabited this tract. A few elephants used to roam wild in the forests of Parakal in Telangana till the end of the last century, but there is no trace of them at present. The horse, which is not indigenous to the soil, is only seen domesticated. Several types of deer are to be seen not only in the forest areas but also in the scrub region. The four-horned chousingha is to be seen in the Telangana forests, and the 'sambar' is a favourite for the shikari. The domesticated sheep and the goats are of the peninsular type and differ both from the Himalayan type and the Nilagiri wild type.

In the field of cattle wealth, Andhra holds an eminent position. It is the homeland of the famous Ongole breed of bulls.

Geographical Influence upon History

With such a back-ground of enviromental set-up did man start his historical career in this part of India. Many kinds of forces, external and internal, had influenced him in his long journey. Of all such forces, the geographical factor has always been there influencing the course of his progress.

One such geographical factor that influenced the course of Andhra history is the maritime location of the land. The coastal tract is wide between the sea and the Eastern Ghats. The Eastern Ghats are neither too high nor too continuous to make the access to the hinterland difficult. Several rivers that flow into the sea in Andhra area not only provided decent ports near their mouths but also served as channels of communication into the hinterland till recently. Because of these factors the Andhras could develop maritime activities. The Telugus were for a long time known as hardy mariners. From an early period they navigated the seas and their bold sea-faring exploits carried them to distant parts of the world. In the far-off southeast Asian Archipelago, they met the equally ancient Chinese mariners who called them Kalingas, as the northern part of the Telugu area was then called Kalinga.

The double delta of the Godavari and the Krishna too made a big difference. Centrally situated as this delta is, traders, colonisers and along with them the Buddhist *bhikkhus* from north and south gathered there in the ancient days. The rivers and the delta offered them easy means of communication and comfortable livelihood. In the Buddhist works we come across many notices of the Naga people on the banks of the Krishna who became Buddhists and of the various *vihâras* and *caityas* such as the one at Dhanyakataka. Thousands of *bhikkhus* lived there and studied; and this went on for centuries. The freedom from want, which the double delta provided, offered the *bhikkhus* the necessary leisure and made it possible for them to discuss, to ponder over, and to develop the subtle subjects of art, literature and philosophy, of the perfection of which we can have glimpses in the relics at Amaravati and the remnants of the Mahayana literature.

While the maritime communications kept the area in touch with the northern and southern sea-board and Sri Lanka, the rivers provided easy ways of communication and contact with the interior. The caravan routes ran along the courses of the rivers and forts were built by the side of their banks to guard the routes. Goods for western markets were shipped at Bharukaccha or Sopara. The protection of the interests of the traders became a royal responsibility.

Simultaneous with this development, a peculiar role of the Telugu people, thrust on them by their geographical position, came into prominence. As trade and religion drew people from all parts of India to the Telugu land, these close contacts naturally brought an assimilation of cultures which became a characteristic feature of Andhra Pradesh since then. The north and the south met here and the Telugu people were profited by taking the best from both and, in no time, came to occupy the role of an interpreter. This is reflected in their language, literature, customs and even in the mode of their dress. That is why, to-day, they feel at home in every part of India.

The language of the people is denoted by either of the two terms - Telugu or Andhra, though these two bear no phonetic or etymological affinity. The Andhras, a branch of the Aryan people, when they came here to colonise, found a comparatively developed people whom they called Nagas. The language of the people was a non-Aryan one, and the people must have called themselves Tillingas or Telingas (cf. Telingana). The broad and fertile Sapta Godavari, the double delta and the busy markets in the interior afforded both these people, Aryan and non-Aryan, to live together, to understand and to unite into one people. This synthesis has been so perfect that the two terms Andhra and Telinga (Telugu) became synonymous with each other.

Such synthesis has been, throughout the long course of its history, the backbone of Telugu culture. It can be said that, in the general pattern of Indian culture, geography had allotted to the Telugu people the role of bringing out a 'creative synthesis' between the north and the south and the same is amply testified by the history of the Telugu people. Before presenting an outline of that history, it is necessary to give, as a prelude to it, an account of the actors in that great drama, the Telugu people.

PEOPLE

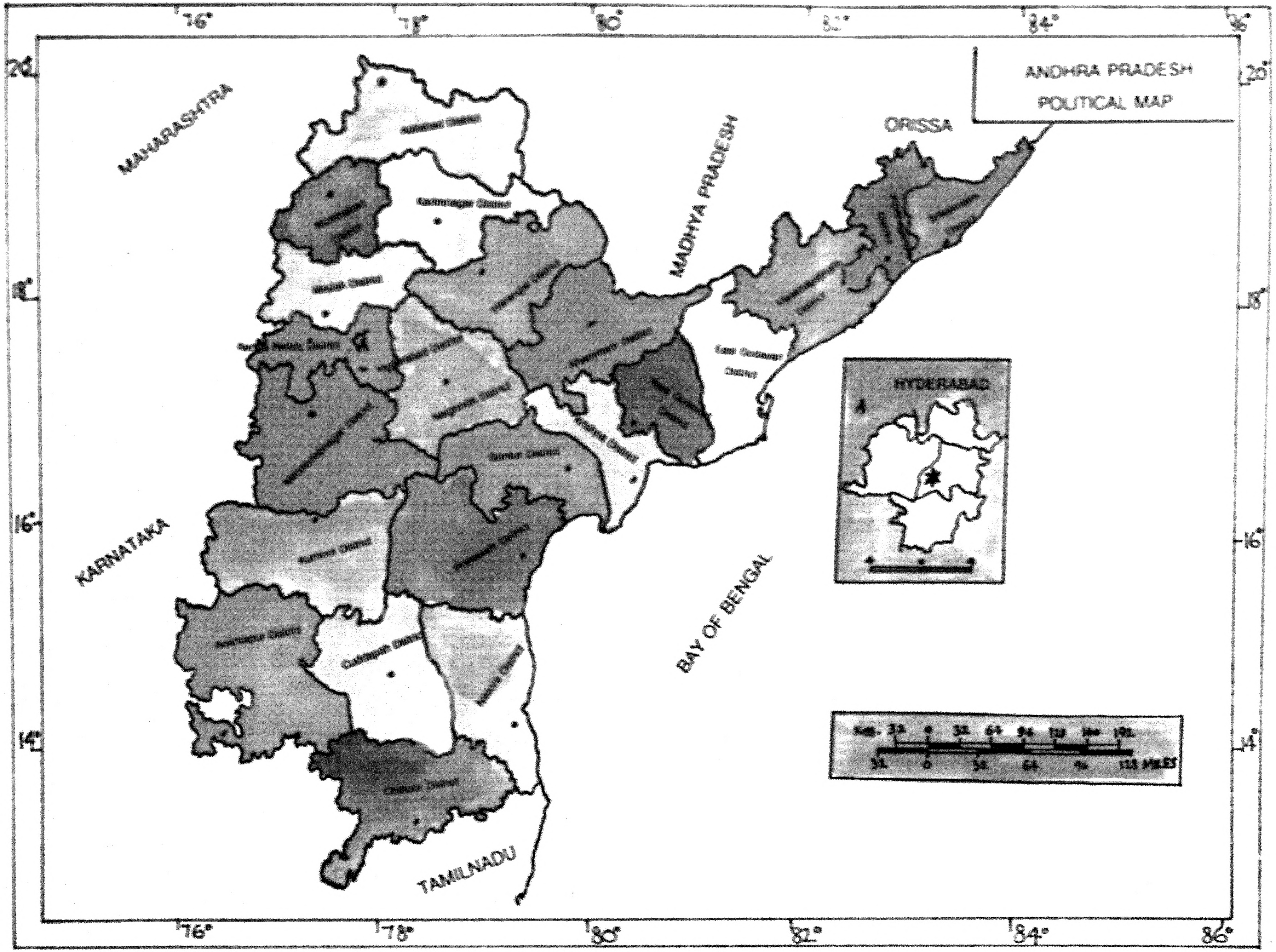
Early Peoples

The people, in Andhra, fall within the broad category of South Indian stock. The dominant racial type in Andhra is represented by dolichocephalic leptorhine stock of medium stature and brownish complexion which is mixed in varying proportion among the tribal population. The tribal groups in the hill tracks fall under the broad type of Proto-Australoid. Even the fossil records available from the Neolithic and Megalithic periods attest the dominance of these two groups. Besides, people with dolicocranial and mesocranial are found in the Telugu population. This attests to the fact that there were migrations and assimilation of population during the historical period.

During the historical times, we find the Andhras, a clan of the Aryans, colonising the Telugu area in or about the 6th century B.C. When they arrived, they found here people of several earlier races well assimilated and well settled in the fertile part of the area, the double delta. The route they had taken to colonise the Telugu land has been a matter of controversy, but the Buddhist *Jâtaka* stories mention a route from Magadha to Assaka (the present day Bodana) through Mulaka (Paithan). This way, Aryanisation of the western peninsula should have preceded that of the eastern peninsula. These colonisers seem to have met with no stiff resistance from the indigenous people and the fertile Godavari-Krishna delta offered a decent livelihood, not only to the original inhabitants, but also to the colonisers, and, as such, the synthesis went on smoothly. Considerable miscegenation took place. Andhras and the indigenous people are gradually united to form one people, and the delta served as a base for their further expansion.

Expansion and Assimilation

The expansion was not at the expense of the original inhabitants. The Aryan settlers reconciled themselves to the customs of the natives, which facilitated assimilation. This assimilation was accelerated by the social set-up of the Andhra colonisers, which did not adhere strictly to the caste system. It is probably for this reason that some of the Puranas went to the extent of grouping them with the 'mleccha' (alien - by nation or religion) tribes. The absence of rigorous caste system must have not only encouraged the process of assimilation but also facilitated the spread of Buddhism in this area at an early period.


ANDHRA PRADESH
POLITICAL MAP
ORISSA
MADHYA PRADESH
MAHARASHTRA
KARNATAKA
TAMILNADU
BAY OF BENGAL
Adilabad District
Nizamabad District
Karimnagar District
Medak District
Warangal District
Khammam District
Ranga Reddy District
Hyderabad District
Nalgonda District
Mahabubnagar District
East Godavari District
West Godavari District
Krishna District
Guntur District
Visakhapatnam District
Vizianagaram District
Srikakulam District
Kurnool District
Prakasam District
Anantapur District
Cuddapah District
Nellore District
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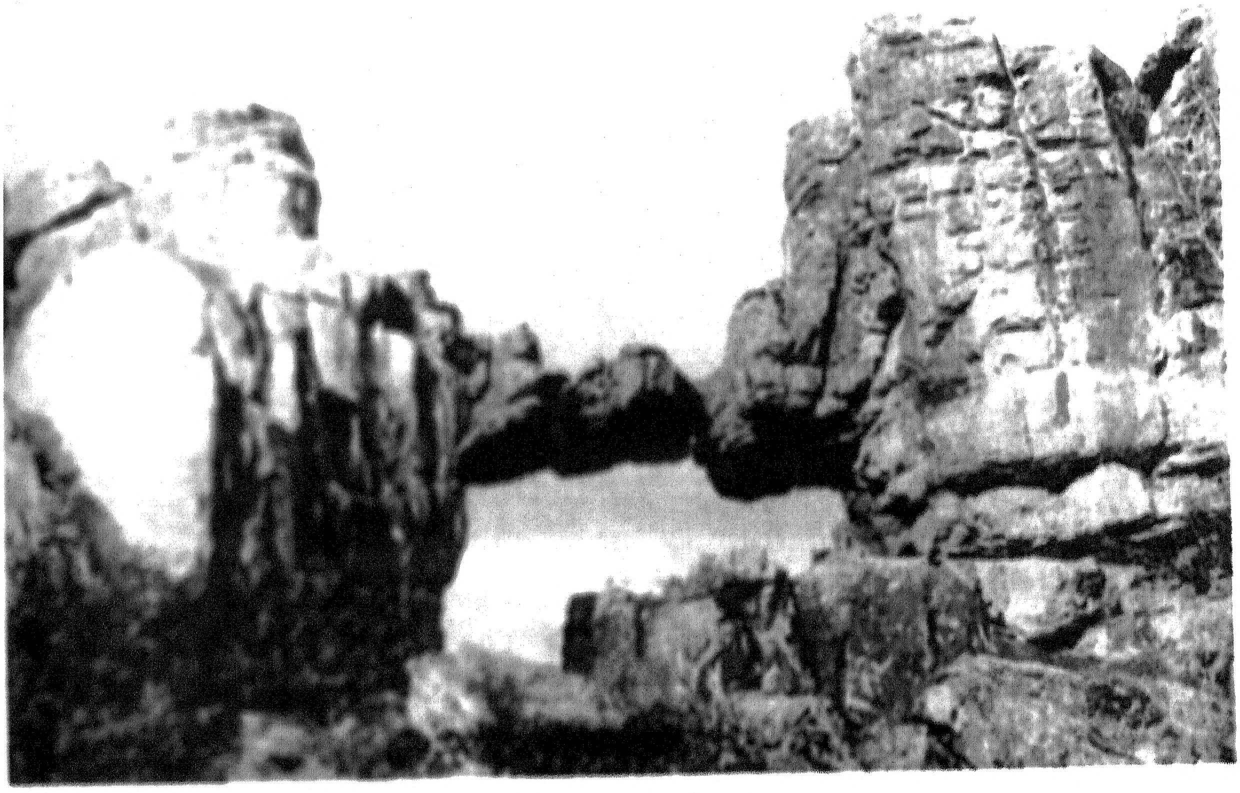
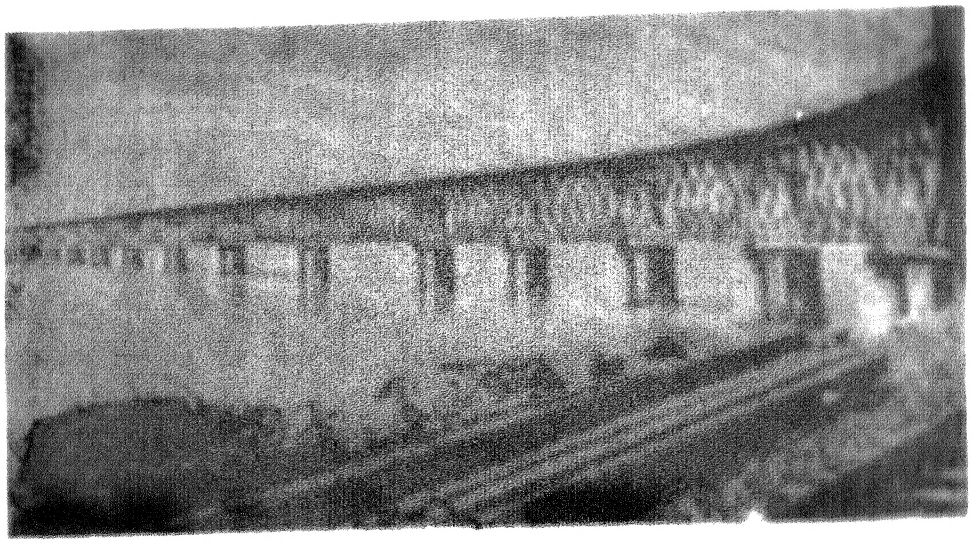
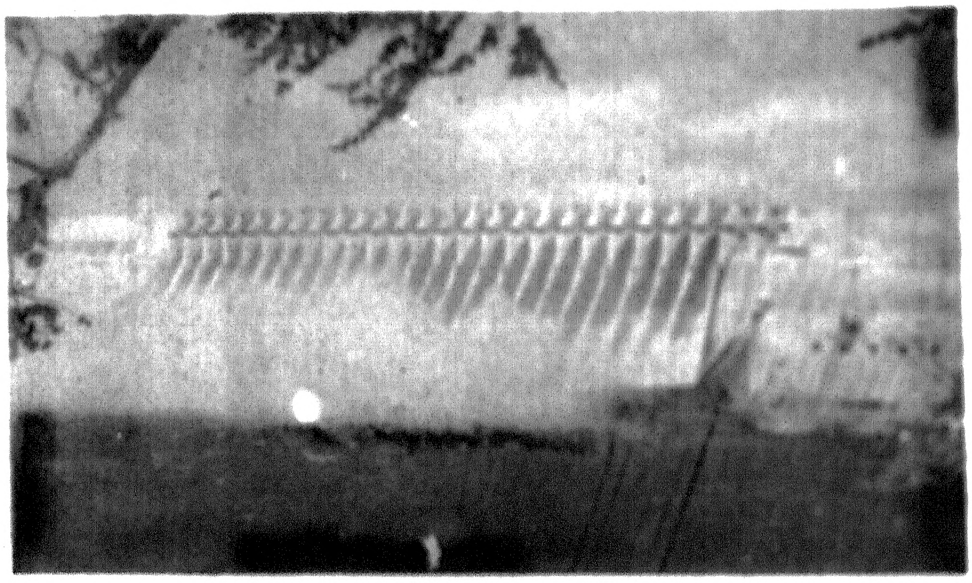


Silātōraṇam - Tirupati

Ettipotala Waterfalls - Guntur Dist.



Rail-cum-Road Bridge - on River Godavari (Rajahmundry)



Nagarjunasagar Dam - River Krishna

The expansion, as is usual with every race of people, must have been along the banks of the rivers at first. These offered comfortable livelihood and easy means of communication, which helped to keep the Andhra settlers in contact with the outer world. Building of forts became a necessity to safeguard these routes. In turn, people settled down around these forts and civilised life developed. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to the Mauryan court (4th century B.C.), made a mention of such Andhra forts.

As the civilised society extended its boundaries, the aboriginal pre-Dravidian tribes were pushed back to the northern and southern hills and jungles. We now find a belt of these tribes in the north, extending from Mahendragiri (Srikakulam District) to Bastar (Madhya Pradesh) and in the south along the Nallamalai hills.

The Andhra territory seems to have attained an individuality of its own at an early period, the boundaries of the territory coinciding approximately with those of the present-day Andhra Pradesh. The Tamil records mentioned the Telugus as 'Vadugars' (the Northerners) and the Pallava kings of the 6th century called the land 'Andhrapatha'. The indigenous name 'Tillinga' (Teleng or Telugu) came into vogue as the name of the language and gradually the terms Andhra and Telugu became synonymous, designating the land, the language and the people of the area.

In the first millennium of the Christian era, people of some other races came down from the north, settled in the Telugu area and were assimilated. The Sakas and Yavanas are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Satavahana era and during the medieval times came the Chalukyas and Pallavas, though some authorities attribute a local origin for the latter. From the 13th century onwards, Muslims invaded the country many a time and a large number of them settled down in the area, mainly in and around Hyderabad. Though they retained their language, the influence of the environment has been such as to enable them to form an integral part of the Telugu society.

Migrations

Along with these immigrations, there had been, throughout history, occasions when considerable number of people of the area left their hearths and homes and migrated to other places. In early times commerce, adventure and religious zeal led them across the seas to far-off countries on the other side of the Bay of Bengal. Of these we do not have any historical account but, such migrations left evidences of their influence on the cultures of the people of those areas, as seen in the similarity of scripts, customs and amusements. In the medieval times, political and religious causes were behind the migrations. Southern parts of the Vijayanagar empire, which functioned as the centre of Hindu resistance to Muslim invasions, were ruled for a long time by the kings of the Telugu dynasties. This attracted many Telugu people to the south and, as a result, a considerable number of Telugu speaking people are found residing at present in Tamilnadu and Karnataka.

The 16th century saw the migration of many Telugu Brahmin families to the north. Vallabhacharya, the founder of 'Suddhadvaita', himself a Telugu Brahmin, is said to have settled 500 Telugu Brahmin families in the north to propagate his religion. These were assimilated in the respective language areas such as Rajasthan and Gujarat where they settled down.

The court of the Peshwas (18th century) also attracted many Telugu Brahmins, who later settled down in Maharastra. In course of time they had switched over to the language of the area and only their surnames indicate their origin today.

In the modern period, trade and industry attracted many Telugus to Madhya Pradesh. Apart from Chanda and Bastar, where Telugu is largely spoken and understood, the Telugus are found at present in many cities and towns of Madhya Pradesh.

The early industrialization of Bombay and the surroundings lured many unemployed Telugu people of Telangana and Rayalaseema to settle there as workers. In the beginning of this century, a considerable number of unemployed and enterprising workers of Andhra Pradesh migrated to Myanmar (Burma), Malaysia, Mauritius and South Africa, where their descendants live at present as responsible citizens, contributing their mite to the progress of those lands retaining, at the same time, their cultural affinity with Andhra Pradesh.

Distribution of Population

The total population of Andhra Pradesh, according to 1991 census, is 6,63,04,854.

The average density of population in Andhra Pradesh is 241 per sq. km. as against the national average of 267. Population never spreads evenly in any country or region. Even in areas of homogenous physical conditions like the Krishna-Godavari delta, closer scrutiny reveals patches of higher densities. The Godavari delta, where the density of population per sq. km. is 437 has local concentrations with densities of more than 750 per sq. km.

The urban population of the state is 1,77,64,266, constituting 26.79% of the total population. Hyderabad, the capital, has a population of 42,73,498. There are 12 other cities with population varying from 2 to 11 lakhs and 19 others with a population of 1 to 2 lakhs.

Densities of urban population are high both in the high and low productivity tracts but high densities of rural population almost coincide with the areas of high agricultural productivity. The highest concentration of rural population is found in the Krishna-Godavari Delta, the tract of highest productivity in Andhra. In this delta there is also a concentration of urban population, nine out of the 32 cities and 74 out of the 224 towns in the Telugu country are situated in the delta.

At the other end of the density scale are the hilly areas, the Eastern Ghats. Density of population here is less than 40 per sq.km. Because of the ruggedness and inaccessibility of the terrain and the fear of malaria, the settlements are few and far apart. This is the zone of aboriginal tribes - the Koyas, Chenchus and Savaras.

The riverine plains like those of the Nagavali and the Vamsadhara, and the tank-irrigated fertile plains of the coast have a density of 397 per sq. km. However, in the Nellore plain the density of population is about 185 per sq.km. But on the plateau, both in Rayalaseema and Telangana, the distribution tends to become patchy, marked out sharply by empty spaces which are forested or barren. On the plateau, relatively high densities are found in the valleys of Kunderu, Papaghni, Chitravati and Sagileru. The density here varies from 120 to 147.

Hyderabad city and the adjoining towns have a density of nearly 14,248 per sq. km.

People and Society

Traditional organisation of the Andhra society can be seen to a large extent today in a village (*ūru* or *grāmam*). A typical village usually comprises 5 to 25 different caste groups. These caste groups, however, show regional variation. Apart from the Aryan way of demarcation of four castes in the society, several castes and sub-castes came up in course of time, mostly as specialisations in occupations grew and stabilised. Sub-groups also increased on considerations of territory, faith, predominant traditions, customs, food habits, etc.

The various castes in a traditional village live on mutual interdependence linked with a strong and solid base of agricultural economy. This is, of course, a pan-Indian feature. The Anthropological Survey of India has identified about 250 caste groups including 33 tribes. Most of these occupational groups are known by different labels in different regions. During the past few decades, however, the age-long traditional nomenclature came to be considered derogatory and new sanskritised names and in some cases names linked with legendary men of the community, have come into vogue in official use.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the village economy. Land holders are assisted by landless poor, mostly members of scheduled castes. Artisan classes like the smiths and carpenters and service classes like the potters and washermen used to be paid in the form of agricultural produce on an annual basis. This system is known as 'Jajmani'. Socially recognised hierarchy never interfered with the smooth functioning of the village. For example a brahmin, who held the top place in the hierarchy, gave his services as a priest even to those at the lowest rung.

In the changed circumstances, however, mobility is increasing and functions assigned traditionally to a caste group are no longer carried out exclusively by such a group alone. Modern life patterns have also introduced newer occupations in the village life as in town life.

There are also some caste groups which have taken to folk arts and skills like Yakshaganam, Bhagavatam, ballad singing, acrobatics, etc. and are itinerent. Some other groups are engaged in the propagation of faiths in a simple way so as to keep them alive among the illiterate classes. Besides, some groups eke out their livelihood through entertaining a particular caste or singing about the genealogy and the caste-deities of a specific group.

Families in Andhra have another principle of identification besides the caste or sub-caste. *Gōtram* and *iṇṭi-pēru* are two levels of such identification. *Gōtram* is popular all over India.

Among the 'upper' classes of yesteryears the names of *ṛṣis* of hoary past (Bharadwaja, Atreya, Kausika, etc.) are associated with *gôtrams* and all those who belong to a *gôtram* are believed to be the progeny of the concerned *ṛṣi*. Among the others, *gôtrams*, named after animals, birds, etc., are found. This is comparable to the clan system existing in the tribal society. Inter-marriages among the members of the same *gôtram* have been considered a taboo. *Inṭi-pêru* (literally meaning 'house-name') is the common name of a family. It is a patronym, passing through all the male members and unmarried female members of a family. When a girl is married her *gôtram* as well as *inṭi-pêru* changes to those of her husband. *Inṭi-pêru* is derived in various methods. Sometimes it is the name of a place from where a family had migrated. Some other times, it is derived from an eminent ancestor, occasionally it is suggestive of an achievement of or a high office held by an ancestor. Just as intermarrying within a *gôtram* is not permitted, it is not permitted even within the group of members of the same *inṭi-pêru*, unless the *gôtram* differs.

Hill Tribes

No account of the people would be complete without a mention of those vibrant and cheerful children of nature, the Hill tribes. Separated from the so called civilized society, they are still maintaining their age-old customs and languages.

On the basis of the Geo-ethnic traits, the tribals of Andhra Pradesh can be classified into the following groups.

1. Khond-Savara tribes in the northeast Coastal Andhra comprising Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam districts.
2. Koya-Kondareddi tribes in the Godavari Valley of East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam and Warangal districts.
3. Chenchu-Yanadi tribes in Kurnool, Mahabubnagar, Prakasam, Guntur, Nellore and Chittoor districts.
4. Gond-Kolam groups in Adilabad district.
5. Banjara/Sugali, Yerukala, Yanadi tribes of the plains.

30 sub-groups of these tribes are found living in the hill tracts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East and West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad and Mahabubnagar districts. About 23 sub-groups out of these, are found inhabiting the Visakhapatnam agency area alone. Khammam district, followed by Visakhapatnam, has the highest tribal population. The Government has evolved separate sub-plans for the development of the tribals.

Some of the important tribal groups are Bagatha, Chenchu, Gadaba, Gond, Jatapu, Kammara, Kolam, Konda Dora, Konda Kapu, Konda Reddi, Khond with several sub-groups, Kotia including 7 sub-sects, Koya with sub-groups of Lingadhari Koya, Raja Koya, etc., Manne Dora, Muka Dora, Reddi Dora, Savara with its sub-sects, Valmiki, Yanadi and Yerukala.

These tribes belong to different levels of economic strata: (a) food gathering, collection, fishing and hunting, (b) pastoralism, (c) shifting cultivation and (d) settled cultivation. It does not mean that a tribal group confines to a single activity only; it can pursue a combination of activities. However, tribals like the Chenchus and the Hill Yanadis can be described as hunter-gatherers. Of late, collection and sale of minor forest products like tamarind, soapnuts, adda leaves, honey and a score of others found in the forest are carried on by all the tribes. The Konda Reddis, besides these activities, practise shifting (*pōḍu*) cultivation. Koyas and Konda Reddis in addition exploit rivers for fishing. They produce millets and pulses too. Some groups, further northeast - Porja, Kotia, Konda Dora, etc. - practise shifting cultivation. Collection of minor forest products supplements their economy. Bagathas and Jatapus can be described as settled cultivators. What is interesting is the practice of terrace cultivation by Jatapus and Bagathas which is predominantly found in north-east India. This can be described as a kind of wet cultivation. The mechanism of water management in this type of cultivation with very simple technology of spade and crowbar is exemplary. Lambadas, who were pack-drivers and pastorals, are slowly becoming settled cultivators. On the whole, the economy of the tribal groups can still be called primitive.

The social structure of most of the tribes is based on clan system. The clans are again based on totems. The totems include wild sheep, wild buffalo, tiger, panther, etc. A variety of birds, snakes, fish, millets, etc., and many kinds of trees are found among the totems, worshipped by the respective clans.

Animism is the major religious form among the tribal groups. The community or group has a common god. 'Pedda Devudu' (*Pedda* 'chief'; *Devuḍu* 'god') is worshiped in Visakhapatnam hills by the tribals. Chenchus worship 'Bayyanna'. 'Persapen' is the chief god of the Gonds. Each clan has again its own symbolic representation of the deity. They worship their deities before the commencement of any economic activity like sowing seed, harvesting or hunting. Another major religious activity among most of the tribes centres round the ancestor worship.

Hinduism encompasses these tribals also. Recently Christanity has also taken some of them into its fold. Either Hindus or Christians, they are the same old tribal people, afraid of being contaminated by sophisticated civilization, which they may not be able to resist for long. These tribals constitute about 6% of the Telugu people.

Religions

At present, most of the Telugu people are in the fold of Hinduism, in one form or another, though Buddhism had been the religion of the masses upto the 6th century. There are evidences to show that the Vedic Dharma had also been prevalent during that time though limited to certain circles. The Satavahana rulers patronised Vedic Dharma and the Ikshvakus too followed it. Mention of religious sacrifices in the inscriptions and the invocation to Siva at the beginning of the *Saptaśati* of Hala bear testimony to it. However, the masses favoured Buddhism and the kings patronised it. During the time of the Ikshvakus one comes across the curious anomaly of the queens professing Buddhism while the kings personally stuck to Vedic Dharma. But a gradual decay crept into the noble practices of Buddhism and by the 6th century it fell under the influence of Vajrayana, an erotic creed. Reformers like Kumarila, with a view to stem the tide of immorality, fought for an order of society based on the old Vedic Dharma. But in doing so they had to adopt a flexible attitude. The revival of the old rituals, though profitable to the priestly class, could not satisfy the emotional urges of the masses and so, the reformers had to remodel the Mahayana practice of idol worship in a way to suit the Vedic and Puranic ideas. The worship of Siva, Vishnu, Surya, Sakti and Ganapati was encouraged in the place of the Mahayanistic Avalokitesvara, Tara and others. But the task of reconciling the people to the caste system, which they did not have in the Buddhist order, was stupendous. The reaction of the people to this system of Vedic castes took the shape of Vira Saivism, which, while it condemned Buddhism, stood firmly against caste and all its implications. Basava (c. 1200) canalised these forces against caste system and propagated Vira Saivism which dominated the entire south as a religion of the masses upto the end of the 12th century. Vaishnavism also had its share of opposition to castes in reformers like Brahmanayudu (c. 1200) who advocated *câpakûḍu* (cosmopolitan feast)

Bhakti movement, which came into prominence from the 13th century onwards, assured that, every one, irrespective of his caste, is equally entitled to attain *môkṣha* through Bhakti, and relegated caste to a less important place.

The existing castes among Telugu people are to a great extent the result of the pursuances of their respective professions. It had been so even in the Buddhist period. We come across the names of several professional groups in the inscriptions of the Satavahana period. To add to this, the loyalty to one's territory also brought out many sub-divisions. Territorial divisions, called *nâḍus*, run across the professional divisions resulting in many sub-sects and groups. The Brahmins are also divided among themselves according to the professions and the territories in which their forefathers lived.

This does not mean that the four-fold Vedic caste system was not recognised in the Telugu area. The religious literature had done its best to spread the idea of the Vedic caste system. The Brahmin was at the top, functioning as a priest and honoured as the repository of Hindu Dharma. The next were Kshatriyas - of Solar and Lunar descent - tracing their origins to semi-legendary heroes. Similarly some trading communities claimed to belong to a third caste, Vaisyas. However, the Vedic caste system had never functioned with all its rigour in the Telugu area.

Modern education has its own effect on the caste system in Telugu area as elsewhere. The barriers which once seemed to be permanent, are now disappearing. The reformist movements like the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj have also contributed their share to this awakening.

Though the caste system did never function rigorously in Andhra, the lot of the 'Untouchables', who are now referred to as Harijans or Scheduled Castes, had never been better here than elsewhere in India. The social origin of such a class of people is inexplicable, especially in an area which had been Buddhist for over thousand years. Probably, the unclean professions they followed might have at first necessitated their stay at a distance from the villages. Whatever it be, their position continued to be deplorable till the advent of the modern period. It is true that Sri Ramanuja (11th century) and many other reformers tried their best to improve their lot. But their efforts did not even touch the fringe of the problem, as the followers of the great reformers had not the necessary sincerity. In the modern period, some of these people embraced Christianity, which provided them with a social status. The problem remained unsolved till Mahatma Gandhi took up their cause. His earnest efforts to eradicate untouchability did certainly meet with a good measure of success in the Telugu country.

Of the Hindu pantheon of gods, the widely worshipped ones in the Telugu country are Vishnu in his incarnations and Siva, along with their consorts. There are also people who, dissatisfied with this kind of worship, offer their prayers to an impersonal God, as spoken of in the Upanishads. Hinduism accommodates all these people. As a great thinker of the present era said, "Of course, Hinduism as a faith is vague, amorphous, many sided, all things to all men. In its present form, and even in the past, it embraces many beliefs and practices, from the highest to the lowest, often opposed to, or contradicting each other. Its essential spirit seems to be to live and let live."

Jainism also is one of the oldest religions that had once been widely practised in this area. The Jaina sacred literature mentions many Andhra kings of the early period who patronised Jainism. There are many evidences to prove the existence of Jaina *bastis (vasati*; a place of residence) in various parts of Andhra in the first millennium of the era. Bothan, in Nizamabad District, was noted as a flourishing Jaina centre in the 9th century. According to Jaina tradition, it was the capital of Bahubali, the first Jaina emperor of South India. The famous Jaina poets of Kannada, Ponna and Pampa, were natives of Vengi in Andhra. Even in the Kakatiya period, we come across a book, *Jinêndra Kalyāṇābhyudaya*, written by one Appayacharya of Warangal and this indicates that the religion had some adherents in the 13th century also. But later the religion declined.

Numerically, Islam now occupies the second place in the Telugu area. The religion is said to have been introduced by a Muslim saint, Baba Fakruddin, who first succeeded in converting a king of Penugonda to Islam. The Dudekula Muslims, who live by carding cotton, state that their conversion was due to the efforts of Baba Fakruddin. The veracity of this statement is yet to be proved by historical evidence.

But it is from the beginning of the 14th century only that we get a historical account of the spread of Islam. Muslim rule and domination encouraged conversions. Many of the present day Muslims of Andhra are the descendants of the converts from Hinduism. Though there are a considerable number of Shias, the majority are Sunnis. A sprinkling of Wahabis is also found. In the villages, the Muslims follow many of the social customs of the Hindus. In the case of the Dudekula Muslims the names too are often Hindu with a Muslim surname.

Christianity was first introduced into Andhra in 1701 by a member of the Carnatic mission with the conversion of a Velama family at Punganur in Chittoor District. The Roman Catholics had a monopoly of the proselytizing till 1805, when they were joined by the Protestant missions. Though some people of the upper castes too embraced the religion, it spread mainly among the socially depressed castes, to whom it rendered great help.

HISTORY

Middle Palaeolithic Period

The Middle Palaeolithic culture which succeeded Lower palaeolithic is found to be more prolific in its evidence all over Andhra Pradesh. It comprises of points of different shapes facilitating hafting, scrapers of different types for skinning, knifing, sharpening, borers (screw driver) for making holes, miniature handaxes and cleavers. All these tools with more effective working edges also attest to hunting and gathering economy. This is bracketed between 1.5 to 40 lakhs of years.

Upper Palaeolithic Period

Blades and Blade tools characterise the Upper Palaeolithic Age in Andhra Pradesh which can be compared with that of Europe. The tool kit included blades, knives, points, blunted back points, pen knives, borers, burins, a variety of scrapers made of stone while those of bone are points, awl points, burins, borers, scrapers, pins, needles and spatulae-like objects. This phase is fairly distributed all over Andhra. But its nature in N.E. Coastal Andhra Pradesh including the eastern ghats show advancement in typo-technology tending towards microlithic nature. It is bracketed between 30,000 to 10,000 B.C.

Billasargam group of caves yielded a variety of stone and bone tools in association with animal remains. They include monkeys, wild cat, wild dog, wild pig, tiger, leopard, horse, antelope, wild elephant, rhinoceros, etc., most of which are extinct now. The eastern ghats abound in wild plant food resources like bulbs, tubers, roots, fruits, nuts, leaves etc. The aboriginal communities like Chenchu and Yanadi still exploit these wild resources.

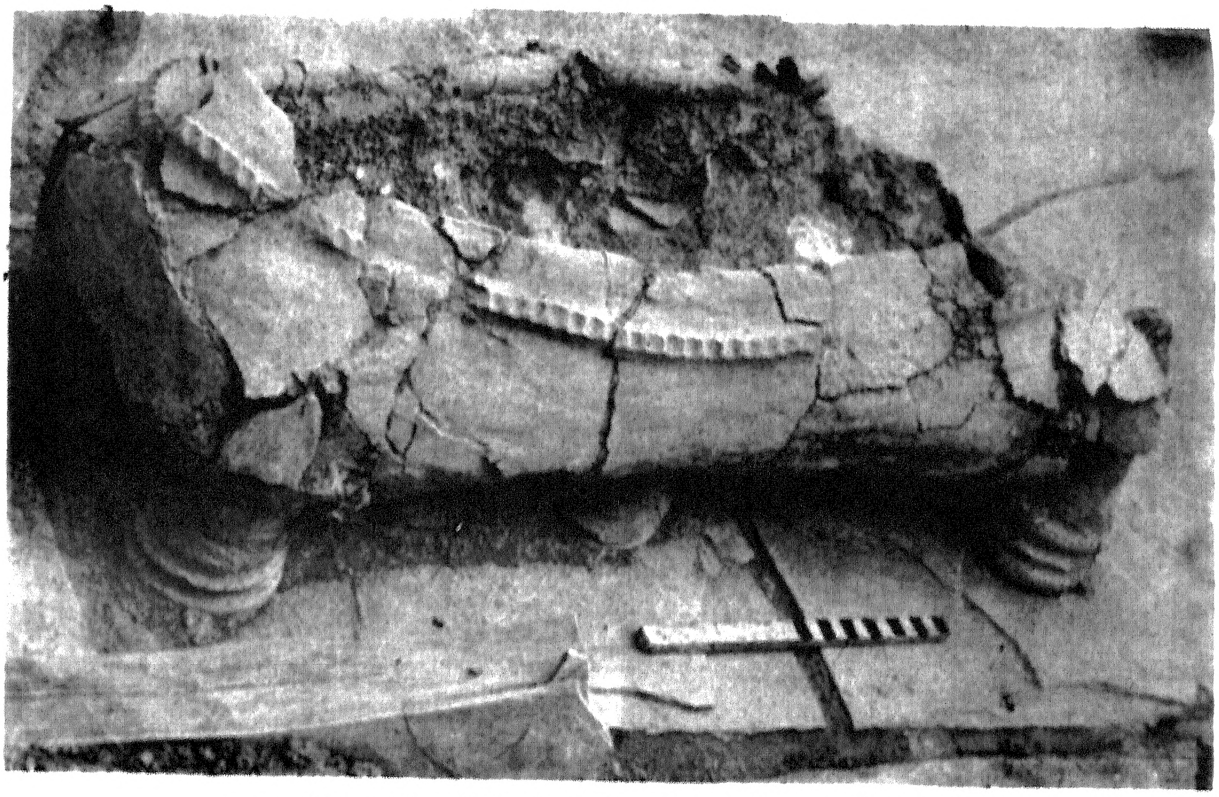
Mesolithic Period

Mesolithic culture characterised by microliths, pigmy implements succeeded the Palaeolithic. These microliths continued in some parts of the country particularly in hill tracts till about 1000 A.D. The Mesolithic period is bracketed between 6000 to 2500 B.C.

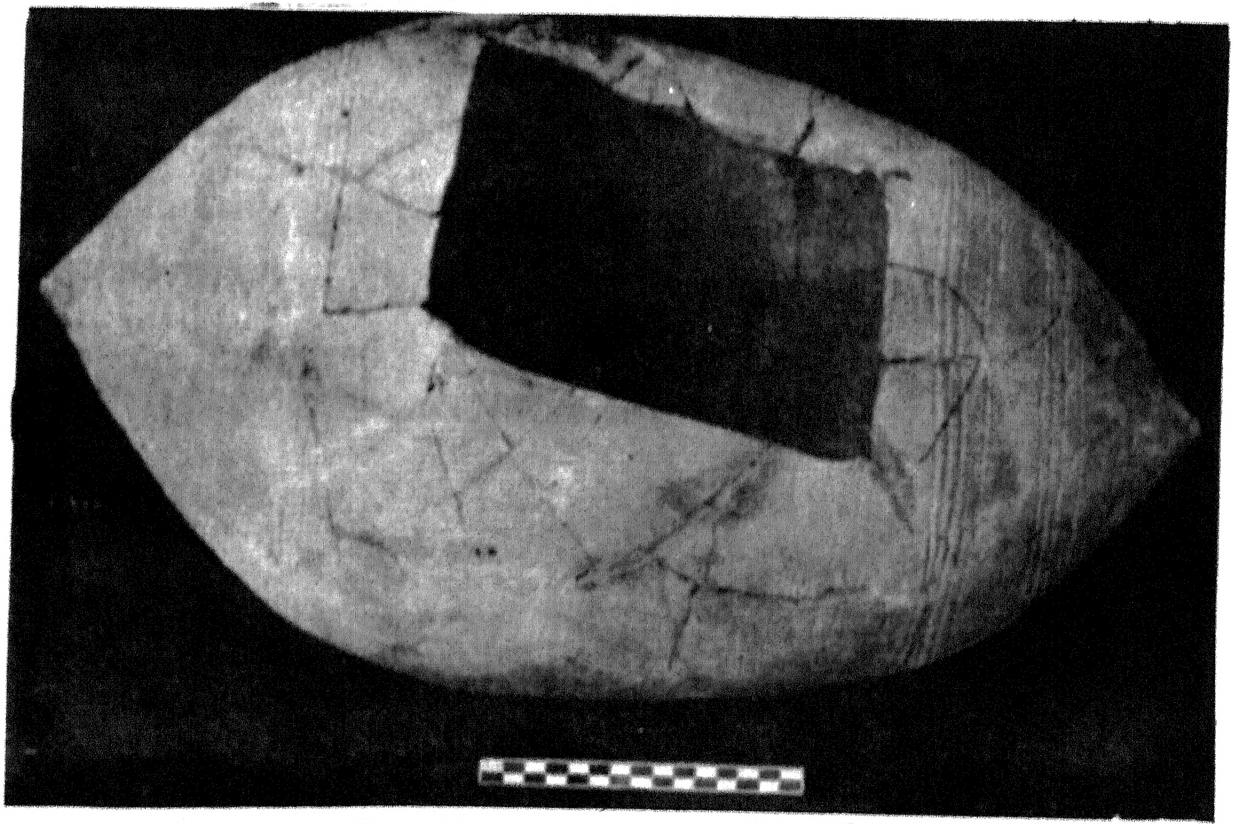
As stated earlier they adapted themselves to different environments such as coastal, open country, hill tracts, caves and rock shelters, semi arid zones, rivers, streams, lakes, etc. Compound tools such as arrow tips, harpoons, sickles, knives etc., scrapers, points, awl points, burins, geometric forms like isosceles triangles, scalene shapes, trapezes, crescents and heavy duty tools such as choppers, chopping tools, ring stones, circular stone tablets form the tool kit of Mesolithic man. These tools perform a variety of functions in different ecozones.

Most significant evidence is the rock art observed at Kethavaram, Muddanur, Dapalle, Patapet and Mudumula, to quote a few. These paintings project the contemporary socio economic conditions.

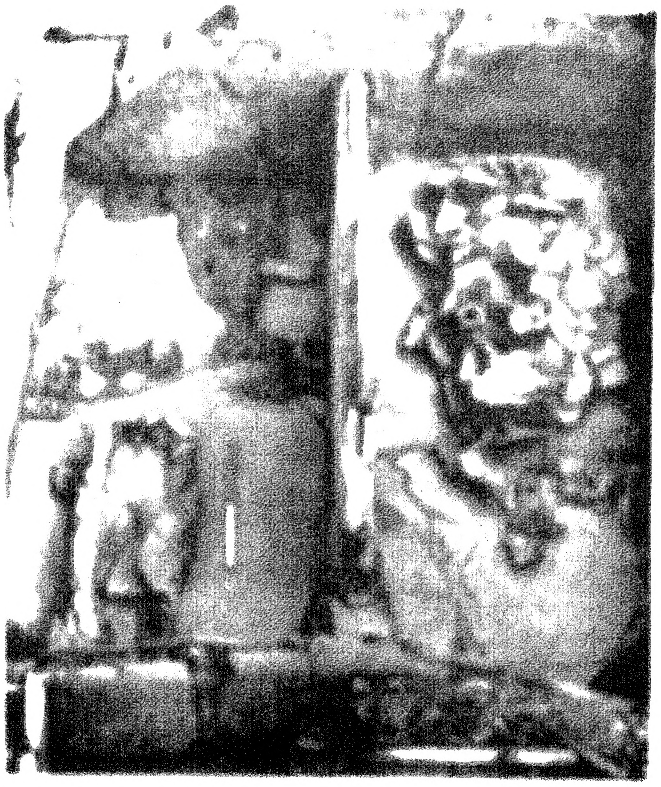
Pre-Historic Burials



Pedda Marur Megalithic Burial   *Mahabubnagar Dist., A.P.*

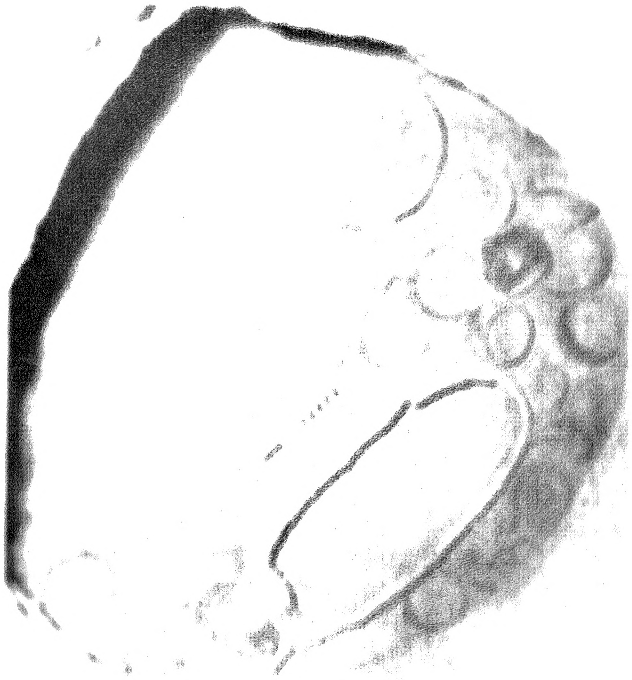


Pedda Marur (Mahabubnagar Dist., A.P.)



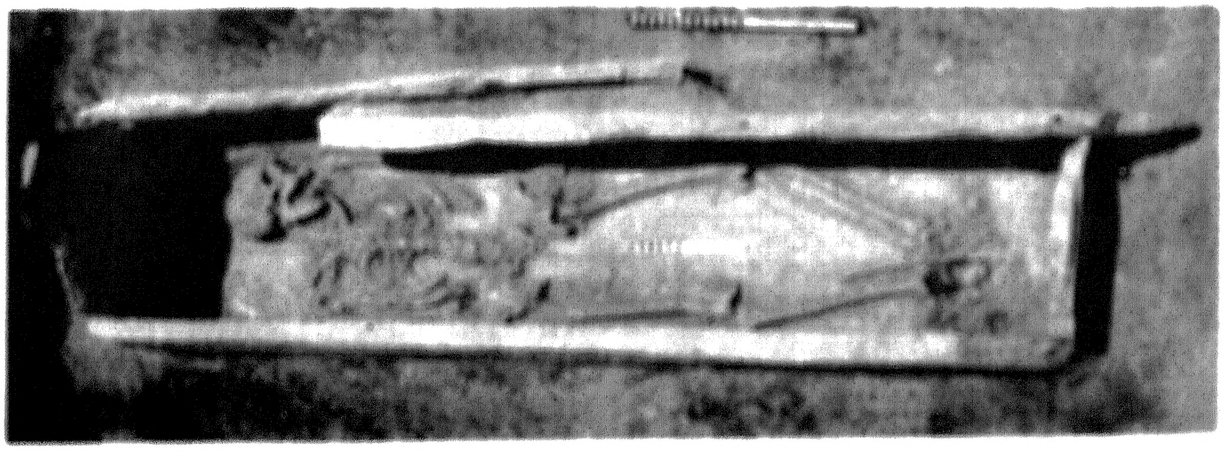
Megalithic Burrial Sherepalle

Mahabubnagar Dist., A.P.



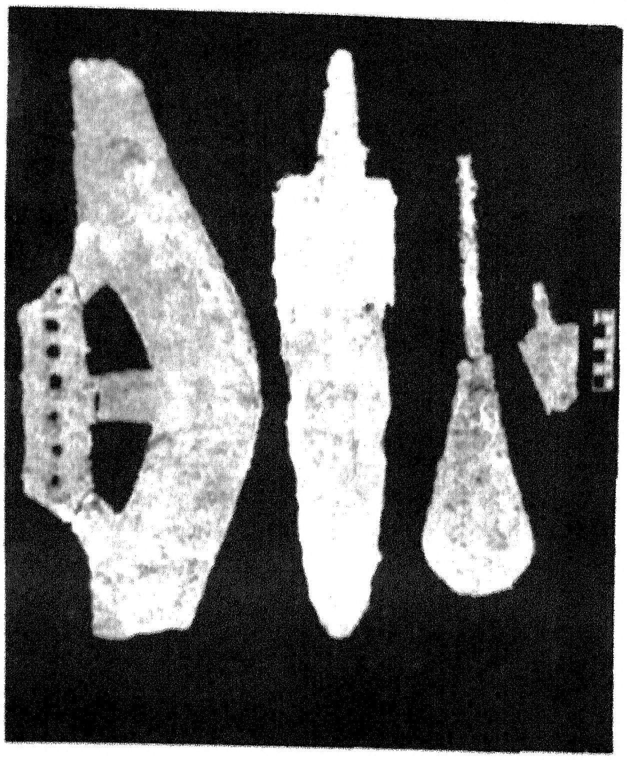
Megalithic Burrial

Janawada (Nellore Dist)

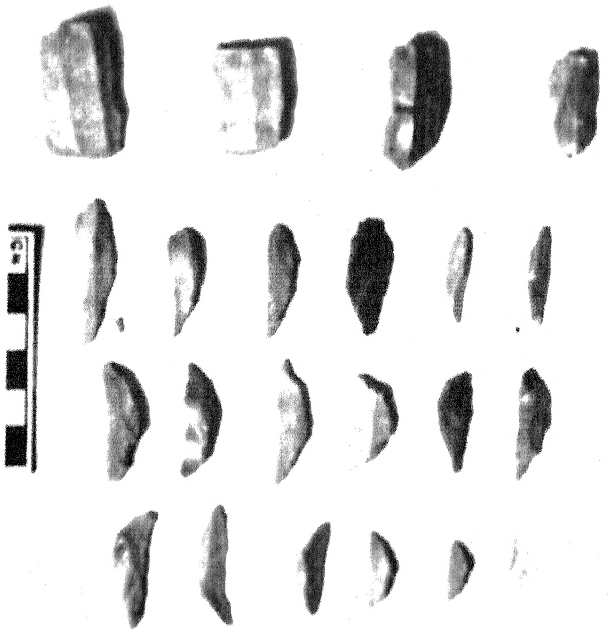


Chinna Marur (Mahabubnagar Dist., A.P.)

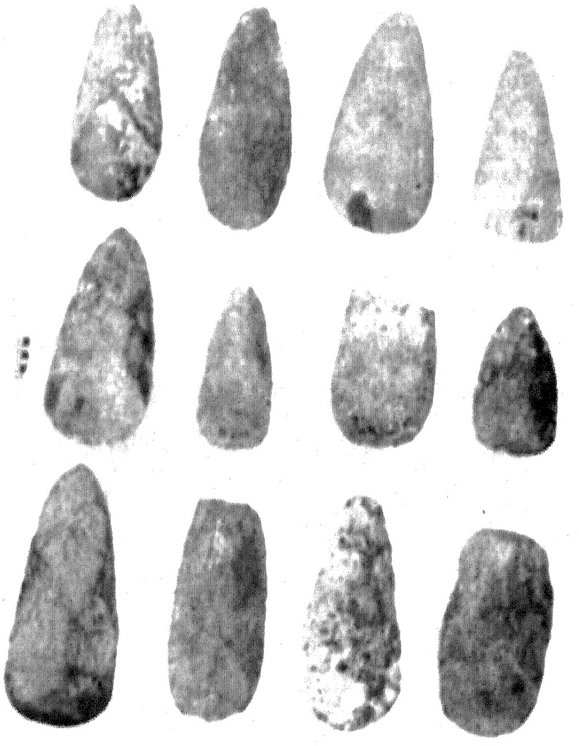
Pre-Historic Implements



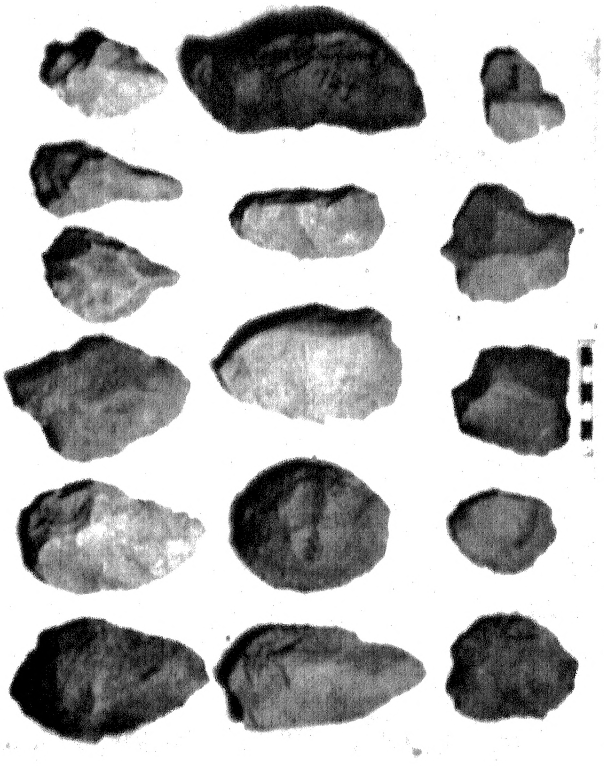
Iron Implements (Megalithic)
Chinna Marur (Mahabubnagar Dist., A.P.)



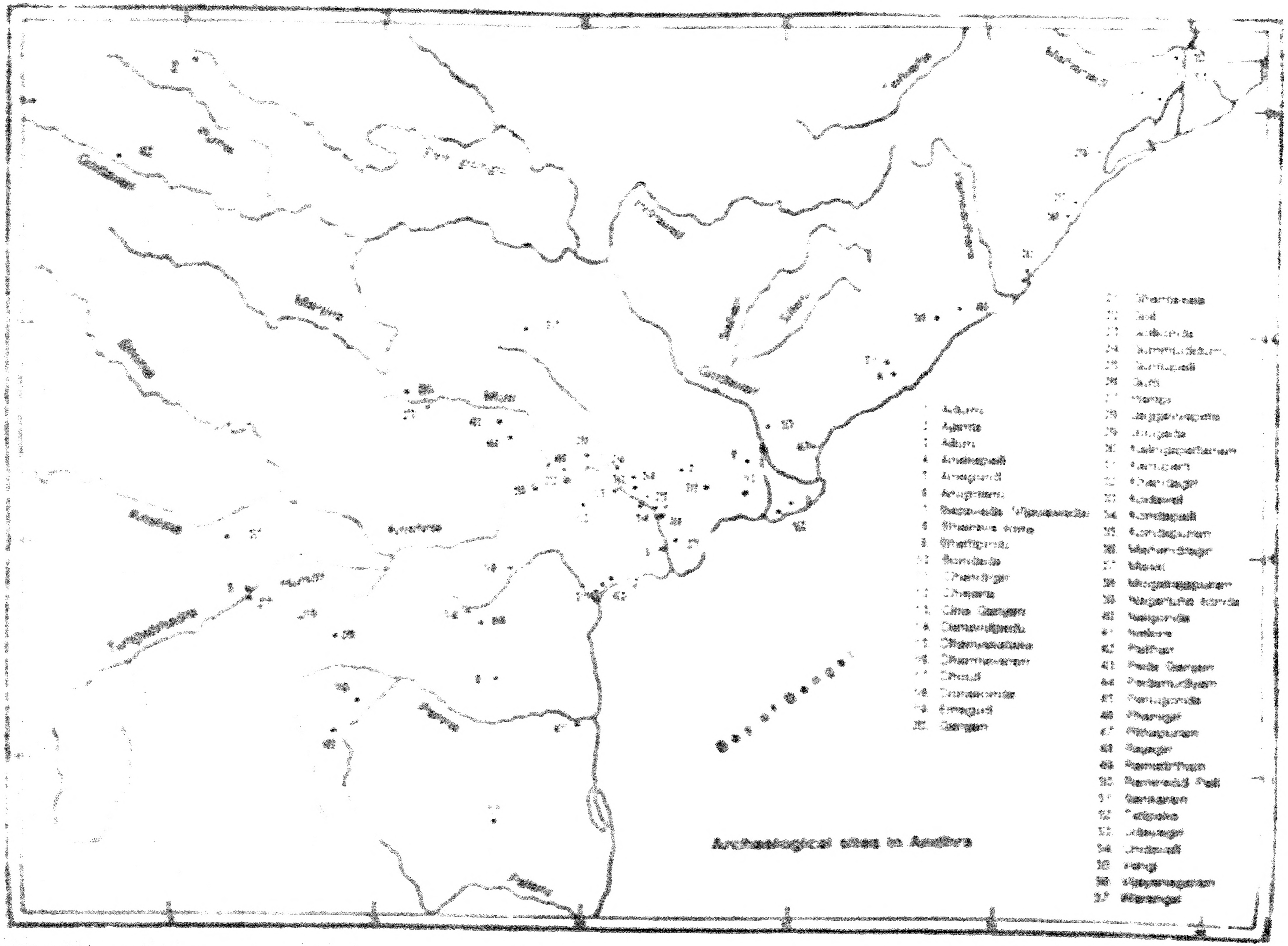
Tools - Micro-lithic period



Tools - Neo-lithic period



Tools - Middle Neo-lithic period



Purna
Godavari
Pen ganga
Manjira
Bhima
Musi
Krishna
Tungabhadra
Penna
Palaru
Sabari
Sileru
Indravati
Vamsadhara
Mahanadi
Bay of Bengal
1 Adurru
2 Ajanta
3 Alluru
4 Anakapalli
5 Anegondi
6 Arugolanu
7 Bezwada (Vijayawada)
8 Bhairava konda
9 Bhattiprolu
10 Bondada
11 Chandragiri
12 Chejerla
13 Cina Ganjam
14 Dannulapadu
15 Dhanyakataka
16 Dharmavaram
17 Dhauli
18 Domakonda
19 Erragudi
20 Ganjam
21 Ghantasala
22 Goli
23 Golkonda
24 Gummadidurru
25 Guntupalli
26 Gutti
27 Hampi
28 Jaggayyapeta
29 Jaugada
30 Kalingapattanam
31 Kanuparti
32 Khandagiri
33 Kodavali
34 Kondapalli
35 Kondapuram
36 Mahendragiri
37 Maski
38 Mogalrajapuram
39 Nagarjuna konda
40 Nalgonda
41 Nellore
42 Paithan
43 Peda Ganjam
44 Peddamudiyam
45 Penugonda
46 Phanigiri
47 Pithapuram
48 Rajagir
49 Ramatirtham
50 Ramireddi Palli
51 Sankaram
52 Tatipaka
53 Udayagiri
54 Undavalli
55 Vengi
56 Vijayanagaram
57 Warangal

Archaeological sites in Andhra

Neolithic Phase

The transition from the mesolithic to the neolithic complex in Andhra Pradesh cannot precisely be delineated owing to a deplorable lack of data. However, the neolithic phase can be considered revolutionary because of several inventions brought in during that period. Owing to such inventions, the prehistoric man could reach a stage of settled life. Therefore, many anthropologists consider this phase to be more of an economic nature than a mere technological one. Though the neolithic culture in Andhra Pradesh can be taken to be an integral part of the south Indian type of that culture, the northeast coastal Andhra Pradesh, north of the Godavari, indicates some affiliation to the eastern Indian neolithic culture in several traits.

Owing to the efforts of many researchers, various neolithic sites are brought to light recently. However, only a few of them are studied in depth. Many of them are trial trenches only. Research was carried on extensively at Nagarjunakonda.

The neolithic folk inhabited the river and stream banks, caves and rock shelters and flat hill-tops. All these settlements, as a rule, were located near rivulets, streams, springs, etc. There is enough evidence to conclude that many of the people then lived in circular houses with thatched roofs supported by wooden posts. Pit dwellings of that age are found at Kesarapalli, Nagarjunakonda, etc. Along with stone, bone also found a place in the industry during that period. Household objects like saddlequerns, grinders, pounders, rubbers and other objects such as mace-heads, sling-balls, hoes and circular tablets are reported from several sites. The neolithic phase was associated not only with the development of lithic and bone tools but also with pottery.

The evidence obtained from both the surface-finds and excavations reveals three sub-phases south of the Godavari and two sub-phases in the north-east coastal Andhra as far as the development of pottery is concerned. The pure neolithic facies of crude hand-made pottery acquires neolithic-chalcolithic facies later on with the adaptation of painted pottery in the tradition of post-Harappan chalcolithic cultures of western India. But this chalcolithic element is not to be found in the north-east Andhra region. The appearance of wheel-turned, red and blackware marks the next phase of the development in ceramic art.

The Andhra-Karnataka border abounds in rock paintings and bruisings. The bull dominates the scene. Beads made on semi precious stones, and clay, bangles made on shells are the objects of personal adornment.

Another peculiar feature of this culture is the discovery of Ash Mounds of varying dimension. They look like small isolated low hillock. Their origin is still a debatable point. But they tend to show that Neolothic folks also included cattle keepers. Settled cultivation and cattle keeping were the sources of economy while fishing, hunting and gathering supplemented the economy of neolithic village communities.

The neolithic revolution gradually led people to make tools out of iron. Anthropologists associate this phase of iron tools and black and red pottery with megalithic tombs. Hence it is named as the megalithic phase.

Megalithic Phase

The megaliths are the memorial stones erected for the dead during the prehistoric period. These are usually termed by the people of Andhra as *Pândava Gullu* (boulders of Pandavas) or *Râkâsi* (from *Râkṣasa*, in the sense of 'huge') *Gullu*. A good number of them are symbolic burials. But some do contain skeletal remains. The most significant factor is the association of varied and rich burial goods, ranging from pottery and iron implements to gold. The first of its kind was excavated at Kalyandurg (Anantapur District) by Longhurst. Such megaliths are now traced practically in every district of Andhra Pradesh. They are often found on hill slopes or rocky places.

Of the various types of the megaliths – such as the menhir, the dolmen, the dolmenoid cist, the cist burial, the urn burial, the sarcophagus, the cairn circle and stone circle – the cairn circle, the stone circle and the dolmenoid cist are more wide spread in Andhra Pradesh than the rest. The sarcophagus type is found mostly in Kurnool, Cuddapah and Chittoor districts. The most interesting evidence of a dolmen comes from Pandavulametta (Srikakulam dist.). It measures 8.4 m. in length and is made up of two capstones, the width being around 3 m. Innumerable cairns are found in Telangana, extending from the eastern border of the Nizamabad district upto the eastern border of the Nalgonda district.

In the absence of any clear evidence, it is difficult to give a precise account of the habitation pattern in the megalithic phase. However, some structures found recently in excavations conducted at Peddabankur, at Keesaragutta and also a circular wall of 150 m. diameter, housing many semi-circular huts at Pagidigutta throw some light on the subject. The iron objects of good workmanship and the high quality black and red ceramic ware obtained therein suggest the existence of a society based on cattle-breeding and agricultural activity supported by a rudimentary defence system.

The megaliths provide us with some information regarding the beliefs that dominated the human mind during that period, especially about life after death. The nearest of the deceased took ample care to provide the dead with all the necessities of life and leave them in the grave along with his body so that his soul could lead a happy life in the other world. Further, it can be inferred that those people must have tried to propitiate gods and goddesses by sacrifices. The various non-Aryan goddesses and gods that are now worshipped in the rural areas must have had their origin in that hoary past.

The question whether the people of the neolithic and megalithic phases had any knowledge of writing lies unanswered till now. However, the graffiti found on the cairns of Telangana, each varying from the other, had led some people to assume that a kind of pictographic script must have existed and that it was superseded by the Brahmi script later in the early historic period. But, for the present, it is only a conjecture. There is also no unanimity of opinion among scholars regarding the race of the megalithic people - whether they were indigenous, foreign or both.

There is enough evidence to show that the megalithic phase had its beginning around 1100 B.C. The sites in the Andhra-Karnataka border region affirm this fact. However, this culture seems to have continued upto the 3rd century A.D., coeval with the historical period in some parts of Andhra Pradesh, as evidenced by the excavations at Nagarjunakonda.

After such a long and arduous journey through thousands of years, all the while progressing, though slowly in the changing socio-economic milieu, the early man in Andhra Pradesh cast off his primitive garb and stepped into the historic period.

DAWN OF HISTORY

As already mentioned, Andhra Pradesh, along with some other adjacent parts of Deccan, is geologically the oldest region in India and, as such, must have been the earliest tract to facilitate the evolution of the *Homo sapiens.* The skeletal remains of a dinosaur, found a few years ago in the north-western part of the state, definetely prove that life had started to evolve in the mesozoic age itself on this land and there is no reason to surmise that it had not continued until the final evolution of man. It is this fact that had prompted some scholars like De Terra to postulate a theory that the earliest man must have had his existence first on the east coast of the southern peninsula before he migrated to the plains of the Punjab. As a corollary to that theory, it must be conceded that a scientific study of the history of Man in India should begin with the basins of the Godavari and the Krishna rather than with the Indo-Gangetic plain. But this could not be; for the over-lapping of cultures in the Deccan is so complex that the historian could not distinguish the native warp from the foreign woof.

Even the north does not fare better as far as the cultural set-up is concerned. So, the traditional historians of India took recourse to the linguistic approach taking the cue from Robert Caldwell (1814-91), the British linguist. That kind of enquiry led them to the conclusion that history dawned on India - both in the north and the south - with the penetration of the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans displacing the Dravidian-speaking natives. According to them, the history of the ancient period in India was nothing but a process of Aryanisation. They reckoned that everything regarding the course of events that shaped the social, religious and political milieu of that period in Indian history was settled by that postulate.

But a chance discovery of some seals with an unknown script at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind by an officer of the Archaeological Department in 1921 brought a new factor into the field. Excavations following the discovery, conducted at places such as Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Kali Bangan, Lothal and others brought to light a cultural set-up which is termed as the 'Indus civilisation'. So far, more than 3,000 Indus sites have been discovered over an area of more than 10,00,000 sq.km., stretching from the Himalayan foothills to the western part of the Deccan plateau and from the eastern border of modern Iran to the Delhi basin. The whole set-up provides us with a picture, though a hazy one, of a period spanning over almost 6000 years of cultural development in the Indus valley and its adjacent territories from the earliest form of neolithic settlements in the 9th millennium B.C. to the well-provided and magnificent cities in the 3rd millennium B.C. It is conceded by all the historians to be a pre-Vedic civilisation.

This discovery necessitated a reconsideration of the entire traditional approach so as to fix a place in the chronological frame-work for the 'Dravidian advent into India'. Furer-Haimendorf, who made a scientific study of this subject, suggested that the immigration of the Dravidian speakers must have taken place in or about 500 B.C. and, with sufficient reasons, asserted that the Dravidian speech never existed in India outside its present area. Some scholars who could not digest such an opinion attempted to claim the Indus civilisation itself as the Dravidian one, whereas others, with equal vehemence, tried to prove it to be an Aryan one. The arguments put forth by either of these groups of disputants smacked a lack of credibility as the script of the Indus people still remains undeciphered. Thus, the linguistic approach to the Indian history led the scholars into a blind alley. It is this impasse that prompted K.A.N. Sastry, the doyen of south Indian history, to observe: "It must be admitted that much of the evidence on which the old approach to the Dravidian problem was based is vague and circumstantial and furnishes no reliable chronological frame-work."

Thus, with the linguistic approach in shambles, a new approach to probe into the hoary past of India that would rely mostly on historical data provided by the archaeologists and the anthropologists should be taken recourse to. The inferences drawn from such an approach can be supplemented by literary evidences. In such an approach, the first thing that comes to our notice is the Indus civilisation, which as far as our knowledge of it at present goes, had its presence felt on the Deccan plateau also, in Maharashtra, near the western border of Andhra Pradesh.

The authors of that civilisation, as the remains of the forgotten cities therein indicate, reached such a stage of cultural eminence, which, if not superior to, could stand on par with the contemporary civilisations of Egypt and Sumer-Babylonia. They had trade contacts with the latter by land and sea routes. Their maritime activities carried them to such distant places as the Maldives where the vestiges of the Indus civilisation were discovered by the Norwegian archaeologist, Hayerdal. To think that such adventurous people, who craved and ran for all good things of life, should have stayed at the threshold of Andhra Pradesh, and did not proceed further to lay hands on the mineral wealth and forest-produce of the Godavari basin, would be quite childish, inept and ludicrous. The rivers of the Deccan - the Godavari and the Krishna - must have provided them with natural ways of communication to reach the east coast of the peninsula. This inference is supported by anthropological and ethnographic evidences also. Scientific studies of the skeletal remains in the Indus sites resulted in the finding that the authors of that civilisation were not of any particular race and that there was a curious racial miscegenation, in that region. A similar admixture of races is patently observable in the ethnographic pattern of Andhra Pradesh in the 3rd millennium B.C., which has baffled many an anthropologist. The post-Harappan cultures found at several places in the Godavari valley also lead one to the same inference.

Literary references also do indicate the existence, in the Godavari basin, of a very ancient civilisation that passed away into oblivion. *Sutta Nipâta* of the Buddhist canon mentions an incident connected with Bavari, a saint that lived on the bank of the Godavari in Assaka, in the present-day Nizamabad district in Andhra Pradesh. His disciples were said to have gone to Magadha to meet the Buddha. The route they traversed, as described therein, lay through Pratishthana (Paithan) in the Mulaka country, Mandhata on the Narmada, and Ujjain. After reaching the Delhi basin, they might have turned east to go to Kosala and then to Magadha. For one who intended to go to Magadha from Assaka, this was clearly a circuitous route passing through high valleys and deep rivers. The direct route from Assaka to Magadha would be one that passes through the valleys of the rivers, the Sabari and the Mahanadi, parallel to the east coast. This route was not favoured by the disciples of Bavari. The only reason for their preferring a circuitous road to a direct one would have been that the former was a very old and established route providing requisite facilities created by successive generations of traders, caravans and immigrants. The topographical design of this old route clearly indicates that it was a very ancient one directly linking Assaka with the forgotten cities of the Indus valley but not with the eastern provinces of northern India. This old route, in spite of its being a circuitous one, must have been preferred by the people of Magadha too, to reach Assaka, to a direct, but unfamilliar route.

In the *Râmâyaṇa* also we find a legend which states that in the Dandakaranya, through which the river Godavari flows, there existed in the long-forgotten past a prosperous and populous kingdom which was later destroyed by the curse of a saint, perhaps a fact lingering in the racial memory recorded therein in the garb of a legendary episode.

All these point out clearly towards the existence of an ancient and indigenous civilisation on the banks of the Godavari, in Andhra Pradesh, prior to the Vedic period. Though we have not yet come across a Harappa site, circumstantial evidences point out the probable existence of an off-shoot of the Indus civilisation in that region. However, it must be conceded that the picture it presents is very patchy and unclear. The details are lacking. Further, the factors that contributed to the retardation, disruption and disintegration of that civilisation cannot be traced yet. So, the historian, whose task is to record unique events as a sequence in the progress of a nation, will hopelessly be at a disadvantage in dealing with it. Thus, while asserting that history dawned on Andhra Pradesh prior to the 2nd millennium B.C., the historian has no other option except considering 1000 B.C. or thereabouts as the starting point of ancient history.

ANCIENT PERIOD
(c. 1000 B.C.-180 A.D.)

The early history of Andhra Pradesh is to be reconstructed, as that of northern India, mainly with the help of sporadic references in the Vedic literature, the law books, the epics and the Puranas. Much of the information provided by such sources is allegorical, wherein an incident rooted in racial memory was presented in a poetic manner.

One such story clearly indicates that the Aryans had a knowledge of some of the incidents pertaining to pre-Aryan India. *Râmâyaṇa* states that Visravasu - the father of Kubera and Ravana, the lords of *Yakṣas* and *Râksasas* respectively, ordered Kubera to move from south India to north to provide the *Râkṣasas*, led by Ravana, a place in the south. This shows clearly that south India was not separated from the north even in the pre-Aryan times and that there were even movements of communities from south to north and vice versa. As a corollary, it can be deduced that, in pre-Aryan India, there were some oft-treaded tracks that served as means of communication between the northern and sourthern parts.

The penetration of Aryans into south India is described figuratively in the Agastya legends, which are found in the epics and the Puranas in Sanskrit as well as in Tamil literature. The *Mahâbhârata* records two stories about Agastya. According to one of them, on a journey to the south, Agastya prevailed upon the Vindhyas to lie low to provide him a way to go to the south and stop growing until he returned, which, however, he never did. According to another story the sage emptied the ocean by drinking its water to help the *Dêvas*. A plausible interpretation of these two stories would be that the Aryan people came to the south by both the land and sea routes.

The *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa* states that sage Viswamitra cursed fifty of his sons, who disobeyed him, to live on the borders of Aryan settlements and that they included the Andhras, the Pundras, the Sabaras, the Pulindas and the Mutibas. It may be inferred from this allegorical reference that on account of a schism, some enterprising Aryans ventured to move to the south into the settlements of pre-Aryan inhabitants. By matrimonial relations they raised families of mixed descent, who were looked down upon by the 'pure' Aryans of the north. Though it is difficult to fix strictly a date for this event, circumstantial evidences (such as the presence of iron implements at that time in south India) suggest that it may be safely assigned to around 1000 B.C.

The people of the Indus civilisation were quite unfamiliar with iron and it was through the Vedic Aryans, that this metal found a place in north India. They named it as *kârṣnâyasa* (the black metal). Excavations carried on at various places like Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh revealed iron slag or iron implements which can be assigned to a period around 1000 B.C. Introduction of iron in Andhra Pradesh and in the rest of Deccan must have been the result of the extension of Aryan influence into the region during that period.

Gradually, in this process of Aryanisation, the Andhras gained a prominent place, assimilating or conquering the other tribes such as the Pulindas, may be due to their superiority in numbers or enterprising nature. The Puranas mention that the Andhras, under the leadership of Andhra Vishnu, conquered the Nagas and occupied the east coast. However, some of these tribes strove to maintain their identity for a long time, at least as subsects of the Andhras. As late as in the 12th century, we find a noble man proclaiming himself with pride as a Pulinda in his inscription. The Nagas too maintained their identity for a long time. The rulers of Bastar during the 10th century and a local chieftain of the 16th century zealously stated that they belonged to the celebrated Naga dynasty and traced their descent to Vasuki, the mythical Naga god. The Savaras, living in the north-eastern part of Andhra Pradesh, keep their linguistic identity in tact even today.

The existence of an ashram headed by a saint named Bavari on the banks of the Godavari in Assaka (as mentioned earlier) during Lord Buddha's lifetime shows clearly that the Aryan culture gained a foothold and respect in Andhra Pradesh long before the establishment of the Nanda empire. But this process of Aryanisation was quite different from the one that took place in the north or in Maharashtra where the pre-Aryan languages and customs were superseded by those of the Aryans. The bulk of the people in Andhra Pradesh retained their own languages and customs. Moreover, many such pre-Aryan customs were adopted by the Aryans who settled in Andhra. One of the earliest law-givers, Bodhayana, while noting the peculiar customs in some parts of the people of the south, mentions of the custom of a man marrying the daughter of his own maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Such cross-cousin marriages are prevalent in Andhra Pradesh even now. The indigenous language of the Telugus also was able to maintain its existence though it was greatly influenced and enriched by the Prakrit of the Aryans, which was patronised as an official language. Thus, as early as in the 6th century B.C., a composite society took shape in the basins of the Godavari and the Krishna in eastern Deccan and the entire region came to be known to the Mauryas as *Andhapatha* or *Andhâpatha*, wherein the peoples and cultures - both from the north and the south right from the prehistoric and proto-historic periods - were received and thrown into the melting pot of history so as to produce an integrated Andhra cultural set-up.

With the material available at present, it is by no means easy to determine the political relationship that existed between the Magadhan empire and the Andhras in that hoary past. Punch-marked coins, found all over the Deccan including Andhra Pradesh, are clear witnesses of some contact - either by trade or political sway - between the Magadhan empire and the Andhras. Some Kannada inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries indicate that the rule of the Nandas extended upto Kuntala. However, as there is little confirmation of this fact from any other source, it can only be inferred that the Andhras maintained a close relationship with the Nanda empire through trade and commerce, while being politically quite independent.

Mauryas

It is only in the Mauryan age that one gets historical evidences of the Andhras as a political power in the southeastern Deccan. Pliny (c. 75), deriving his information from *Indica* of Megasthenes, mentioned that the Andhra country had 30 fortified towns and an army of 1,00,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. Further, a Tamil work of Mamulnar (2nd century) states that the war-liking 'Vadugars' formed the vanguard of the Mauryan army sent to Tamilnadu to help a local ruler. 'Vadugar' literally means 'northerner' and referred, in Sangam literature, to the Telugu people. From these instances, it can be safely ascertained that the Andhra soldiers occupied an honourable place in the Magadhan empire as a dependable force.

Asoka held Mauryan imperialism in tact in the Andhra country. His rock and pillar edicts, found at such places as Yerragudi and Rajulamandagiri in Kurnool district and at Amaravati in Guntur district attest this fact. His XIII Rock Edict mentions that the peoples such as Andhras, Petinekas and Bhojakas were well within the imperial domain following the *dhamma* propagated by the great emperor. From the Asokan edicts, especially from the second one, it is quite clear that the Andhra country was the southernmost province of the Mauryan empire and that the Chola, Pandya, Satiaputta and Keralaputta domains were outside the empire.

Though culturally united, the Andhras never functioned as a political unit either during the Mauryan age or prior to it. They were divided into many principalities, and the 30 fortified towns mentioned by Pliny might have been the capitals of such principalities. It is owing to this fact, that the ***Mahâbhârata*** says *'Ândhrâsca bahavah'* (Andhras are of numerous clans). Even in the Mauryan times, it seems that these principalities enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy, while the viceroy of the imperial Mauryas, with his headquarters at Suvarnagiri (Jonnagiri in the present-day Kurnool district) looked after defence, missionary work and interests of the backward peoples, through his officers designated as *mahâmâtras*.

The Mauryan imperialism declined following the demise of Asoka and finally the last of the Mauryas, Brihadratha was assassinated by the commander of his army, Pushyamitra Sunga, in 187 B.C. The Andhras seem to have resented this treacherous act and rebelled against the Sunga regime. Kalidasa's play, ***Malavikâgnimitram***, refers to an event of a victory of the Sungas over the Andhras. This was without doubt an episode in the struggle that was carried on for a long time by the Andhras to overthrow the imperial yoke of the Sungas and later that of their successors, the Kanvas. According to the Puranas, Simuka of the Andhras assassinated the last Kanva king, Susarma, and became independent. Though Simuka was of Andhra ***jâti*** (race) as mentioned by the Puranas, he was of the Satavahana ***kula*** (clan) among them, according to the inscriptional evidences. A comparative study of the lists of kings provided by the Puranas and by the inscriptions has led historians to conclude that the Satavahanas of the inscriptions were identical with the Andhras of the Puranas.

Early Satavahanas

The history of the Andhras, as a continuous account of political and cultural events, commences with the rise of the Satavahanas as a political power. They ruled over the Andhradesa including Deccan for more than three centuries and are reckoned as one of the great empire-builders in the history of India. At one time their hegemony extended over Malwa, Cutch, Surastra, and the southern plains of the Gangetic valley. At another time, they held under their sway a major part of the peninsular India including Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

Satavahana coins have been found in many places between the Ganges and the Cauveri, both in excavations and in stray finds. Mention has to be made of two large hoards of Satavahana coins found at Tarahala and Jogalthembi in western Deccan long back and a small hoard of coins found recently at the village Kotilingala in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. The last one has brought, for the first time, to the notice of the historians, the coins issued by Simuka, the first ruler of the Satavahana dynasty, according to the Puranas. This had set at rest all doubts regarding the original home of the Satavahanas and proved that the Satavahanas rose to power in Andhra Pradesh itself and gradually extended their power to other parts of India.

About 25 lithic inscriptions of the Satavahana times, issued either by the kings themselves or others, are found scattered all over the Deccan and central India. A large number of them are found in the Buddhist caves in western ghats - at Nasik, Kanheri, Nanaghat, etc. One inscription is found on the southern gateway of the *stūpa* at Sanchi. A few others are discovered at some places in coastal Andhra - at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Chinaganjam, etc. An inscription that belonged to the last known ruler of that dynasty is found at a village, Mykadoni, in Bellary district of Karnataka.

The chronology of the Satavahana dynasty, however, posed a problem for the historians for a long time. The Puranas give longer lists of royal names while epigraphy substantiates the existence of only some of them. Numismatic evidence further complicated the issue, bringing forth the names of some kings with common suffix Satakarni, neither found in the Puranic lists nor known from epigraphical sources.

However, there is apparently an agreement among the Puranas in stating that there were 30 Andhra rulers. It is also evident that there were some collateral Satavahana feudatories who were allowed by the central authority to mint coins in their own names. Keeping these two facts in view, reputed historians have reconstructed the history of the Satavahanas as follows.

Simuka, the founder of the Satavahana dynasty, unified the various Andhra principalities into one kingdom and became its ruler (c. 271 B.C.) accepting, of course, the suzerainty of the Mauryas, who must have encouraged such unification. It must be due to this fact that the Satavahanas were named 'Andhrabhrityas' by the Puranas. Dhanakada (modern Dharanikota near Amaravati in Guntur District) was the capital of Simuka at first but later he shifted his capital to Pratishthana (Paithan in Aurangabad district) as the latter is situated in a strategically central locality on the Deccan plateau. The town must have held additional attraction for Simuka in making it his capital as it was a well known market-place on the trade routes connecting the west coast to the eastern one and the Aryavarta to Dakshinapatha. However, the rulers of the dynasty took pride for a long time in eulogising themselves as 'Dhanakadaswamins' (Lords of Dhanakada).

Krishna, known as Kanha in inscriptions, was the younger brother of Simuka. In consolidating his acquisitions, Simuka was very much helped by his brother. So, after the demise of Simuka in 248 B.C., Krishna succeeded him to the throne. After the demise of Asoka in 231 B.C., his successors being weak, the subordinate rulers in many parts of the empire tried to assert their independence. Further, the empire was threatened very often by the foreign armies from the northwest, such as those of the Graeco-Bactrians. Krishna could overthrow the suzerainty of the Mauryas after Asoka died. He followed the example set forth by Simuka and conquered the territory around Nasik. A Nasik inscription mentions that a Buddhist cave at that place was hollowed out by an officer in the service of Kanha of Satavahana *kula*. Krishna was succeeded by Satakarni I, the son of Simuka, in 220 B.C. He and his two successors, Purnotsanga and Skandastambi ruled altogether for 46 years, during which time northern India was in turmoil.

Pushyamitra, a Brahmin general of the army, assassinated Brihadratha, the last of the Mauryan rulers and founded the imperial Sunga dynasty in 187 B.C. In Satakarni II, the sixth ruler of the dynasty, who began his rule in 184 B.C., the Satavahanas found an able general and administrator who made the best use of the chaotic situation then existing in the north. He was a contemporary of Pushyamitra, Kharavela, the well known Kalinga king, and Demetrius, the Graeco-Bactrian king, who were all contending for supermacy. Satakarni II considered the time opportune to extend the boundary of his kingdom further to the north. He had behind him not only his Andhra army, well-known for its valour since the Mauryan times, but also the Ratthi army headed by Maharathi Tranakayiro, of the Amgiya family, who gave his daughter, Naganika, in marriage to Satakarni II. Heading such an army, he moved into the trans-Vindhya region and conquered the western and eastern Malwas, two of the most prosperous provinces of the Magadhan empire. He did not stop there. He wanted to teach a lesson to Pushyamitra, who, most treacherously, assassinated the last Mauryan emperor. We learn from literary sources, that in the battle that ensued, the Andhras were defeated by the Sunga armies. To add to this, while Satakarni was fully engaged in the north, Kharavela invaded the eastern coast of the Andhra country and occupied a portion of it. An inscription recently found at a ruined structure at Guntupalli, in the double-delta of the rivers Godavari and Krishna, proves this fact. Thus checkmated, Satakarni had no other option left, but to recede. However he did not lose heart. A few years later circumstances helped him. The retreat of Demetrius from India in or about 175 B.C., the demise of Kharavela (172 B.C.) and the death of Pushyamitra in 148 B.C. created a vacum in the political scene, which Satakarni exploited to the fullest extent. With his powerful armies the great monarch overran the province of Kalinga and came into conflict with the Sakas who established their power at Magadha. He inflicted a defeat on the Sakas at Pataliputra. He reconquered Malwas, both the eastern and the western. One of the inscriptions of this illustrious monarch has been found on the southern gateway of Sanchi *stūpa* which mentions that the work on it was carried out by the *āvēsani* (foreman) of king Satakarni. It is thus evident that Satakarni II extended the boundaries of his realm far into central India across the Vindhyas, perhaps upto the river Ganges.

Naganika, the wife of Satakarni II, played a significant role in the cultural activities of the state. The monarch gave her a unique place of honour, which no other queen in the Satavahana regime could secure. This may be due to her being the daughter of Tranakayiro, who helped the king in his wars. Satakarni II issued some silver coins showing the bust-size images of himself and Naganika with proper legends.

The Nanaghat inscription of Naganika gives many details of the reign of her husband, Satakarni, crediting him with the performance of two *Aśwamēdhas* and one *Rājasūya* besides many other Vedic rituals. Obviously, he must have performed the rituals after his victorious military campaigns and expansion of his kingdom. His coins have been found at many places spread over the ancient Vidarbha, Aparanta, and Andhra regions of Deccan, which lie south of the Vindhyas, and Malwa, Vidisa and Surastra regions north of those mountains.

Satakarni II ruled for a long period of 56 years. Not quite satisfied with the name and fame he enjoyed during this long period, he tried to immortalise himself and the members of his family by getting relievo figures of all of them sculptured on the front wall of a cave at Nanaghat along with a relievo figure of Simuka, the founder of the dynasty with the name inscribed above the figure as 'Raya Simuka Satavahana Sirimato'.

The long reign of Satakarni II was followed successively by eight rulers of whom none can be credited with any notable achievement. A coin belonging to one of those successors, namely Apilaka, was found in the Chattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh. This shows that these successors, though weak, managed to hold the realms handed over to them as patrimony.

It was only the ascension of Pulumavi I, the 15th ruler of the dynasty, that brought renewed strength and glory to the Satavahanas. Under him the Satavahanas chose the path of imperialism. He struck down Susarma, the last of the Kanvas, in 28 B.C. and occupied Magadha. (Some historians attributed this deed to Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, with a view to glorify the dynasty itself as a successor to the imperial dynasties of Magadha). With this the Andhra Satavahanas assumed an all-India significance as imperial rulers in succesion to the Nandas, Mauryas, Sungas and Kanvas.

After a glorious reign of 24 years, Pulumavi passed away in 19 B.C., without having sufficient time to consolidate his gains. Within five years of his death, Nahapana, the Saka-Pahlava invader, was found to be the master of all the territories from southern Rajasthan to Poona, earlier under Pulumavi's rule. His inscriptions were found at Nasik, Junnar and Karli. A large hoard of 22,000 coins, including 3,000 silver ones, bearing the name of Nahapana were found at Jogalthembi. The kings who succeeded Pulumavi I were driven, by the Sakas, out of Maharashtra back to their homelands in Andhra. The only silver lining in that murky atmosphere was some excellent literary output by Hala, the 17th of the Satavahana kings.

It was only when Gautamiputra Satakarni, the 23rd ruler of the dynasty, ascended the throne in 62 A.D. that fortune once again smiled on the Satavahanas. The Nasik and Karli grants that he issued from the 'Vijaya Skandhavara' (Camp of Victory) of Govardhana are indicators of the terrible wars which he waged against the successors of Nahapana, in order to regain the lost territories on the western borders. The Nasik inscription issued by his mother, Gautamibalasri, Gautamiputra was spoken of as 'king of kings' and ruler of Assika, Asmaka, Mulaka, Surashtra, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidarbha, Akara and Avanti. He was the lord of the mountains - Vindhya, Rikshavat, Pariyatra, Sahya, Kanhagiri, Siritana, Malaya, Mahendra, Seta, and Cakora. Though some of the mountains mentioned in the inscription cannot be identified at present, it is clear that Gautamiputra's kingdom covered not only the peninsular India, but also the southern parts of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Gautamibalasri's inscription further adds that "the monarch's orders were obeyed by a large number of kings and his feet were adored by them. His beasts of burden drank the waters of the three seas. He protected all those that took refuge with him and considered the happiness and misery of his subjects to be his own. He gave equal attention to the three main objects of human life viz., *dharma* (duty), *artha* (property) and *kâma* (pursuit of legitimate desires), specifying certain times and places for each of them. He was the abode of learning, the support of righteous persons, the home of glory, the source of good manners, the only person of skill, the only archer, the only hero, the only protector of the Brahmins. He stemmed 'confusion resulting from the mixing up of castes'. His exploits rivalled those of Rama, Kesava, Arjuna and Bhimsena and his prowess was equal to that of Nabhaga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayati, Rama and Ambarisha. He vanquished the host of his enemies in innumerable battles, quelled the boastfulness and pride of Kshatriyas, destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, left no trace of the Khagaratas and re-established the glory of the Satavahana family."

Though there may be a bit of exaggeration in the above account provided by a loving mother about her son, it cannot be denied that Gautamiputra Satakarni ranks high not only as an invincible conqueror but also as an able and righteous administrator, who conferred on his subjects peace, happiness and prosperity. The writings of such foreigners as Ptolemy endorse this fact.

Inscriptional evidence provides us with the information that the king annihilated the Sakas and others before his 18th regnal year, 80 A.D. The Jogalthembi hoard contains some thousand coins previously issued by Nahapana, having been restruck by Gautamiputra Satakarni, (the Satavahana king ordered restriking of those coins) obviously to indicate his astounding victory over the Saka-Pahlavas. Several hundreds of the coins of the king are also obtained from different sites in coastal Andhra, mostly in Guntur district.

This illustrious monarch performed *Aśwamēdha* and *Rājasūya* befitting an emperor. He passed away in 86 A.D. and his son Pulumavi II succeeded him with the title, 'Daksinapathapati'.

Pulumavi II, otherwise mentioned as Vasisthiputra Pulumavi in inscriptions and in the legends of the coins, inherited a vast empire and ruled for 28 years. As many as eight inscriptions - four from Nasik, two from Karli, one from Amaravati and one from Dharanikota - refer to his reign. In spite of serious efforts put forth by him to safeguard the frontiers of his vast empire, the closing years of his reign witnessed the decline of the Satavahana authority. The Saka cheiftain, Chastana, occupied Malwa and founded an independent kingdom at Ujjain.

A large number of coins found at several places on the east coast - mostly in the Guntur district - indicate that, in Pulumavi's last years, the Satavahana capital was shifted to Dhanyakataka (Amaravati). This must have been necessitated as the earlier capiṭal Pratishthana was found to be unsafe since the Sakas, led by Chastana, occupied Aparanta (North Konkan).

Later Satavahanas

Pulumavi II was succeeded in 114 by Sivasri (Pulumavi III), who ruled for 7 years. After him, Sivaskanda ascended the throne and ruled upto 126. The periods of their rule witnessed further dismemberment of the Satavahana empire. Rudradamana and Jayadamana, belonging to the house of Chastana, occupied some more parts of the empire. After the death of Sivaskanda in 126, Yagna Sri Satakarni managed to sideline the legal heir, Vasishthiputra Satakarni, and occupy the throne. Rudradamana, with a veiw to make the best use of this quarrel, gave his daughter in marriage to Vasishthiputra Satakarni and on his behalf waged a war against Yagna Sri. In the end, Yagna Sri had to yield and allow Vasishthiputra Satakarni to rule western Andhra.

However, Yagna Sri managed to keep the remaining dominion in tact and provided an efficient and orderly government. He was the last great king of the Satavahana dynasty. His name appears as Gautamiputra Yajna Sri Satakarni in his own inscriptions and coin-legends. Apart from the one at Chinaganjam in Prakasam district, his inscriptions were found in the caves at Nasik and Kanheri in western Deccan and his coins were found at several places in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu. Some of these, found at several places in the east coast, as far as Cuddalore in the south, bear the symbol of a double-masted ship, suggesting that he had either a powerful fleet of warships or a flourshing maritime trade or both. With his death in 157, the glory of the Satavahanas passed away into oblivion.

The reigns of the three successive rulers after Yagna Sri - Vijaya, Chanda Sri and Pulumavi IV - covering altogether a period of seventeen years, were of no significance. It was followed by a period of chaos covering 5 or 6 years when some scions of the royal Satavahana family made futile attempts to reassert their authority, as evidenced by an inscription of one Vijaya Satakarni at Kodavali. The Satavahana empire which dominated the Indian political scene for more than three centuries disintegrated with the rise of the Chutus in the western and southern districts, of the Abhiras in the Nasik area and of the Ikshvakus in the east. The relentless pressure of the Sakas of Ujjain also contributed to it.

Making of the Nation

Apart from its other achievements in the social, economic and cultural fields during its long and stable rule over a large part of India, the Satavahana regime played a historical and unique role in the making of the nation. Upto the end of 5th century B.C., the Aryan cultural dominion was limited to an area lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas and hence was denoted by the apt term, Aryavarta. The early Buddhist works mention 16 *mahâjanapadas*, all of them in Aryavarta.

A significant point to note is that the existing distinction between the Aryan and the non-Aryan started declining during this period. It commenced with the process of Aryanisation of the south, set forth and pursued by the Nandas and the Mauryas. Under its thrust, the non-Aryan society of the south experienced Aryan influence and began to change. At the same time, the Aryans could not escape the impact of the non-Aryan society with which they came into contact. In the process of absorbing it into their fold, the Aryans had to shed some of the rigidity of their own structure. When the Satavahanas emerged as a national power, the mutual influences grew stronger and thus an awareness of pan-Indian entity increased. The concept of Aryavarta and its confinement to the area north of the Vindhyas became obsolete. A new name and a new identity were necessitated.

Viṣṇu Purâṇa, which came into existence in the early centuries of the Christian era, therefore, proposed:

> *Uttaram yat samudrasya,*
> *Himâdrêścaiva dakṣiṇam*
> *Varṣam tad - bhâratam nâma,*
> *Bhâratī tatra santatih* (1-2-3)

"The country that lies north of the seas, and south of Himalayas is denoted as Bharatam, wherein the Bharati people live".

PRE-SATAVAHANA AGE

Society

The early socio-cultural history of the Andhras is to be reconstructed from the scant source materials, scattered in the Brahmanical and Buddhist literatures and obtained from the pre-historic archaeological studies. The earliest reference to the Andhras in *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa* suggests that the process of tribal differentiation was in progress among the trans-Vindhyan non-Aryan people. It is generally agreed that, with the dawn of agriculture, nomadism gave place to settled life. The transition from food-gathering to food-production thus provided not only a motivation but also economic as well as territorial base for the tribal set-up. A strongly held view among archaeologists is that the megalithic people, who came close on the heels of the neolithic folk, practised agriculture more extensively and that they were the first rice-eaters in the Deccan. This view gains strength by the discovery of megalithic settlements mostly beside natural reservoirs of water. It is also likely that they mined metals like gold.

The Andhra region during the period was the home of many tribes such as Mulakas, Assakas, Mahishakas, Nagas, Yakshas, Kalingas and Telingas who lived as neighbours in the Deccan. Most of these tribes were totemistic. Totemism believes in a supreme spirit whereas megalithic culture is based upon belief in life after death, ancestor-worship and building memorials or tombs for the deceased. Though all people basically cherished megalithic culture, each tribe had its own type of burial and funeral practices.

In the process of acculturisation, the various castes in the Aryan people had to mix with identical professional sects already functioning in the pre-Aryan Telugu Society. The Vedic and the epic literatures give us an idea of the methods adopted by the Aryans to assimilate the local tribes and fix their respective places in the caste hierarchy. The non-Aryan priest was admitted into the Brahmin caste with a prestigious *gōtra* named after a *ṛṣi*. The non-Aryan ruler, who undertook to protect the cow, the Brahmin and the womenfolk, was recognised as a Kshatriya. The others were absorbed into the Vaisya and Sudra castes, based on their professional moorings. Apastamba, who lived during the 6th Century B.C., framed, with meticulous care, rules and regulations for the smooth working of the new society in Andhra.

By about the 6th century B.C., Deccan in general and Andhra in particular appear to have gone through urbanisation, probably as an extension of the developments taking place in the Gangetic basin. The account of Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to the court of Chandragupta Maurya (322-298 B.C.), that the Andhras had 30 fortified towns has been attested by the archaeological discovery of the ruins of pre-Satavahana and Satavahana townships all over Deccan. Dhulikatta, Kotilingala, Pedabankur, Kondapur, Phanigiri, Virapuram, Satanikota, Suvarnagiri, Vengi, Dhanyakataka, Bhattiprolu, Narasala and Vijayapuri are some of those thirty towns. Those fortified towns could not have been an overnight development. They could only be the result of brisk economic activity leading to the accumulation of wealth over several decades. The coastal plain with its fertile river deltas abounded in agricultural and animal products and the industries based upon them. The *Arthaśâstra* notes that Kalinga and Mahisha were famous for textiles. The *Bhīmasēna Jâtaka* refers to weavers' quarters in a town of Andhra. Ptolemy noted the prosperous condition of the textile industry in the Maisolia (mouth of the Krishna) region. The large variety of metal objects including iron implements, weapons and gold ornaments found in the megalithic tombs reveal the remarkable skill of the Andhras in working with metals. The name of the town Suvarnagiri (Hill of gold - modern Jonnagiri) indicates that the region was rich in gold. Evidences of use of iron are found at many places in Telangana. If the coastal Andhra concentrated on agriculture, western Andhra specialised in digging of and working with metals.

HISTORY

PREHISTORIC PERIOD
(3,00,000-1000 BC)

The study of the life journey of the early man in Andhra Pradesh, as in the rest of India, is now fairly well established through co-ordinated researches by Geologists, archaeologists, anthropologists, palaeontologists and palaeobotanists. As a result, a very rich prehistoric cultural background of Andhra Pradesh over a period of nearly 3 lakhs of years is projected. The evidence of man leading a hunting-gathering way of life (Palaeolithic), and subsequently a well established food-producing economy (Neolithic), is discovered all over Andhra Pradesh. The Palaeolithic period, as a whole, witnessed hunting-foraging activity though divided into three periods : Lower, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic. These stages are considered as re-adjustment by improving technologies for leading a hunting-gathering life in changing ecologies that took place during Pleistocene period. The process of such re-adjustment to changes has brought new strategies of exploitation of new resources - such as fishing, domestication of animals and plant manipulation (Mesolithic) and establishment of villages and agriculture (Neolithic).

The earliest discoveries of Palaeolithic cultural evidence date back to the 2nd part of 19th century in Andhra Pradesh. Robert Bruce Foote is said to be a pioneer in these studies. Geologists like W. King, civilians like Cammade and missioneries like Manley must be remembered in this context. Several other modern researchers have made district-wise detailed studies of all areas of the state. They made worthy discoveries and brought to light the material remains of the prehistoric man. Besides, the Archeological Survey of India and Department of Archaeology & Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh have also contributed to the knowledge.

Lower Palaeolithic Period

Various river valleys in Cuddapah basin, a geological formation, comprising Cuddapah, Kurnool, Chittoor, Nellore, parts of Mahabubnagar, Prakasam, Guntur and Nalgonda districts are rich in the distribution of prehistoric cultures when compared to the rest of the State. It is not an exerggeration to say that in the Cuddapah basin, a researcher does not have to strain for locating a prehistoric site. The Nallamalais, the Palakondas and the Velikondas, the hill ranges of eastern ghats have proved to be the ideal habitats of the prehistoric man with abundant wild food resources. Lower palaeolithic evidence (comprising handaxes of various shapes, such as lancolates, ovats, almonds, picks etc., chappers, chopping tools, cleavers, discoids and scrappers) is located in the above river valleys.

Andhra entered the system of money economy during the pre-Mauryan period. This is attested by the large quantities of silver punch-marked coins discovered at a number of places all over Andhra - Bhattiprolu, Amaravati, Vaddamanu, Kondapur, Pedabankur, Kotilingala, etc. Money economy naturally gave stimulus to the growth of industry and expansion of trade. Andhradesa was connected with Magadha, the seat of political and cultural activity, by two routes - one western and the other eastern. The western route passed through Assaka, Mulaka, Vidarbha and Malwa. The eastern route connected Magadha with Andhrapatha with its headquarters at Dhanyakataka, through Kosala, Kalinga and Vengi. Dhanyakataka was again connected with Paithan in the northwest and Banavasi in the southwest across the plateau and with Kanchi in the far south along the coast. Asoka probably followed the eastern route when he visited Suvarnagiri from where he issued orders to his viceroy at Isila. Further, the river Krishna was navigable at least upto Dhanyakataka, if not upto Nagarjunakonda. A wharf of the Ikshvaku times is unearthed at the latter place and a navigable canal connecting the town with the river which dates back to the 4th century B.C. has been recently unearthed at Dhanyakataka. Grain, textiles and animal products were exported from Andhra to Simhala and Suvarnadvipa.

The multi-dimensional economic activity outlined above also presupposes the protection and encouragement lent to it by an efficient political machinery. The thirty fortified towns mentioned by Megasthenes might have been the headquarters of an equal number of Andhra (tribal) principalities. The historicity of at least some of these is attested by numismatic and epigraphic evidences. The coins of Gobhadra and Samagopa in the Kotilingala hoard are assigned on paleographical grounds to the pre-Satavahana age. They may be the Sebaka kings who ruled in the region before the Satavahanas. The Vaddamanu inscription, which is in clear Mauryan characters, introduces Raja Somaka. Raja Kuberaka is known from the Bhattiprolu records. By referring to a war between Assaka and Kalinga, the *Culla Kalinga Jâtaka* gives the impression that the two kingdoms were contiguous. Megasthenes describes the mighty army of the Andhras. The Sangam literature also admires the skill of the Andhra (Vadugar) army. The horrors of the Kalinga war described by Asoka in his XIII rock edict would reveal not only the military might of the Kalingas but also their determination to resist the Mauryan expansion to the east coast.

Religion

During the 6th century B.C. Buddhism and Jainism vied with each other and with well-established Brahminism to win allegiance of the people of Andhra. In this struggle the non-Brahminical religions succeeded in winning the hearts of a large number of people, because of their social flexibility.

The rich among the merchant and artisan classes gave enthusiastic welcome to the new religions with a view probably to gain social respectability corresponding to their economic position. However, the Andhras appear to have preferred the *madhyama pratipat* of Buddhism to the mortifying discipline of Jainism. Buddhist settlements soon sprang up along the caravan routes and beside centres of industry and trade. The Andhakas figure prominently in early Buddhist literature and they were always in the forefront of the movements aimed at broadening the base of Buddhism. After the second Buddhist Council (c. 380 B.C.), Andhradesa became a stronghold of the Mahasanghika school with Dhanyakataka as its centre.

Asoka Maurya stands out as the most prominent royal patron of Andhra Buddhism. The Andhakas (Chaityakas) took a leading part in the deliberations of the third *sangīti*. Yuan Chwang wrote that he saw Asokan *stūpas* near the capital of Kalinga, at Vengi and in Chu-li-Ye. The original votive *stūpa* of Dhanyakataka was enlarged into a *dhātugarbha* and provided with a granite railing by Asoka. He also erected a pillar at Dhanyakataka and planted edicts at Rajulamandagiri and Yerragudi in Kurnool District. The rock-cut *Caityālaya* on Mahanagaparvata (Guntupalli) was also built about the same time. The beginnings of systematic religious architecture and sculpture in Andhra are therefore traced to the Asokan times. The Andhras had greatly enriched Buddhism by making remarkable contributions to its philosophy and art. In its turn, Buddhism rendered signal service to Andhras not only by rousing their creative genius but also by wiping out tribal barriers and uniting them into a single race, thus paving the way for their rise to imperial glory under the Satavahanas.

SATAVAHANA AGE

Society

The society during the Satavahana period retained much of its earlier flexibility and the contact with the north accelerated the process of acculturation.

Though the Satavahana empire was a vast one, the polity was simple, copied to a good extent from the earlier Mauryan system. Succession to the throne was hereditary in the male line. A large part of the empire was governed by officers and the rest by feudatory chieftains. The kingdom was divided into *âhâras* and *râṣṭras* governed by *amâtyas*. The *Râjâmâtyas* consitituted the advisory body of the monarch. *Mahâmâtra, Bhâṇḍâgârika, Mahâsênâpati, Nibandhakâra* and *Lêkhaka* were some of the officials. There were well-organised departments of police, finance, justice, army, agriculture, industries, etc. The *Mahârathis*, *Mahâbhojis and Mahâtalavaras* were the feudatory chieftains of the age. The population, divided into the four traditional castes and many sub-castes on occupational basis, enjoyed the blessings of peace conferred by a stable administration.

In spite of the regulations of the *sûtrakâras*, caste system did not grow rigid in the Andhra region. The title *vinivartita câturvarṇa samkara* of Gautamiputra suggests that until his time the admixture of castes went on unhindered, probably due to the influence of the non-brahmanical religions and the influx of foreigners like the Sakas, Pahlavas and Abhiras. The success of Gautamiputra Satakarni in stopping the admixture is doubtful as his own son, Vasisthiputra Sivasri, married the Saka princess, Rudradamanika. The caste of the Satavahanas itself is a natter of serious debate. Gautamiputra took the title *Kṣatriya darpa mâna mardana* (one who ias suppressed the pride of the Kshatriyas), but who those Kshatriyas were is not known. The Satavahanas were hostile to the Kshatriyas and from the beginning they allied themselves with he Brahmins. Satakarni I performed innumerable Vedic sacrifices including *Aśvamêdha* and *Râjasûya*, during which he had pleased Brahmins with rich gifts. His queen Naganika asserted, n an inscription, that with the smoke caused by the offerings into the sacrificial fire her body smells sweet. The excessive zeal thus exhibited by the royal couple for ritualism was due to heir anxiety to gain social respectability and legitimacy to their newly won political authority. Yet, the condition of the Brahmin was in no way enviable till the advent of Gautamiputra as evidenced by his title *dvijavara kutumba vivardhana* (one who has improved the lot of Brahmin amilies). The available evidence does not warrant the view that the Brahmin occupied a predominant position either in the society or at the court. Besides taking such flattering titles, he efforts of Gautamiputra to promote the lot of Brahmins are not known. On the other hand, by virtue of their control over the sinews of economic power, the *Gâhapatis* and *Vaṇijas* appear to have dominated the court and the camp. Gautamiputra took Sivagupta, a Vaisya, as his minister. The Brahmins too, having realised the socio-religious situation in the land, gave up their exclusiveness. They had already reformed their religion reconciling it with the rising Bhagavatism and replacing ritualism by theism. Further, with the objective of winning royal support for the neo-Brahminism and gaining a place at the court, Brahmins of prestigious *gôtras* appear to have entered into matrimonial alliance with the Satavahanas. The Brahmin queens were allowed by their royal consorts to retain their paternal *gôtras* and their children were nominated to the throne. Balasri's description of herself as 'Rajasri Vadhu' is full of meaning in the context of such a socio-religious milieu. Gautamiputra Satakarni was the first offspring of such an alliance and, from his titles, it is evident that he tried to vindicate the aspirations of the Brahmins. Though the immediate success of Gautamiputra is doubtful, the alliance paved the way for the gradual rise of the Brahmin in social and political influence.

The *Gâhapatis*, *Kamaras* and *Vaṇijas* were the other professional classes in the society. They formed the bulk of the people. Being stout champions of Buddhism, they had no use for the Brahmin. In towns they formed into *nigamas* and helped in matters of administration. Though the crafts were well-organised into guilds, they did not crystallise into castes. In fact, people of the period were not caste-conscious, caring only for their calling. We only come across terms like *gâhapati*, *vaṇija*, *âvêsani*, *heranika*, *lêkhaka*, *mahâgôpallava* and *carmakâra* in inscriptions. However, suffixes such as *śarma* and *gupta* are occasionally found suggesting caste. The noble spirit of cosmopolitanism that pervaded the social atmosphere is best revealed by the case of *carmakâra* Viddhika, the son of an *upâdhyâya*, who could visit the *stûpa* of Dhanyakataka with family and make gifts.

Women of the age no doubt enjoyed considerable freedom and appear to have an independent source of income. They joined their husbands in making pilgrimages and without any reference to them made gifts of their own accord. But at the same time they felt proud to describe themselves, with titles derived from the official statuses of their husbands, such as *Mahâbhôjiki, Mahâsenâpatini, Mahâdanḍanâyaki, etc.* Women of rich families were educated and the well-versed among them took part in debates and discussions. Several *gâthâs* in the *Saptaśati* were composed by women. However, the order of the members in the family mentioned in inscriptions suggests the precedence of the father over the mother, the son over the daughter and the brother over the sister.

Economy

Though agriculture was the main occupation of the people, state economy appears to have depended more upon industry and trade. Evidence is wanting about the interest shown by the rulers in promoting agriculture. Nor is there information regarding the nature of land-ownership and about the relationship between the landlord and the ruler and between the former and the peasant. However, the word *râjakhêṭa* (fields of the king) indicates that the king was not the owner of the entire land in the kingdom. The officers were probably paid salaries in money. But the word *gulmaka* in the Mykadoni inscription of Pulumavi III may suggest that during the last stages of the dynasty, the outlying provinces were held by generals who functioned as feudal lords. The only land-grant during the period comes from the Allur (Krishna district) inscription which records multiple gifts including several *nivartanas* of land and a tank to the Purvasaila *vihâra* of the place.

The landlords themselves looked to the needs of agriculture. The *odayantrakas* of the Nasik inscription might have been a guild of wage-workers on water machines, which might have been primitive contrivances to draw water from wells or tanks. Buffaloes and even donkeys were used for drawing ploughs. The state might have collected the traditional one-sixth as land revenue. The prosperity of the *gâhapatis* is revealed in the innumerable donations they made to the Buddhist institutions.

Inscriptions of the Satavahana period give the impression that several industries were in a prosperous condition, especially those of pottery, carpentry, textiles, mining, and metallurgy. Pottery-pieces with beautiful designs and fine polish, unearthed at Kondapur, Maski, Amaravati and Paithan, speak about the high quality of the potters' craft. The sculptural representations of thrones, chairs, bedsteads, carts and containers reveal the remarkable workmanship of the carpenter. According to *Arthaśâstra*, the textiles of Kalinga and Mahisha were famous. Ptolemy pays glowing tributes to the textile industry of the Maisolia region. Gold was mined at Hutti, Wondapalli and Maski and traces of mining and casting iron are found at several places in Telangana. The brass and bronze vessels, ornamental lamps and figurines discovered at different places reflect the skill, experience and aesthetic sense of the craftsmen in preparing alloys and casting metals.

Each of the crafts organised itself into a *śrêṇi* under the leadership of a *śrêṣṭhi*. The *śrêṇi* regulated the activities of its members and looked after their welfare. One interesting feature of the *śrêṇis* was the banking facilities they provided. They received cash deposits and permanent endowments and undertook acts of social service like the distribution of clothes to the mendicants with the interest on endowments. They paid interest ranging between 9 and 12%. The *śrêṇi* wielded a great influence with the state and the *Śrêni Dharma* had the recognition of law.

Stimulated by the growth of agriculture and industry, Andhradesa carried on profitable internal and external trade under the Satavahanas. The Amaravati inscriptions refer to Kevurura, Vijayapura, Kudura, Dhanyakataka and Narasala as the places of rich merchants. Besides, Dhulikatta, Pedabankur, Kondapur, Virapuram, Satanikota, Sangharama, Vengi, Tamrapasthana and Omgodu might have been big market towns. These inland trade centres were connected by road with one another and also with important centres in western Deccan and with ports on the east coast. The route from the east to the west started from two points - one from Machilipatnam on the coast and the other from Vinukonda. They joined somewhere near Hyderabad and proceeded to Bharukaccha, on the west coast. Bullock cart was the chief means of transport and merchants generally moved in groups or caravans and stayed at the Buddhist *vihâras* which appear to have lent them money as well as means of transport such as bullock-carts. The rivers - especially the Krishna - served as a highway with many ferries plying to and fro.

On the east coast there were many ports between Kalingapattanam in the north and Pulicat in the south, the most important of them being Kantakossila (Ghantasala), Koddura and Allosygne. The *mahânâvikas* mentioned in the Ghantasala and Guntupalli records might have been the heads of commercial fleets. The exports from these ports included textiles and forest products. Pliny wrote that Indian commodities were sold in Roman markets at hundred times their original prices. The fact that immense quantities of gold flowed into Deccan is proved by the large number of Roman coins found at different places throughout Andhra. The Roman gold coins, silver punch-marked coins and the lead coins of the Satavahanas were in circulation. Local transactions were carried on in lead coins whereas the silver coins were exchanged at an agreed ratio for the Roman gold coins. The ship-marked coins of the later Satavahanas speak about their encouragement to the maritime trade.

The industrial and commercial activities encouraged colonial enterprise. Especially Simhala and Suvarnadvipa had great attraction for the Andhra merchants who established settlements in these lands. The merchants were followed by missionaries who carried the torch of Indian culture to these remote lands.

Social Life

The *Saptaśati* of Hala, and the sculptures of Amaravati provide us with glimpses of the social life during the period. Most of the people lived in villages. But the industrial and commercial activities led to the growth of many towns in all parts of Andhra. Villages were surrounded by agricultural and pastoral lands and gardens. Towns were surrounded by high walls with several entrances, surmounted by *tôranas*. Poor people lived in thatched houses whereas the rich had even multi-storeyed buildings, divided into apartments and provided with windows protected by horse-shoe gables. Most of the houses had gabled roofs. Generally the inner side of the walls was decorated with paintings, depicting scenes from the epics and Puranas.

The inscriptional evidence suggests that joint family was the normal feature of the society. Women enjoyed freedom and attention was bestowed on their education. Some scholars think that the matronymics were the result of polygamy that prevailed among princes. Marital tie was held sacred, though *Saptaśati* indicates instances of faithlessness in both the sexes. Conjugal fidelity was held as a great virtue.

According to the sculptures of the period, both men and women were scantily dressed. A twisted cloth around the waist was the main item of dress. Both the sexes were found wearing ornaments, and head-dresses. Women wore their hair either in plaits or in coils of different shapes. Men wore high head-dresses. Fully ornamented turbans were in use. Women used turmeric at bath. They applied *alaktaka* (liquified lac) to their feet. Dancing girls painted their faces with *hartala* (a yellow orpiment). Mirrors, combs and hairpins were in use.

Rural life was simple, whereas with so many amenities, life in urban areas was sophisticated. Pastimes of the age included music and dance, dice-playing and cock and ram fights. Musical instruments like *vīṇa, vēṇu, mṛdanga, paṭaha* and *śankha* were in use. Ladies of the aristocratic families were fond of pet birds like parrots and kept them in cages. There was no taboo on the use of intoxicants and sculptures show men and women sharing a drink.

In short, the *Saptaśati* and the contemporary sculptures reflect a society in which people appear happy and contented with a joyous outlook on life, caring for the pleasures of the world.

Religion

The age of the Satavahanas was a period of great religious activity in Andhra. By that time, all the principal religions - Brahminism, Jainism and Buddhism entered the Daksinapatha. Their progress was characterised by compromises with the local cults and contentions for excelling one another in popularity.

The rise of the Satavahanas synchronised with a militant wave of Brahmanical revival. The third king, Satakarni, having consolidated his political power as *Dakṣiṇāpathapati* performed innumerable vedic sacrifices and pleased Brahmins by rich gifts, including villages, cattle, gold vessels and thousands of *kārṣapaṇas* (Nanaghat Inscription). Gautamīputra upheld the three pillars of Brahminism - Veda, *varṇa* and Brahmana (Nasik *Praśasti*). But, since the beginning of the age, the Vedic religion had been undergoing a radical transformation. With a view to meet the challenge of rapidly spreading heterodox religions and to satisfy the social need of absorbing foreigners like the Sakas, Brahminism reformed itself by replacing Vedic ritualism by Puranic theism. The compromise between the two is reflected in the Nanaghat record itself. It

The preference of the Satavahanas to Brahminism gradually led them to replace Prakrit by Sanskrit at the court. The famous Gunadhya-Sarvavarma controversy suggests that Sanskrit gained an honoured place. Vedic studies were encouraged and theological literature with its fascinating mythology became widely popular. Sarvavarma prepared *Kâtantra Vyâkaraṇa* to make the study of Sanskrit easy and popular. Even the Buddhist thinkers like Acharya Nagarjuna and Aryadeva composed their philosophical works in Sanskrit. Especially to Nagarjuna goes the credit of developing the style of *kârika* which is well-suited for philosophical writings.

Besides Prakrit and Sanskrit, there was *Dêśi*, which means native language and which was current among the local people. Gunadhya made a reference to it in his *Bṛhatkatha*. It could have been the parent of the modern Telugu language. The *Gâthâsaptaśati* contains many such *Dêśi* terms. The bilingual silver coins of the later Satavahanas corroborate the existence of *Dêśi* as a separate language.

Architecture and Sculpture

The only evidences of the architectural achievements of the age are the remains of the Buddhist establishments of the period. No secular buildings of the Satavahana times have come down to us. The sculptural representations do not give us a clear picture of these structures. The *Saptaśati* mentions the temples of Gauri and Ganapati but no traces of them are so far found. The Buddhists used enduring materials and generally preferred the mountain tops for their settlements. The artist of the Buddhist epoch in Andhra absorbed into his art the influences from the western Deccan, from the north (Magadha), from the northwest (Gandhara) and even from the Graeco-Romans and evolved a style of his own, famous as the Andhra school of art.

The Buddhist constructions include the *stûpa*, *caityâlaya* and *vihâra*. The *stûpa* is a sculptural monument built over the mortal remains of the Buddha or some other great teacher. The *stūpa* consists of a high and round base *(mêdhi)*, a supporting dome *(aṇḍa)*, surmounted by cask-shaped apex *(harmika)* and ultimately crowned by an umbrella. In all the four cardinal directions the *mēdhi* has projections, each supporting a group of five standing pillars *(âyaka stambhas)*. Around the *mēdhi* is a processional path at the edge of which stands a *prâkâra* with four gates surmounted by lions *(simhadvâras)* opposite to the *âyaka vêdikas*. The *prâkâra* consists of *stambhas* (columns) pierced by three rows of *sûcis* (cross bars) and crowned by an *uṣṇīṣa*.

The *āyaka vēdikas* and the *stambhas* on them are considered as the special features of Andhra *stūpas* as they are rarely found elsewhere. The *stûpas* of Andhra are mostly built of brick and mud and the *stūpa* of Amaravati was the most imposing of such constructions. It had a diameter of 162 feet at the base, supporting a dome of 142 feet in diameter. The *stūpa* was encased with marble slabs, and was surrounded by a marble *prâkâra*. The casement slabs and the *prâkâra* were fully sculptured with the replica of the *stûpa*, representations of the *Jātaka* tales and scenes from the life of the Buddha. The *stûpa*, when it was in tact, must have represented a lively style of architecture based upon lofty religious ideals and a highly developed artistic sense. It was acclaimed as the most magnificent monument in the contemporary Buddhist world.

The *caitya* or *caityālaya* was the Buddhist temple and had a *stūpa* as the object of worship. Later it was replaced by the image of the Buddha. In western Deccan, at places like Karle and Kanheri, the *caityas* were hewn out of rock. In Andhra, there is a rock-cut *caitya* at Guntupalli dating back to the Asoka period. The rest of the *caityas* in Andhra are built of brick.

The *vihāra* was a Buddhist monastery where the monks spent the rainy season *(vassāvasa)*. The Andhra *vihāras*, except a few like the one at Guntupalli which was rock-cut, were mostly built of brick. It was generally a rectangular court-yard enclosed by a brick wall. All around the enclosure, abutting the outer wall, was a row of cells for the monks, often with a running verandah in front. Often a pillared hall was to be found in the centre. In front were situated one or two *caityālayas* for worship and a *mahāstūpa* at a distance. Each *vihāra* was complete in itself with a monastery, a place of worship, kitchen, store house, refectory, bath rooms, etc., with some minor alterations in their alignments due to sectarian differences.

Several marble slabs and pillars with handsome sculptures have been recovered from the *stūpas* of Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Jaggayyapeta, Ghantasala and Goli. As all those sculptures conform to the style developed at Amaravati, they are generally classified under Amaravati (Andhra) school of art. The Amaravati artist had a wonderful conception of the delicate beauty of human form and a complete mastery over the technique for realising it in plastic art. Even in depicting the most subtle of human feelings, the artist displayed remarkable imagination and symmetry. "The marbles of Amaravati ... in the achievement of pure form in all its elegant modulations, in subtle delineation of the elusive moods of sentiments of human heart and in the picturesque representation of the vibrations of the stirring soul, stand unrivalled" (Debiprasad Ghosh). In the history of Indian art, Amaravati sculpture serves as a link between the early Sanchi-Bharhut school and the later Gupta-Pallava art.

INTERREGNUM
(180-624 A.D.)

The decline and fall of the Satavahana empire left the Andhra country in a political chaos. Local rulers as well as invaders tried to carve out small kingdoms for themselves and to found dynasties. Many such short-lived dynasties strutted on the political stage of Andhra in this chaotic period, each for a while, and were soon swept away by the very anarchical forces that brought them into the forefront. Such instability continued to prevail until the rise of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi in 624. Hence, this period of petty dynasties in between the two major regimes - of the Satavahanas and the Eastern Chalukyas - may be aptly designated as the 'Interregnum'.

Ikshvakus

The immediate successors to the Satavahanas in the coastal Andhra were the Ikshvakus. Their relationship with the renowned Ikshvakus of Ayodhya is unknown. Whatever be their original habitat, the prevalence of cross-cousin marriages in the families of the Ikshvakus clearly proves that they had been residing in Andhra for a long time so as to be reckoned by the Puranas as one of the clans among the Andhras, namely Sriparvatiya Andhras. Sriparvata came to be known later as Nagarjunakonda and the capital of the Ikshavakus was Vijayapuri situated near it.

The Puranas mention that seven kings of the dynasty ruled over the land for 100 years. But inscriptional evidence provides us with only five names, their total period of rule spanning over 68 years.

The founder of the dynasty styled himself as Maharaja Vasisthiputra Sri Chantamula (180-193). His marriages with daughters of two influential commanders of the army under the last of the Satavahanas enabled him to assert himself as an independent ruler. Though much is not known about him through his own inscriptions, those of his successors praise him as a conqueror endowed with valour and as a performer of various sacrifices such as *Aśvamēdha*, which an imperial ruler alone could perform. He was also mentioned as a man of piety and a renowned donor of gold, cows and lands to Brahmins. He was a devotee of Siva and Kartikeya. His inscriptions were found at Rentala and Dachepalli in Guntur District. They speak of his tolerance and respect towards Buddhism despite his being a follower of the Vedic religion. From the prevalence of his coins at various places, he seems to have ruled over the eastern half of the Andhra country.

Details are available to us regarding the names of Chantamula's children and the matrimonial alliances they contracted. Chantamula's daughter, Adavi Chanti Siri, was given in marriage to Visakhanaga, a scion of the influential family of the Dhanakas. Chantamula had two sisters; both of them had daughters who were given in marriage to their cousin, Virapurushadatta, Chantamula's son.

Virapurushadatta succeeded his father to the throne after the latter's demise and ruled for 20 years. His inscriptions are copious and are found at many places in the coastal area. As a pacifist, he maintained peace throughout the realm inherited by him. He married, may be with the intention of consolidating his position, Rudradhara Bhattarika from the family of the contemporary Kshatrapa ruler of Ujjain. His daughter, Kodabali Siri, was married to a prince of the Chutu Satakarni family, (a branch of the original Satavahanas) that ruled over Vanavasi in Karnataka. Initially a follower of Vedic religion, Virapurashadatta changed over to Buddhism subsequently. He made liberal donations to Buddhist *vihâras* and *mahâcaityas*. The example set forth by him was followed by all his queens and the other women of the royal family. Owing to this, Vijayapuri became a world-famous Buddhist centre during his reign and attracted *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhinis* from various countries.

Virapurushadatta was succeeded to the throne by his son, Ehuvula Chantamula (213-237). Many inscriptions of this ruler were found at Nagarjunakonda. We learn from one of his inscriptions that, in the 10th year of his reign, he had to face an invasion (may be from a ruler of the early Pallava dynasty) and that 'by the grace of Lord Kartikeya', his armies under the able leadership of his commander-in-chief, Elisri, defeated the enemy. Unlike his father, Ehuvala Chantamula favoured and followed the Vedic religion. During his time were built many temples for Siva and other Puranic dieties. But at the same time he respected and patronised Buddhism also. His mother and his sister, Kodabali Siri, constructed *vihāras* dedicated to various sects of Buddhism.

He was succeeded by his son Rudrapurushadatta who ruled for 11 years (237-248). An important inscription found at Nagarjunakonda mentions about the construction of a *chāyā stambha* (a memorial pillar) by this ruler, in memory of his mother. He maintained the inherited realms in tact. Chantamula II, another son of Ehuvala Chantamula, appears to have succeeded his elder brother Rudrapurushadatta in 248. The Puranas mention two more rulers. However, these last three rulers presided over the declining fortunes of the dynasty. There is evidence of the occupation of Vijayapuri by Abhiras led by Vasushena in the last stages of the Ikshvaku rule. His inscription dated the 30th year (may be of the Abhira or Chedi era which commenced in 248), records the installation of the idol of Ashtabhujaswami at Vijayapuri. A number of dignitaries including Sivasena, Yavana prince of Sanjayapuri, Saka Rudradamana of Avanti and Vishnurudra Sivulananda Satakarni of Vanavasi, were said to have attended the function. As no Ikshvaku ruler was mentioned among the guests, it may be deduced that by then the Ikshvakus had lost their dominion. Even Vasushena could not rule for long there. The Maidavolu inscription of the early Pallavas definitely shows that the Pallavas were in authority in the area by 280.

Brihatphalayanas

After the Ikshvaku rule came to an end, a part of the Andhra region north of the river Krishna was ruled over independently by one Jayavarma of Brihatphalayana *gōtra*. It is only from this period onwards that, in the case of some ruling families of Andhra, we get the *gōtra* as a dynastic name.

An inscription issued in the 10th year of Jayavarma's rule recording the gift of a village provides us with the information that Kudura (the present Gudur in the Krishna district) was his capital. Ruins of many ancient monuments and relics have been discovered at this place. Its situation near the sea-coast indicates that it was an important market town during those days. The administrative terms such as *mahātalavara* used in the inscription show that Telugu was slowly assuming a place of importance in public affairs.

Jayavarma's realm extended from the northern bank of the Krishna to the Godavari and in between the Eastern ghats and the sea. He was a devotee of Siva. He is believed to have ruled for fifteen years (280-295). No successor of Jayavarma is known to history.

Salankayanas

This dynasty of kings ruled over a part of the east coast with Vengi as its capital. The site of that once-famous metropolis is now indicated by two tiny hamlets, Peda Vegi and China Vegi, quite close to Eluru in the West Godavari district. Salankayana is a *gôtra* name adopted by them. Their origin lies in obscurity and the history of their rule can only be reconstructed on the sketchy information provided by the inscriptions issued by various kings of the dynasty. Their succession can be surmised with a fair degree of accuracy as following Hastivarma I, Nandivarma I, Achandavarma, Devavarma, Hastivarma II, Nandivarma II and Skandavarma. Hastivarma II was mentioned as 'Venginayaka' Hastivarma in the *praśasti* of Samudragupta to whom he lost in or about 350.

Of these rulers, Devavarma alone is known to have performed *Aśvamédha*, which is traditionally associated with a ruler's conquests over his contemporary rulers. Hence, it may be surmised that Devavarma, the fourth ruler of the dynasty, put an end to the remnants of the Brihatphalayana authority on the east coast in or about 295.

The Salankayanas were followers of Vedic religion. Many of them favoured Saivism and proclaimed themselves as *parama mâheśwaras* (devotees of Siva). However, there was at least one who described himself a *paramabhâgavata* (a devotee of Vishnu). Yet, many of the rulers respected and patronised Buddhism.

Vishnukundis

Though more than 10 epigraphs of the Vishnukundis are available, they do not help us much in tracing their origin or how they came into prominence. But circumstantial evidences lead us to the conclusion that they belonged to a branch of the Sriparvatiya Andhras, and settled down in the Rishika (Mahbubnagar-Nalgonda) region. In the last quarter of the 4th century Indravarma I, a scion of the Vishnukundi family, asserted himself as an independent ruler. The epigraphs, the only sources of information regarding Indravarma I and his son Madhavavarma I, mention each of them with the title of 'maharaja', without providing any other information about their exact political status or the area ruled by them. On the basis of a copper plate inscription found at Tummalagudem, it is believed that their capital was Indrapura, which can be identified with the modern Indrapalagutta, in Ramannapet Taluk of Nalgonda district.

The inscriptions of the Vishnukundis help us to fix the end of the rule of Madhavavarma I in 422. His son, Govindavarma I, who succeeded him, was a capable ruler. With the backing of the erstwhile Vakataka ruler, Govindavarma I followed a policy of expansion and managed to gain the allegiance of the neighbouring feudal families. One such family was that of Prithvimula. In the subsequent history of the Vishnukundi dynasty, the successors of Prithvimula played a dominant role in the political set-up on account of their matrimonial alliances with the royal family.

Not only as a conqueror, but also as a righteous ruler was Govindavarma spoken of in the inscriptional records. He was a *parama dhārmika*, highly righteous. He was at first a Buddhist but was subsequently converted to Saivism. Yet he revered Buddhism. He donated liberally to the Buddhist monks, the Brahmins and the needy. His chief queen, a daughter of Prithvimula, got a *vihāra* constructed for the Buddhist *sangham* at Indrapura and the king was generous enough to gift two villages in favour of it.

Govindavarma I passed away in 462. He was succeeded by his son Madhavavarma II. He enhanced the prestige of the Vishnukundis by obliterating the last vestiges of Salankayana power and annexed Vengi. Then, he turned his attention to the south and occupied the area south of the Krishna upto the Gundlakamma. In the north, he managed to conquer Pistapura area and penetrated as far as Srikakulam. As a mark of his newly acquired sovereignty he performed eleven *Aśwamēdhas*.

Vikramendravarma I, who succeeded his father Madhavavarma II in 502, was not strong enough to provide stability to the vast kingdom he inherited. A collateral branch of the dynasty headed by Madhavavarma III asserted its independence in the Guntur region taking advantage of the weakness of the central authority. In his charters, this collateral ruler was mentioned as *Trikūṭa Malayādhipati* (Lord of the Trikuta hill). He invaded even Vengi to occupy a big slice of that region.

However, Indravarma II, who succeeded his weak father, Vikramendravarma I in 527, proved to be a capable ruler by reasserting his authority in the Guntur region. The inscriptional records credit him with repeated victories in innumerable battles. At first, he curbed his rebellious feudatories, including the members of the Prithvimula family. His charters show that he had extended his dominion at least as far as Srikakulam. To add to this, the emergence of this ruler coincided with the final disappearence of the Vakataka empire. This provided him with an opportunity to move to the west and occupy Vidarbha, as clearly proved by the discovery of his coins in that region. But in one of his repeated campaigns, Indravarma II was defeated in a battle with the Maukhari ruler, Isanavarma. He passed away, probably in another battle, in 556. With a view to avert a probable confusion, the ministerial council, headed by Sri Mularaja, a scion of the Prithvimula family, enthroned the sixteen-year-old son of the deceased ruler, Vikramendravarma II. In the 11th year of his reign, the young ruler faced an invasion by the Pallava ruler, Simhavarma, and repulsed it with the assistance rendered by his feudatories. The inscriptional records are unanimous in portraying him as a virtuous ruler and *Uttamāśraya* (a repository of all that is good). Though a Saivite by conviction, he patronised the Buddhist *vihāra* at Indrapura. He died when he was only 30 years old.

As Vikramendravarma II died issueless, Madhavavarma IV, a prince of the collateral branch of the Vishnukundis, occupied the throne. He soon vanquished his rivals and the enemies of the empire. He was competent enough to revive the glory of the Vishnukundi empire. To heighten the prestige of the family and the kingdom, he performed *Aśwamēdhas* and other sacrifices. He assumed the additional title of *Janâśraya*. He is credited with having authored a book on prosody known as *Janāśraya Chandō viciti*.

By 612 Madhavavarma IV felt confident to carry on his conquests further to the north. He conquered Kalinga and led his armies as far as Jeypore. His unbounded ambition led him to disaster, resulting in his death.

In the succeeding civil war for supremacy, a warrior belonging to the Durjaya dynasty asserted and proclaimed himself as the ruler. It was after defeating this Durjaya ruler, that Pulakesi II, the Chalukyan ruler, gained foothold in the Andhra region.

Pallavas

After the decline of the Ikshvakus, Pallavas came into prominence in the south and south-west Andhra. Historians differ regarding the origin and the homeland of the Pallavas. Some historians held that the Pallavas were of north Indian origin, who gradually moved to the south and adapted local customs and tradtions. Some others - especially some south Indian writers - claimed that the Pallavas were south Indians, asserting that the word 'Pallava' was a Prakrit-Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil word *tonḍai* (creeper) which was the name of the province in which their capital Kanchipuram was situated.

But these are only surmises. No record or inscription mentions a Pallava tribe or clan in the north. Further, the word 'Pallava' does not mean a creeper either in Prakrit or Sanskrit.

Inscriptional evidences are amply available to show that the Satavahana rulers had matrimonial relations with the west Asian Sakas and Pahlavas. As such, many from these two tribes must have found shelter as soldiers in the service of the Andhra rulers. The Pahlavas were of the Parthian stock and occupied a dominant position when the Parthians ruled over Iran (240 B.C. - 234 A.D.). Though they were in no way connected with the Achaemenid dynasty that ruled over Iran in the pre-Alexandrian period, the Pahlavas claimed descent from Kurush (6th century B.C.), the founder of that dynasty. They were proud of their racial superiority and called themselves Pahlavas (the first clan) and the new Persian language that was emerging during their regime also was designated as Pahlavi. After the decline of the Parthians, many of the Pahlavas migrated to India and by their valour gained positions of importance in various royal courts.

Along with the Sakas, the Pahlavas too embraced Hinduism and with a view to safeguard their social position as the first clan, they equated themselves with the first caste, the Brahmins. The term Pahlava was sanskritised as Pallava. As they were of a warrior tribe, they traced their descent from the Brahmin warrior, Drona of Bharadwaja *gôtra*.

The inscriptions of the Pallava rulers in the south add that Vira Kurucha, a Pallava general, received at the time of his marriage with a Naga princess, a kingdom as a dowry from his father-in-law. The name 'Kurucha' can in no way be explained except by linking it with Kurush, the first ruler of Achaemenid dynasty from whom the Parthians traced their descent.

Further, the foreign origin of the Pallavas is also supported by the fact that the Pallava ruler Nandivarma II (on the occasion of his being chosen as ruler) was offerd a crown in the shape of an elephant's scalp, a custom found in the Indo-Greek ruling dynasties only.

A close perusal of the available inscriptions clearly shows that the early Pallavas carved out a kingdom of their own in Andhradesa and shifted their capital later to Kanchipuram.

Though some of the inscriptions of Pallavas provide us with lists of the names of the rulers of the dynasty, it is not easy to make out an orderly account as the lists contain the names of many collateral families clubbed together. However, by reconciling all the available inscriptions, a tenable account of the dynasty can be made out.

Though a definite date cannot be given for the declaration of independence by Vira Kurucha, the founder of the dyansty, the event can be assigned to the end of the second century, when the Satavahana regime was in a state of dissolution. His son, Karala, seems not to have played any important role at all. But his grandson, Skandamula, gave a last blow to the Chola power in the south and conquered Kanchi in or about 225. Kumara Vishnu, the son of Skandamula, extended the boundaries of the kingdom further and performed *Aśwamēdha*, to gain recognition as king of kings. In his time the Cholas, under a new leadership, besieged Kanchi, but were utterly defeated and destroyed by Buddhavarma, the second son of Kumara Vishnu. With this conquest, the young prince assumed the title *Cōḷa Sāgara Baḍabānala* (the aqueous fire that evaporated the Chola ocean). Kumara Vishnu was succeeded by his eldest son, Skandavarma I, who proved to be a worthy son of a worthy father. He too performed an *Aśwamēdha*.

Among his successors, Simhavarma I alone is worthy of note. He put an end to the Ikshvaku rule in Andhra and annexed their territory upto the Krishna river. Dhanyakataka was for sometime his second capital. He was succeeded by his brother, Vishnugopa. From the Allahabad pillar inscription (about the middle of the 4th Century) it is evident that Samudragupta defeated Vishnugopa.

This pillar inscription provides us with a picture of the Andhradesa at that period. The country was then a land of petty kingdoms. Samudragupta met with no stiff resistance anywhere. In Andhra he defeated nine rulers, one after the other. Of them, Damana of Erandapalli, Kubera of Devarashtra and Swamidatta of Kottura were kings ruling over small territories in the present-day Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts. Nilaraja of Avamukta was probably a ruler of an area in the present East Godavari district. Mahendra was the ruler of Pishtapuram (the modern Pithapuram in East Godavari District). Hastivarma was ruling at Vengi and Mantaraja around Kolleru lake. Ugrasena was ruling at Palakkada (Nellore) probably as a feudatory of Vishnugopa. Vishnugopa was the last of the defeated rulers.

But for Hastivarma of Salankayana dynasty and Vishnugopa, the Pallava ruler, the other kings and the extent of their territories are little known to history.

However, Samudragupta's invasion was more a raid than a conquest. He left south India without annexing any territory to his empire. So, as soon as he left, Vishnugopa asserted his authority over his kingdom. Not much is known of the successors of Vishnugopa, except their names. The charters they issued have the regnal years and as such are of no value in determining their time of accession or death. The exception for this is the case of Simhavarma III. A book, *Lōka Vibhāga*, by a Jaina author of his period, states that it was written in 380 of Salivahana era (458), in the 22nd regnal year of Simhavarma III. In the time of Simhavarma IV, the last ruler, the Pallava rule was overthrown (566) by Kalabhras, who brought an extensive politcal revolution in Tamil Nadu.

The Pallava rule was revived later in the 7th Century by one Simhavishnu. This dynasty came to be termed as Later or Greater Pallava dynasty and its history is to be given elsewhere.

Anandagotras

The Anandagotra kings are said to have ruled over the Guntur region, south of the Krishna, betwen 375-500. Two copper plate inscriptions - one from Mattepadu and another from Gorantla and a stone inscription from Chejerla throw light on three kings belonging to this dynasty. This dynasty claimed descent from a sage, named Ananda. The standard of the kings had on it the figure of a monkey. The capital of the Anandagotra kings was Kandarapura, also known as Kapota Kandarapura. As the kings in their inscriptions claimed to belong to the family of one named Kandara, it can be assumed that the metropolitan city was founded by Kandara and was named after him. This is identified as Chejerla in the Narasaraopet Taluq of Guntur District.

From available evidences, it is clear that one Damodaravarma was the first known ruler of this dynasty. He must have taken advantage of the weakening of the Pallava authority in the region, due to the invasion of Samudragupta and carved out for himself a small independent kingdom, south of the Krishna. However, this kingdom seems to have led a precarious existence, situated in between two major powers, the Vishnukundis and the early Pallavas. So its existence was recognised only as a buffer state between these two kingdoms, whenever it suited them. At other times, the Anandagotras had to function as subordinates to one or the other of these major powers.

Damodaravarma seems to have wrested some territory north of Krishna from the Salankayanas also. He was a pious Buddhist and was extra-ordinarily catholic towards Hindu religion. But Hastivarma of the Gorantla inscription was a devout Saiva who donated villages to scholars well-versed in the three Vedas. Kandararaja, the one mentioned in the Chejerla inscription, was perhaps the last one of the dynasty. He described himself as the lord of 'Trikuta Malaya', identified with the well-known place of pilgrimage, Kotappa Konda, a Saivite centre. Some historians hold that Chejerla was first a Buddhist centre. But as time rolled on, the Chejerla Buddhist *caitya* was turned into Kapoteswaralaya, a Saivite shrine. The Anandagotra kingdom might have been annexed to the Vishnukundi kingdom at the beginning of the sixth century.

Kalingas

The north-eastern territory of the Andhra country, north of the Godavari - known as Kalinga or Kalinga Mandala - came into the possession of some local rulers, following the disintegration of the Satavahana empire. These rulers are together treated as 'Kalingas' by historians as none of these gave his dynastic name. Nothing is known of these rulers till the invasion of Samudragupta. We find in the *praśasti* of Samudragupta a mention of some of the rulers of this tract - Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara, Swamidatta of Girikottur, Damana of Erandapalli, Kubera of Devarashtra and Mahendra of Pishtapura. Inscriptions provide us with the names of some more rulers and their capital cities. Whether they were of the same dynasty or were contemporary rulers of various principalities cannot be ascertained with the meagre evidence available at present. However, in 498, the Kalinga kingdom was conquered by Kamarnava of a Ganga family that branched off from the original Ganga dynasty, which ruled over the Kolar region of Karnataka. As such, these Gangas of Kalinga are treated as Eastern Gangas by the historians. It is by defeating a ruler of this dynasty in the early years of the third decade of the 7th century that Pulakesi II began his conquest of the coastal Andhra.

SOCIETY AND RELIGION

Society

The decline and disintegration of the Satavahana empire was followed by a grave economic crisis in Andhra. The later Satavahanas, even from the time of Vasishtiputra Pulumavi, lost their hold on the western ports. As a result, the movement of merchandise from east to west was almost stopped. Besides, trade with the Roman world steadily declined from about the 3rd century. The decline of trade affected the local industry forcing the princes and the people to turn their attention to agriculture. Excavations in the Nagarjunakonda valley revealed that no industry worth its name was in a flourishing condition in and around Vijayapuri, the capital of the Ikshvakus, who succeeded the Satavahanas. The situation, therefore, compelled Chantamula to encourage agriculture as the source of state revenue by gifting several hundreds of thousands of ploughs, bovine cattle and gold (*anēka hiraṇya kōṭi, gō śatasahasra, hala śatasahasra pradāyi*). Slightly later, one of the early Pallava kings took the title *Kāḍuveṭṭi* (clearer of forests) evidently by bringing more land under the plough. More and more people, thrown out of employment as industry and trade declined, joined and swelled the ranks of the peasantry. Again, from about the middle of the Ikshvaku period, the practice of gifting land and villages to temples and Brahmins came into vogue. Such gifts were generally exempted from all obligations of tax, etc. The system enriched the donees. If there was initially any resistance, it gradually disappeared. Thus, a landed aristocracy developed and stood between the king and the cultivator. However, the *ardhasiri* system (tenant retaining half of the produce) improved the economic position of the tenants. As their livelihood depended on the lands gifted to temples and Brahmins, the tenants and peasants who earlier patronised Buddhism turned loyal to the temple and the Brahmin. In course of time the tenants developed into *sat śūdras* claiming equal status with the ruling class.

Essential crafts such as weaving, carpentry, smithy and pottery continued; but their aim was no longer to move to markets but only to satisfy the local needs. After the Ikshvakus (c. 300), references to *nigamas, śrēṇis, vaṇijas* or *seṭṭis* and their gifts to religious institutions disappeared from contemporary records. Interestingly, even women making gifts to religious institutions do not figure in the records. Naturally money economy also declined. In comparison with the Satavahana coinage, the Ikshvaku coins are small in size and far less in number. The Vishnukundis issued iron coins with a thin coating of copper. As movement of goods had declined, the erstwhile trade routes fell into disuse. As towns were deserted and ruined, western Andhra, which had earlier bristled with trade and industry, languished and ceased to be active economically.

Caste system retained considerable flexibility and mobility. The process of acculturation was still in progress. Most of the successors to the Satavahanas were either aboriginals or foreign invaders, integrated into Brahmanical social order either through Saivism or Bhagavatism. However, none of the dynasties described themselves as Kshatriyas but appear to have aspired for the highest position in social heirarchy. The Pallavas were of Bharadwaja *gōtra*. The Vishnukundis are said to have combined in themselves the glory and splendour of the Brahmin and the Kshatriya *(Brahma Kṣatra tejōbhṛtam)*. Madhavavarma I of the dynasty performed innumerable Vedic sacrifices and even claimed *paramēṣṭitva* (an embodinent of highest sacrifice).

From about the middle of the Ikshvaku period, the position of the Brahmin improved and he came to occupy a pivotal position in the society. He was the repository of Vedic learning, custodian of ritualist culture, priest in the temple, minister and general at the court and landlord to the peasant in the village. The prince looked to him for legal sanction to his social status and for legitimacy to his political authority, whereas the peasant depended on him for his liveli- hood.

Another interesting development was that the tribals like Boyas and Pulindas living on the periphery of the kingdoms were drawn closer to the civilised societies by the compulsions of expanding agriculture and of increasing military requirements of kingdoms due to continued warfare. They were slowly absorbed applying the principles of acculturation adopted during earlier times - tribal priest getting admission into the Brahmin caste and tribal prince into the ruling elite. The Boyas of the famous Kottams in Pakanadu and the Telugu Chodas, Banas and Vaidumbas in Renadu had emerged, from the aboriginals, as political forces probably due to the exigencies of times.

As caste system was gaining importance, each craft was getting crystalised into a caste. But change of occupation was permitted and two of the Salankayana records mention *rathakāras* who were of different *gōtras* and *caraṇas*, as masters of four vedas possessing the powers to bless or curse *(śāpānugraha)*. The word *rathakāra* in this context is taken as the name of an occupation but not of a caste. The pressure of increasing population and increasing demand for agricultural implements might have induced some of the Brahmins to take to carpentry.

igion

imultaneously there were remarkable developments in religion as well. During the Ikshvaku d, Buddhism was at the height of its glory especially in the Krishna valley. In fact, shvaku king, excepting Virapurushadatta, is known to have patronised Buddhism. But adies of the royal houses, no doubt, vied with one another in lavishing patronage on hism. For them, the Buddha was no longer a *Tathâgata*. He had become Lord Supreme *gavān*), fulfilling the desires of the devotees for health, longevity and victory. As a result, place like Nagarjunakonda itself, there flourished more than thirty *vihâras* belonging to avada and Mahayana. It was the Aparasaila sect of Mahayana that held the predominant ion at Sriparvata and their *mahâcaitya* and *mahâvihâra* occupied the central position in the /. The *vihāras* of Goli, Allur, Vengi, Ghantasala, Cinaganjam, Sankaram and Ramatirtham functioned during most of the period as centres of Mahayana. Scholarly *bhikkhus* from centres such as Aryadeva, Chandrakirti and others carried on the torch of Mahayana to us parts of India and abroad. The Andhra country gained recognition as the cradle of ayana Buddhism. A religious text of the Mahayana school, *Aṣṭâvimsa Sâhasrika* mentions Mahayana had spread to Orissa from its birth place situated south of it, and therefrom to us parts of India and abroad. However, from the beginning of the 5th centrury, nihilistic ls gained upper hand in that noble school, and slowly destroyed its ethical base. To add is, the vigorous resurgence of Brahmanical ritualism in the valley crippled the fortunes e school. The Theravadis appear to have taken advantage of the situation. They too fied their system to appeal to popular sentiments and, encouraged by the rulers of on, carried on propaganda with great zeal and enthusiasm. There were not less than *ihāras* at Nagarjunakonda belonging to the Theravada sects of Bahusrutiya, Mahisasaka, aviharavasi and Mahaviharavasi. Even in the inscriptions from Telangana of this period, avada *vihāras* are mentioned. These conditions should have encouraged Buddhaghosha to Simhala and bring back to India the forgotten Pali canon.

t the same time, the Brahmins took steps to reinvigorate their system through a promise between ritualism and theism. At Vijayapuri there was a *yâgasâla*, as well as nerable temples dedicated to different deities - Pushpabhadra (Siva), Mahasena, Astabhuja u) and Hariti (Sakti). In the neighbourhood sprang up the temples of Nodagiswaraswamy, npuraswamy, Jivasivaswamy (Manchikallu), Bhutagrahakaswamy, etc. Vijayapuri thus me a Siva-Visnu-Sakti *kṣêtra*, rivalling the Buddhist *kṣêtra* of Sriparvata in its vicinity.

he expansion of agriculture led to a revival of primitive fertility cults in the sophisticated of Tantrism, which the declining Buddhism adapted and developed into Vajrayana. Siddha rjuna is said to have lived at Dhanyakataka and Sriparvata. He is identified with Bhadanta rjunacharya of Jaggayyapeta inscription of about the 6th century. Amaravati, Guntupalli, aram and Salihundam became seats of Vajrayana. This fact is attested by the idols of goddesses of that sect recovered from these sites. In course of time, Vajrayana led to l depravity among the Buddhists accelerating the process of its decline.

On the other hand, through Mahayanism, the Buddha had already become 'Lord Supreme' fulfilling the wishes of the devotees. The worship of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas (supreme beings who declined Buddha-hood in the interest of saving humanity by grace) was introduced by Mahayana and was favoured much by the laity. According to *Karandavyuha*, a religious text of Mahayana, the worship of Avalokiteswara (which is now widely prevalent in Japan, Korea, Tibet and China) had begun at a place called Potalaka situated east of Dhanyakataka in the Andhra country. However, the worship of Bodhisatvas was given up with the decline of Mahayana under the influence of the imperial Guptas, who gave neo-Brahminism a stamp of Vaishnavism. The Buddha was admitted into the Hindu pantheon as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. The Vaishnavite transformation of the Buddha trickled down into Andhra through the Vakataka kingdom. *Lalitavistara*, an early Mahayana work, actually called the Buddha - 'Mahanarayana'. In two of the sculptures at Alampur (sometime later), the Buddha is seated in the middle in *yôgamudra* with the *avatâras* all around. The disappearance of Buddhism as an independent religion was thus complete.

Brahminism too underwent interesting changes. Saivism and Vaishnavism made steady progress, but temple-building activity lost much of its earlier tempo, for which the changed attitude of the Brahmins might have been responsible. They seem to have preferred to remain Vedic scholars presiding over rituals instead of becoming temple priests. Most of the dynasties of the period were founded by *Aśvamêdhins*. This gives rise to the doubt that the sacrifice assumed socio-political significance, giving recognition to the social status, legitimacy and the political power of the dynasty. Ritualism reached its climax under Madhavavarma, the Vishnukundi who performed thousand *Agnistomas*, eleven *Aśvamêdhas* along with the rituals of *Hiraṇyagarbha, Râjasûya, Pauṇḍarîka, Prâjâpatya, Bahusuvarna, Ṣôḍaśi*, etc. No other part of India witnessed such exuberance of ritualism as Andhra did during this period.

Despite their enthusiasm for rituals, each dynasty was devoted to a family deity. Sri Chantamula was an ardent worshipper of Mahasena Virupakshapati. The family deity of the Salankayanas was Chitrarathaswamy, Lord Siva. Even the great ritualist, Madhavavarma, invoked Sriparvataswamy and compared himself to "Kesava in prowess". While the *avatâra* and the *vyûha* concepts became popular among the Vaishnavites to increase the number of deities, the subsidiary gods of the Saivite pantheon, Mahasena and Ganapati received worship among the Saivites. Those two gods bacame, in course of time, centres of independent cults. In spite of such developments, religious life was free from sectarian rivalry and conflict. On the other hand, the sculptural panel recovered from Pedamudiyam (Cuddapah Dist.) and assigned to the Vishnukundi times reflects an effort to bring different deities into harmonious co-existence. This sculpture not only represents the complete development of orthodox Puranic Hinduism with its multiplicity of gods and colourful mythology but also stands as a notable instance of rapproachment among the different cults within the fold of Hinduism.

Language and Literature

The religious and political developments influenced the course of the language and literature of the age. Prakrit was progressively replaced by Sanskrit in inscriptions from the time of the Ikshvakus. Dhanyakataka and Sriparvata continued as centres of higher learning. Yuan Chwang studied the Abhidhamma at Dhanyakataka (c. 625). Udyotana (8th c.) in his Prakrit work *Kuvalayamāla* described the Great Monastery of Vijayapuri (near Sriparvata) which attracted students from far and near. The Buddhist acharyas, as before, continued to bestow attention on secular studies as well. An inscription from Nagarjunakonda (about 450) describes an acharya as one who 'has toiled hard in the subjects of logic, polity and grammar and was at his best in fixing and settling horoscope (astrology).' Dingnaga, the father of Indian logic, is known to have lived near Vengi, probably in the Guntupalli *vihāra* and composed his famous work on logic, *Pramāṇa Samuccaya*. Buddhapalita, Bhavaviveka and Dingnaga were the most distinguished Buddhist scholars of this age.

Along with trade and commerce, Indian religious thought and culture had also spread across the seas during the Salankayana reign. The Salankayana inscriptions bear close resemblance in script to the earliest inscriptions available in Malayasia, Cambodia and Vietnam. There is every reason to deduce that in the Indian colonisation of the Far East during the 4th century the Telugu people played a dominant part.

The kings of the age established and maintained *ghaṭikas* where the fourteen branches of Vedic studies were promoted. Inscriptions mention the *ghaṭika* at Indupur, Nolambesvara *ghaṭika* and Asanapurasthana *ghaṭika*. Besides the *ghaṭikas*, the *agrahāras* resounded with Vedic learning. Among Brahmins, there were *dwivēdis, trivēdis* and *caturvēdis*. In addition to the Vedas, they mastered the *Vēdāngas, Purāṇas, Itihāsas, Dharmaśāstras, 64 Kaḷas* and *Āgamas*. The Tandivada inscription mentions a certain Bhava Sarma whose mind was purified by the knowledge of the *Vēdas, Vēdāngas, Nyāya, Upaniṣad* and *Yōga*; he was a student of 3000 *Vidyas*. The Galavalli plates of Prithvimula (c. 550) mention a Brahmin who studied the *Purāṇa, Rāmāyaṇa* and *dharmaśāstra*. The method of study was only by rote and there appears to have been no attempt at committing the knowledge to writing. As a result, it is not possible to know what the above 3000 *vidyas* were, as most of that knowledge perished. Memorisation was the keynote of scholarship during this period. Not only the Hindus but the Mahayana Buddhists also patronised Sanskrit during this period. Much of the Mahayana literature in Sanskrit is availabe at present only in Tibetan and Chinese translations.

Though Sanskrit, thus patronised, gradually displaced the Prakrit languages, we learn from the writings of Buddhaghosha (early 5th c.) that there prevailed in the Andhra region an indigenous language known as 'Andhaka' and that the sacred books of the Buddhists were translated into that language. It cannot be ascertained, at present, how that 'Andhaka' had influenced the Telugu language. However in Renadu, locked among hills and forests and far removed from centres of political and cultural activity, Telugu could retain its native idiom till about the 6th century. But the language could not retain its purity for long and was subjec to a gradual process of Sanskritisation, as evidenced by the Telugu Choda records. On other hand, in the coastal region Telugu came to be overlaid with localised or 'Telugis Sanskrit words. The two-fold development greatly enriched Telugu vocabulary, enabling Eastern Chalukyas to freely use it in their records and thereby take the credit for establish Telugu in Andhradesa.

Architecture and Sculpture

The only secular buildings of the period that have survived at least in ruins are fortifications, the palace site, the theatre and the wharf - all belonging to Vijayapuri in Nagarjunakonda valley. These are out-numbered by religious constructions which are limited only to the valley. The Buddhists continued to build *stûpas* and *vihâras* Each sect h its own pattern of *vihâra* architecture to satisfy its religious requirements Generally a *vih* consisted of a three or four-winged monastery, a pillared *mandapa*, one or two *caityâla* and a *mahâstûpa*. In addition, Sihalavihara on Chuladhammagiri had a *prâsâda* with *Bô vṛkṣa*, the only *vihâra* in Andhra to be sanctified by the presence of the Sacred Tree. Seve hundreds of sculptural panels have been recovered, mostly from the Aparasaila *vihâras*. Th belong to the fourth phase of Amaravati style, displaying the same grace, elegance, symm and dynamism.

The Brahminical monuments are both structural and rock-cut. From the 10th regnal ye of Ehuvala Chantamula several temples came up in and around Vijayapuri. The *caityâla* appears to have served as the model for the temple. The earliest of the temples were eith circular *(vṛttâyatana)* or apsidal *(śalâyatana* or *gajapṛṣṭha)*, the proto-types of which are found Buddhist sculptures. Buddhist *caityâlayas* were actually converted into temples as at Chejer However, the Pushpabhadra temple set the pattern for temple architecture which genera consisted of a sanctum *(garbhagṛha)*, vestibule *(antarâḷa)*, pillared hall (*mantapa*) and flagst *(dhwaja sthambha)*. The uniformity in temple architecture suggests a well-establishe popular *âgamic* tradition.

Groups of Brahminical cave-temples are found at Mogalrajapuram in Vijayawada (Krishn Dist.), Undavalli (Guntur Dist.) and Bhairavakonda (Nellore Dist.). Because of their simplicit the Mogalrajapuram group of five caves appear to have been the earliest. Of these fiv the Durga and Nataraja caves are more elaborate and ornate. The Nataraja cave derives i name from the graceful Nataraja sculpture that surmounts its *kapôta*. The two caves belo the Indrakila (Durga) hill in Vijayawada, known as *Akkanna-Mâdanna* caves are larger in siz The upper cave is quite bare and the other, with three cells, was probably dedicated to th Hindu Trinity.

The caves at Undavalli constitute a four-storeyed temple with stairs leading from one stor to the other. The second storey, in one of its side ends, houses a huge image of Anantasa and therefore the cave is popular as the temple of Anantasayi. The rest of the storey look like a pillared hall and the pillars contain sculptures mostly with Vaisnavite themes from th *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata*. The only Saivite sculpture is that of *Lingōdbhava* in tw panels, in which Brahma and Vishnu are presented in human forms. The sculpture reflects th continuation of the Amaravati style. These caves of Mogalrajapuram and Undavalli are assigne to the Vishnukundi times. The ground storey of Undavalli temple is left unfinished probabl due to a political upheaval, may be the Chalukyan invasion. Interestingly, the Chalukyan boa symbol is embossed on the base of one of the pillars.

The group of eight cave temples at Bhairavakonda is in a picturesque spot overlooking ravine opposite to the temple of Bhairava. All the caves were dedicated to Siva and were cu under the patronage of the Telugu Chodas (c. 800). The style of the caves is a combinatio of the Pallava and Chalukya features but executed by unskilled artists. The tradition of cav architecture in Andhra which had its beginnings at Guntupalli (200 B.C.) came almost to a end at Bhairava- konda.

The Hindu iconography in Andhra had a long history but with wide gaps. The Gudimalla Mukhalinga is datable to 200 B.C. The image of Siva on the *linga* is a realistic representatio of a local *Niṣāda* hunter. Siva here is of short stature with curly hair and thick lips, withou *yajnōpavīta* and carrying in his hand a deer by its hind legs. For a long time afterwards the images of Brahmanical gods appear to have been made of wood as in the case o *audumbara* Astabhujaswamy on Swetagiri at Nagarjunakonda. But the image of Kartikeya (c 275) and the Kondamotu Narasimha plaque (c. 450) are of the same material as the Buddhis sculptures and are in the same style. On the other hand, the Pedamudiyam plaque is o different material and belongs to a local style untouched by the influence of Amaravati school displaying amateur workmanship. The Amaravati style was however continued at Undavall which provided inspiration to the artists of Mamallapuram, in both architecture and sculpture.

AGE OF PURANIC THEISM
(624 A.D.-1323 A.D.)

This period of Andhra History, spanning over seven centuries, is significant for the sea-change it brought in all the spheres of human activity - social, religious, linguistic and literary. During this period, *Dēśi*, the indigenous Telugu language, emerged as a literary medium overthrowing the domination of Prakrits and Sanskrit. As a result, Andhradesa achieved an identity and a distinction of its own as an important constituent of Indian cultural set-up.

This change was wrought by strong historical forces - so strong that whichever dynasty came to power could not but encourage that process. Significantly, most of the dynasties of this period came from outside the Andhra region as conquerors. Such were the Eastern and the Western Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the Early Cholas. Kakatiyas came to power during the later half of this period and extended their rule over the entire Telugu land with the exception of a small tract in the north-east. Arts, crafts, language and literature flourished under their benevolent patronage.

Eastern Chalukyas

This dynasty was a branch of the Chalukyas of Badami, of which Pulakesi II was the mos renowned ruler. After conquering Vengi, Pulakesi II installed his brother, Vishnuvardhana, firs as his viceroy and later as an independent ruler. Vishnuvardhana thus became the founder o a new dynasty designated by historians as the Eastern Chalukyas. Apart from this dynasty there were some other lateral families of Chalukyas which ruled in differnet areas - Kalyani Mudigonda, Vemulavada, Nidadavolu, Pishtapura, Elamanchili, etc.

The origin of the Chalukyas, as stated in the later inscriptions of the Eastern Chaluky dynasty, differs from the one given in the contemporary inscriptions of the Chalukyas o Kalyani. While the Eastern Chalukyas claimed their descent from the Moon, the latter claime their descent from the Sun. However, the only reliable information that can be gathered fron the early inscriptions is that the Chalukyas might have come from the north and settled dow in the region near Vatapi (Badami). Gradually, they extended their power at the expense o the Kadambas and later came into conflict with the powers in Kalinga, Andhra and other area in the south during the reign of Pulakesi II. Of all these areas, Andhra alone was held b the Chalukyan family for a sufficiently long time. Twenty rulers of the dynasty ruled over th eastern coastal Andhra during a long period spanning over nearly four centuries.

Vishnuvardhana (624-641) was assisted in the military affairs by a few subordinates, ou of whom inscriptions mention two generals, Atavi Durjaya of Matsya family and Buddhavarm of Kondapadumati family. The king had the title 'Vishamasiddhi' which indicates his skill i military art and in beseiging all the four varieties of forts - *viz.*, water-fort, plain-fort, hill-fort an forest-fort (*jala, sthala, giri* and *vana durgas*). Vishnuvardhana was a devotee of Vishnu bu catholic in his approach to the worship of other gods. His wife, Ayyanadevi, built a temple fo Jains near Vijayawada. Vishnuvardhana was succeeded by his son, Jayasimha I (641-673) His reign seems to have witnessed long wars, as can be inferred from the inscriptions. Th inscriptions also show that his rule extended over the entire coastal area, from the presen Visakhapatnam in the north to Nellore in the south.

As Jayasimha I had no issues, his brother Indra Bhattaraka and his progeny became th rulers. Indra Bhattaraka ruled just for a week and was succeeded by his son, Vishnuvardhana I (673-681). He was succeeded by Mangi Yuvaraja (681-705). His son Jayasimha II ruled th country from 705 to 717.

There was a tussle for succession to the throne after Jayasimha's death. Jayasimha's brothe Kokkili Vikramaditya, succeeded him to the throne but his younger brother Vishnuvardhana I usurped it. Kokkili had to flee with his family to central Kalinga, where he established lateral dynasty with Elamanchili (in Visakhapatnam District) as his headquarters. Three mor generations of rulers ruled there for a century.

During the rule of Vishnuvardhana III (718-752), the sixth ruler of the dynasty, there wa an attack on Vengi by the Pallavas, in which Vishnuvardhana lost some territory in the south

During the reign of Vijayaditya I (752-771), who succeeded Vishnuvardhana III, the Eastern Chalukyas came into conflict with the Rashtrakutas who had rebelled against the Badami Chalukyas, overthrew them and founded a new dynasty. The Eastern Chalukyas could not naturally tolerate this and so a conflict ensued between them and the Rashtrakutas. The conflict continued for about two centuries. The Eastern Chalukya rulers and the Rashtrakuta rulers interfered in each other's affairs whenever there was a contest for succession to the throne.

Vijayaditya I was succeeded by Vishnuvardhana IV (771-806), whose rule lasted for a long, but uneventful, period. During this period, the Rashtrakuta empire had to pass through a war of succession between the sons of king Krishna - Govinda II and Dhruva. In the beginning, Govinda was successful and tried to strengthen himself with the help of his neighbours - especially of the Eastern Chalukya ruler. However, when Dhruva emerged victorious in the final battle, he waged a war and subordinated the ruler of Vengi, Vishnuvardhana IV. The latter had to give his daughter in marriage to Dhruva. Even this alliance did not yield any fruitful result. There was truce only for a while. War broke out soon and continued for a long time, with neither of the powers gaining.

Vishnuvardhana was succeeded by his son Vijayaditya II (806-46). Vijayaditya, by virtue of his conquests in various battles, earned the title *Narēndra Mr̥garāja* (lion among the kings). He constructed as many Siva temples as the number of conquests he had to his credit. His brother, Bhima Saluki, attempted to overthrow Vishnuvardhana and occupy the throne. He sought the help of the Rashtrakuta king, Govinda III. In the hostilities between the brothers running for 12 years, Vijayaditya scored ultimately a victory over his brother and his supporters, the Rashtrakutas. As a result of it, Silamahadevi, the daughter of Rashtrakuta Indra, was given in marriage to Vijayaditya's son, Vishnuvardhana V.

Vishnuvardhana V, who succeeded to the throne after the demise of his father in 846, ruled only for a short period of two years. The next ruler was his son, Gunaga Vijayaditya, known as Vijayaditya III (848-892). He carried on many a successful campaign against his enemies. He disciplined the feudatories and established an orderly government. He was assisted by an able general, Kadiyaraja, in the early period of his rule and by Pandaranga, the son of Kadiyaraja, later. Pandaranga, the able general, invaded the twelve Boyakottams (forts of Boyas) that were spread over a vast area in the present Prakasam and Nellore districts and which earlier formed a part of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom. He marched on upto Kanchi and extended the empire upto the city. His Addanki inscription gives details of his southern invasion. After the conquest, he was made the viceroy of the southern part of the kingdom with its capital at Kandukuru.

Though Gunaga Vijayaditya was successful in the campaigns on the southern and south-western borders of his kingdom, he met with a disaster in his wars with the Rashtrakuta ruler, Amoghavarsha, and therefore had to acknowledge the Rashtrakuta suzerainty. But

Amoghavarsha was magnanimous enough to treat the vanquished king more as an ally tha
a vassal. At the behest of Amoghavarsha, Gunaga had to lead the combined armies
Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas against Gangavadi and to force the Western Ganga rulers t
acknowledge the suzerainty of the Rashtrakutas.

However, after Amoghavarsha's death, Vijayaditya proclaimed his independence. The the
Rashtrakuta ruler, Krishna II, invaded the Chalukya dominions but had to meet a crushing defe
at the hands of Gunaga Vijayaditya. Yet, Gunaga knew his limitations and he compriomise
with the defeated Rashtrakuta ruler and treated him as his ally, respecting his independenc
Thereafter, the Chalukya ruler gained some more notable victories in his campaigns in Decca
and proclaimed himself as 'Dakshinapathapati'. He ruled for 44 years and passed away
892. Gunaga was one of the greatest of the Eastern Chalukya kings. Though the Easte
Chalukyas were originally of Kannada stock, they adopted Telugu as their language and ga
a fillip to it. Telugu started appearing in the inscriptions of the Renadu Cholas since th
last quarter of the 6th century. Since the time of Gunaga, inscriptions show Telugu stanza
culminating in the production of literary works, later on, in the 11th century under the patronag
of the then Eastern Chalukya king, Rajaraja.

Gunaga Vijayaditya, having no issue, was succeeded by his brother's son, Chaluk
Bhima (892-921). Even before he was crowned, the Rashtrakutas again invaded Vengi. Th
Rashtrakuta ruler, Krishna II, was awaiting an opportunity to take revenge. This Rashtraku
invasion was repulsed by one of the chieftains of the Vengi kingdom, Kusumayudha, of t
Mudigonda Chalukya family. But the kingdom was not free from troubles. The Rashtrakut
again attacked the Vengi kingdom. While the former attack was restricted mainly to t
Mudigonda Chalukya territory, the later one was fought in Vengi itself. The battles
Peruvangur and Niravadyapura in the present West Godavari district were decided in favo
of the Chalukyas. But, Iramartiganda, one of the sons of Bhima, lost his life in the battle.
was known for his prowess as he defeated Gunda, one of the generals of the Rashtrakuta
This Gunda was an ancestor of the Kakatiya rulers who were destined to rule over Andh
later. Chalukya Bhima enjoyed peaceful years after these wars. He patronised letters and ar
He built two temples for Siva at Chalukya Bhimavaram and Daksharamam. Bhatta Vamana
scholar-poet, Mallappa and his daughter Challava, great exponents of music, were in his co

During the reign of the next five rulers, Vengi was a cockpit of wars for succession, inter
quarrels and civil wars until Chalukya Bhima II (934-945) asserted himself. He occupied
throne expelling the Rashtrakutas who tried to fish in the troubled waters of Vengi politi
The repeated efforts of the Rashtrakutas to occupy Vengi proved futile during his period.
they continued their efforts during the time of Amma II, who ruled from 945. Ammaraja w
the younger of Bhima's sons. It is not clear how the claims of the elder brother, Danarna
were set aside and Amma, a boy of twelve years, came to power. The immediate probl
that Amma II had to face was to put down the attacks of one of his cousins, Yuddhamalla
who tried to occupy Vengi. He was, however, put to death by Amma in the war. But the s

of Yuddhamalla II, Badapa and Tala, did not give up their designs to occupy Vengi. With the support of the Rashtrakuta ruler, Krishna III, they attacked Vengi. They managed to win the officers and feudatories of Vengi, such as Nripakama, the ruler of Kolanu and Pandaranga II, to their side. So, the king had to flee to Kalinga. Badapa ascended the Vengi throne and ruled for a short period (950-55). He was succeeded by Tala II. Meanwhile, Amma II came to terms with the erstwhile dissidents of the empire and re-established himself in Vengi.

Unhappy over Amma II resecuring Vengi, Krishna III instigated and encouraged the former's brother Danarnava against him. He sent his armies to occupy Vengi. As a result, Amma had again to seek refuge in Kalinga. Later, he invaded Vengi, but was killed in a fight with Danarnava.

Danarnava ruled for three years, between 970 and 973. His rule came to an end as a result of an attack by Jatachoda Bhima, a valiant Telugu-Chola chief. Jatachoda Bhima intervened in the affairs of Vengi as his sister was the wife of Amma II and as the Andhra kingdom legitimately belonged to his sister. He killed Danarnava, and occupied Vengi. But his rule over Vengi for 27 years was usually ignored in the Chalukyan inscriptions which describe it as a period without a leader and as one of anarchy.

Danarnava's sons, Saktivarma and Vimaladitya, left for Kalinga soon after their father's death. After Kalinga too was conquered by Jatachoda Bhima by about 981, they sought refuge in the court of Rajaraja I, the Chola emperor, who gave them shelter and made efforts to restore Vengi to Saktivarma. He sent Saktivarma to Vengi with a large army against Jatachoda Bhima. Jatachoda Bhima lost his life in the battle and Saktivarma ascended the throne at Vengi in 1000. Rajaraja gave his daughter, Kundavva, in marriage to Vimaladitya, Saktivarma's brother, and thus cemented the relationship between the two families. From then onwards, upto 1076, the rulers of Vengi were dependent on the Cholas of Tamil region for their security, but were independent in their own internal policies.

The Chola interest in Vengi alarmed the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, who rose to power in 973. Hence they tried to fight the Chola influence in Vengi. A Western Chalukyan army under Bayal Nambi seized the forts of Dharanikota and Yanamadala and occupied Chebrolu. Meanwhile, Cholas attacked the Western Chalukya territory and, as a consequence, Bayal Nambi was compelled to retreat to his home territory. Vengi was thus freed from the Western Chalukya invasion. Saktivarma I was succeeded to the Vengi throne by his brother Vimaladitya. He ruled from 1011 to 1018. He had two sons -- Rajaraja, born of Kundavva of the Chola family, and Vijayaditya, born of Melama of the Telugu-Choda family.

After the death of Vimaladitya in 1018, his two sons fought for the throne. Of the two, Rajaraja, nominated heir-apparent, proclaimed himself the ruler immediately, though his coronation, according to his own inscriptions, took place only in 1022. The delay in the coronation was due to the machinations of his half-brother, Vijayaditya, who secured the help of the Western Chalukya ruler, Jayasimha II. Rajaraja had to flee and seek the help of

Rajendra Chola, his uncle. He came to his nephew's rescue by sending two armies, one against Jayasimha and the other against Vijayaditya in Vengi. The former was defeated at Musangi in 1020-21. To checkmate Vijayaditya from receiving any help from the ruler of Kalinga, the Chola forces occupied Kalinga also. Thus, Vengi was restored to Rajaraja by 1022. Rajendra Chola also cemented the relationship with the Eastern Chalukyas by giving his daughter Ammangai in marriage to Rajaraja.

Rajaraja could rule in peace only for about a decade. Vijayaditya once again managed to oust him with the help of the Western Chalukyas. Rajaraja had again to seek the Chola assistance with which he regained his throne in 1035.

The last decade of the reign of Rajaraja passed off peacefuly. This was probably due to a treaty between Rajaraja and Someswara I of the Western Chalukyas. Rajaraja is said to have established cordial relations with Someswara I by assuming the Western Chalukya titles like *Satyāśraya-kula-śēkhara* and *Samastabhuvanâśraya*. Someswara I sent Narayanabhattu as his representative to the court of Rajaraja. Narayanabhattu, a great scholar-poet, helped his boyhood friend, Nannayabhattu in the composition of the *Àndhra Mahâbhâratamu*. Rajaraja died in 1061 and Vijayaditya, perhaps according to a prior agreement, took control of the state.

Vijayaditya, however, did not proclaim himself the ruler. Instead, he crowned his son Saktivarma II, who unfortunately died within a year, probably in a war against the Cholas. The Cholas tried to reconquer Vengi and install Rajendra, son of Rajaraja and Ammangai, on the throne. Vijayaditya was supported by the Western Chalukyas. The fight between the two factions continued for five years, at the end of which Rajendra and his Chola supporters emerged victorious. Rajendra ascended the throne. Later, he took over the Chola empire, which he inherited from the maternal line, assuming a new name 'Kulottunga'. He is stated to have bestowed the throne of Vengi to his paternal uncle, Vijayaditya, while shifting his seat to the south. From 1070, the relations between Rajendra (Kulottunga after his accession to the Chola throne) and Vijayaditya were quite friendly. After the death of Vijayaditya in 1076, the Vengi throne passed on to Kulottunga, who united the Chola and Eastern Chalukya dominions. Kulottunga and his successors came to be known as Chalukya-Cholas.

Chalukyas of Vemulavada

Among the minor Chalukya families that ruled parts of Andhra, those of Vemulavada or Lemulavada (presently in the Karimnagar district) are the most important, on account of their political significance and cultural achievements. Their rule extended over the present-day Karimnagar and Nizamabad districts of Andhra Pradesh. As subordinate rulers loyal to the Rashtrakutas, they ruled with semi-independent status for about two centuries (755-968). The rule of the Vemulavada Chalukyas coincided with that of the Rashtrakutas. One peculiarity with this family is that it traced its descent from the Sun, while many other Chalukya families considered themselves as of lunar descent.

Vinayaditya Yuddhamalla I (750-780) was the founder of this dynasty. He was said to have ruled over the *Sapādalakṣa* country and to have captured the inaccessible fort of Chitrakuta. He might have assisted the Rashtrakuta king, Dantidurga, in overthrowing the Badami Chalukya power and in return acquired his position as the ruler of Podana area. He had a mighty force of elephants. Yuddhamalla was succeeded by his son, Arikesari I (c. 780-800). Arikesari was a great warrior and scholar. He was described as an expert in archery, medicine and in his knowledge about the elephant force. In the conflicts between the Rashtrakutas and the Eastern Chalukyas, Arikesari and his successors helped the former, probably as vassals.

It was during the time of Baddega (c. 870-895) that this dynasty played an important role in the history of Andhra country. Gunaga Vijayaditya (848-892), the greatest of the Eastern Chalukyas, is known to have captured Baddega and offered him protection. This must have occured in the course of his campaign against the Rashtrakuta ruler, Krishna II. This was retaliated later, when Baddega captured Bhima (very likely Chalukya Bhima I, successor to Gunaga Vijayaditya), "as if he seized a crocodile in water." This would indicate that the war took place near a water-fort in the Vengi area. Besides this achievement, Baddega was known as the 'hero of forty-two battles', the details of which are not known.

Baddega was succeeded to the throne by his son Yuddhamalla III (895-910), who in turn was succeeded by his son Narasimha II. Narasimha II (910-930) was a famous warrior and bagged a number of victories for his Rashtrakuta master, Indra III. He conquered the Latas, reduced Malwa and defeated the Gurjara King, Mahipala. He led his armies as far as the river Ganges.

His son and successor was the most famous Arikesari II (930-955). He was the patron of the Kannada poet Pampa, the author of *Vikramārjuna-vijaya*. Arikesari married the daughter of the Rashtrakuta king, Indra III. Arikesari was responsible for the accession of Amoghavarsha III, defeating his brother Govinda. In this context, Arikesari II is said to have given protection to one Chalukya Bijja, probably a ruler of the Mudigonda line and a subordinate of the Chalukyas of Vengi.

After the death of Arikesari II, the kingdom was divided into two parts between the two sons of Arikesari II - Vagaraja and Bhadradeva. Bhadradeva ruled from Vemulavada, the capital of the kingdom, while his brother Vagaraja made Gangadhara his headquarters. Vagaraja patronised Somadevasuri, the author of *Yaśastilaka*.

Bhadradeva's successor was Arikesari III (946-68), who was the last ruler of this family. He was mentioned as "a worshipper of the feet of the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna III". However, the fatal attacks from the Chalukyas (of Kalyani) affected both the Rashtrakutas and their vassals, the Vemulavada Chalukyas.

Rashtrakutas

As mentioned earlier, the Chalukyas of Badami were overthrown from power by the Rashtrakutas who exercised their authority over the Deccan for about two centuries (753-973). Their supremacy in the Deccan was so secure that they could participate in the struggle for supremacy in the north along with such powers as the Gurjara Pratiharas and the Palas. Their contribution to literature and fine arts is also noteworthy.

The wars of the Chalukyas with the Pallavas on the one hand and the advance of the Arabs into Gujarat during the 8th century on the other are indicative of the chaotic political condition of the times. This was taken advantage of by Dantidurga, the founder of the Rashtrakuta family. He defied the Badami Chalukya suzerainty and established himself as an independent ruler by 753 and ruled upto 758. Within that short period, he conquered the areas upto Kanchi in the south and the Sindhu in the north. He was succeeded by his paternal uncle, Krishna I (758-772), also known as Akalavarsha I, who conquered Konkan and the Western Ganga kingdom of Talakad and consolidated his position. It was he who was responsible for the carving out of the rock-temple of Kailasa at Ellora. Krishna was succeeded by Govinda II (772-80) who helped his father in his campaigns as crown prince. There was a conflict between Govinda II and Dhruva, his brother, in which the former was successful. After ascending the throne, he seems to have got addicted to vices and relegated his powers to his brother, Dhruva.

Dhruva (780-793) was one of the most notable kings of the family. In north India, Gurjara Pratiharas and the Palas were fighting for supremacy. Dhruva also vied with them for power and defeated the Pratihara ruler, Vatsaraja and the Pala ruler, Dharmapala. After these victories in the north, Dhruva fought against the Eastern Chalukyas successfully and married the daughter of Vishnuvardhana IV. The king, then, disciplined the insubordinate Kalinga chief, Sivamara, imprisoned him and appointed his own son, Kambha, as the governor. Later, he defeated Nandivarma II of the Pallava dynasty. He nominated his third son, Govinda III, as his successor.

Govinda III (792-814) was one of the ablest rulers of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. Fearing oppostion from his elder brother Kambha, the king released Sivamara, the Kalinga chief, from prison with the hope that he would fight against Kambha. But strangely, Kambha and Sivamara joined hands, secured support from the Pallava ruler and opposed Govinda. The combined attacks by a number of rulers belonging to the Pallava, Pandya, Chola, Chalukya, Ganga, Maurya and Gurjara families were successfully repelled by Govinda. Kambha was taken captive, but released and appointed as the governor of Gangavadi. Sivamara was again imprisoned.

After his success over the Deccan and southern kingdoms, Govinda III led a successful military campaign to the north. He turned to the south by about 800, when a number of dynasties, opposed to the Rashtrakuta hegemony, attacked him once again. He defeated the rulers of the Ganga, Pallava and Pandya families and attacked Kanchi in 803-804. His minor son, Amoghavarsha, became the ruler after his death, with Karaka Suvarnavarsha, a cousin, functioning as the regent.

Amoghavarsha I (814-880), known as Nrupatunga, inherited a vast empire. A number of rulers in the Deccan and the south, who suffered defeat at the hands of Govinda, rebelled against the young king. However, the regent took all the necessary measures to put down the rebels and by 821 the throne was made secure for Amoghavarsha.

Hostilities, continued with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. Gunaga Vijayaditya, who was later destined to play a significant role in Vengi as well as in the Deccan, was defeated in the initial years of his rule by Amoghavarsha. The former had to become a feudatory of the king, and as such was obliged to undertake an expedition against the Ganga ruler of Talakad whom he subdued on behalf of the Rashtrakuta ruler. Ganga Butuga married the daughter of Amoghavarsha and thus a matrimonial alliance was effected between the Rashtrakutas and Ganga families. Amoghavarsha's reign is noted in the literary sphere also. He was himself a scholar and poet and published *Kavirājamārga*, a work on Kannada prosody. He patronised many poets. Though he had to participate in several wars throughout his rule, Amoghavarsha was a pacifist and an ardent Jain.

Amoghavarsha was succeeded by his son Krishna II (880-913). He repeatedly attacked Vengi but was defeated by Gunaga Vijayaditya. But the death of Gunaga Vijayaditya in 891 afforded an opportunity to Krishna to conquer parts of Vengi but only for a short time. By this time, the Pallava power was on its wane and the Cholas were slowly emerging on the political scene. Krishna gave his daughter in marriage to Chola Aditya I.

Although Krishna suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of the Eastern Chalukyas, he was by no means a weak monarch. His armies successfully marched upto the tip of the southern peninsula. In the north, he defeated Mihira Bhoja, a Gurjara Pratihara ruler, and conquered the area upto the river Ganges. When, later, there arose a conflict between the grandsons of Mihira Bhoja - Bhoja and Mahipala - for succession to the throne, Krishna took the side of Bhoja and defeated Mahipala. After the Rashtrakuta armies returned home, Mahipala wrested power from Bhoja, reoccupied Kanauj and challenged Krishna on his own territory. But before the attack was repulsed, Krishna died.

His grandson, Indra III (913-929), succeeded him to the throne and drove back the enemy. He chased Mahipala upto Kanauj and destroyed the city. Indra was succeeded by his son, Govinda IV. Govinda ruled for seven years during which period he helped Yuddhamalla II to occupy the Vengi throne. Thus, Vengi came under the Rashtrakuta suzerainty. Towards the end of his reign, Govinda had to face a rebellion from his feudatories. Baddega, his paternal uncle, finally wrested the power from him in 936.

Baddega's son and heir-apparent, Krishna III, managed the affairs of the state during his father's reign and succeeded him to the throne in 939.

Krishna III (939-969), was the last great ruler of the family. He waged a war against the Cholas and occupied the area stretching from Kanchi to Tanjavur. Enthused with this success, Krishna III ordered a military expedition to the north. During this expedition, he defeated the Gurjara Pratiharas and Paramaras by 964. Besides, Krishna intervened in the affairs of Vengi, by championing the cause of Badapa at first and that of Danarnava later.

The successors of Krishna III were weak. The Paramaras retaliated by conquering the Rashtrakuta territory and plundering its capital. Tailapa II of the Western Chalukya family, along with a number of other subordinates, overthrew the Rashtrakuta rule in 973 and re-established the Chalukya dynasty designated by the historians as Western or Kuntala or Kalyani Chalukya dynasty.

Later Pallavas

The Pallava rule, which was earlier eclipsed by the onslaught of the Kalabhras, was revived during the last quarter of the sixth century by Simhavishnu, a scion of the Pallava ruling family and was firmly established at Kanchi. This new dynasty of Pallavas is known as the 'Greater Pallava' (Mahapallava) or the 'Later Pallava' Dynasty.

Simhavishnu (575-600) defeated the Cholas and Pandyas and occupied the area upto the river Cauveri. He appears to have conquered Malva in the north and areas upto Ceylon in the south. He was also a great patron of letters. His son, Mahendravarma I (600-630), succeeded him to the throne. His inscription at Chejerla in the Guntur district shows that his authority prevailed over the area for sometime. The achievements of Pulakesi II, as recorded in the Aihole inscription, show that he compelled the Pallava ruler to be confined to the city of Kanchi. But there is also some epigraphical evidence to show that Mahendravarma defeated the forces of Pulakesi. Mahendravarma is known more for his interest in cultural promotion. He was a writer and a musician. He was the author of two *prahasanas - Bhagavadajjukam* and *Mattavilāsam*. He composed a work on musicology. The Mahapallavas carried to the south the art of hewing out cave temples which extended from the banks of the Krishna. The cave temples of Mahabalipuram, Mamandur, Dalavanur and Tiruchinapalli were hewn under the patronage of Mahendravarma I. He was a Jain at first and a Saivite later. Owing to his inquisitive mind, he was known as 'Vichitrachitta'.

Narasimhavarma I (630-668) succeeded his father, Mahendravarma, to the Pallava throne. He had the title 'Mahamalla' or 'Mamalla' (the great wrestler), after whom Mamallapura or Mahabalipuram was named. In the initial year of his reign, he was defeated by Pulakesi and was compelled to seek refuge. But later on he gained strength and defeated the Chalukya forces. He pursued them into their territory and seiged their capital, Badami. Pulakesi II seems to have lost his life in this battle. Narasimhavarma was helped in the battle by Manavarma of Ceylon, who was dethroned and hence compelled to seek refuge in the Pallava court. Narasimhavarma assisted him to regain his throne. He sent his navy against Ceylon and installed the former on the Ceylonese throne. Narasimhavarma also was a patron of arts like his illustrious father. At his command, a cave temple was hewn at Bhairavakona in the present Nellore district. He made some innovations in the architecture and his style came to be called after him. Narasimhavarma was succeeded to the throne by his son Mahendravarma II, who ruled for a short period of two years. During this period, Vikramaditya I of Badami recovered from the attacks of Narasimhavarma and fought with the Pallavas successfully.

The retaliation of Vikramaditya was rigorous during the reign of Parameswaravarma I (670-91), the fourh ruler of the dynasty. The Chalukya ruler initially defeated the Pallava forces and conquered Kanchi. But the intrusion of the Chalukyas was repulsed by Parameswaravarma soon. He also captured Badami and earned the title 'Vatapi Kondan'. Parameswaravama was succeeded by Narasimhavarma II, alias Rajasimha, (691-728), who was one of the illustrious rulers of the dynasty. During his reign there was a lull in the hostilities against the Chalukyas. There is a reference to his conflict with the Arabs and Tibetans. It is possible that there could have been clashes of commercial interest with the Arabs in the trade activity in southeast Asia. The king built the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi and the shore temple at Mahabalipuram. It appears that construction of temples using brick and stone began in his time. The great Sanskrit author, Dandi, who wrote *Kâvyâdarśam*, was in his court. Parameswaravarma II (728-751), one of the sons of Rajasimha, succeeded his father to the throne. A Western Ganga attack took place during his reign and the king failed to rise to the occasion.

After Parameswaravarma II (730-733), the Pallava throne passed into the hands of another branch of the Pallava family which traced its descent from Bhimavarma, a brother of Simhavishnu. A member of this collateral family, Nandivarma II, was elected to the throne in 783.

Nandivarma II, also known as Pallavamalla, ruled for a very long period from 733 to 798. During this period, Chalukya Vikramaditya II led a campaign against the Pallavas, defeated the king and made a triumphant entry into Kanchi, but did not destroy the city. The Pandyas seem to have supported the cause of Chitramaya, a rival of Parameswaravarma II, against him. The Pallava king had initial difficulties, but his able general, Udayachandra, brought success to his master in the end and killed Chitramaya.

At that time (753), the Chalukyas of Badami were displaced by the Rashtrakutas, who, led by Dantidurga, fought against the Pallavas and succeeded in capturing Kanchi. But a treaty was concluded by which Reva, the daughter of Dantidurga, was given in marriage to Nandivarma II. Their son Dantivarma succeeded his father to the Pallava throne. He ruled from 796 to 847. In spite of the Rashtrakuta alliance, the Pallava ruler at that time could not check the Pandyan inroads into his territories.

Nandivarma III (848-869) succeeded his father to the throne. He contained the power of the Pandyas by inflicting a defeat on them at Tellaru, with the help of the Western Gangas, the Cholas and the Rashtrakutas. After his death, his three sons, Nrupatunga, Aparajita and Kampavarma ascended the throne one after the other. Nrupatunga (869-885) gained a victory over the Pandyas. Soon, there were differences between him and Aparajita. Nripatunaga secured the Pandyan support, while Aparajita depended on the help of the Gangas and Cholas, who were then emerging as a power. These contending forces met at the battlefield near Kumbakonam. In this battle, Prithvipathi (Ganga) was killed and Varaguna II (Pandya) was defeated. Nruptunga was no more heard of.

Aparajita (888-899), he was not recognised as the overlord; on the other hand, it only led to the strengthening of the Chola power. Aparajita's death benefitted the Cholas who occupied Tondaimandalam. Kampavarma ruled for a short time upto 912 in the Nellore region of Andhra Pradesh.

Velanati Chodas

During the reign of the Chalukya-Cholas, several local chieftains began to exercise their authority as feudatories. Kulottunga I, finding it difficult to contain the continuous attacks of the Western Chalukyas and the Eastern Gangas into Vengi, initiated the policy of raising some leading families to feudatory status by conferring on them the insignia of royalty. These feudatories, known as 'mandalikas' were intended to strengthen the position of the Chalukya-Chola viceroys in Vengi. The foremost among such families were the Chodas of Velanadu or the Velanati Chodas. The Velanati Chodas, in the beginning, served the Eastern Chalukyas as their military commanders. Gonka I of the Velanati Durjaya family was mentioned as the 'samasta senadhipati' under the Chalukya-Chola king Kulottunga I. Gonka I (1076-1108) was greatly responsible for the political stability of the Chalukya-Chola power in Andhra. As a reward for his services, Kulottunga I conferred on Gonka I the lordship over 'Shatsahasravani' (Arvelanadu) on the southern bank of the Krishna river. Thus, Velanati Chodas started their career ruling over this territory with their capital at Dhanadapura, modern Chandavolu in Guntur district.

Rajendra Choda I (1108-1136) was the son and successor of Gonka I. During the last years of the rule of Kulottunga I (which corresponds with the period of Rajendra Choda I), the Chalukya-Cholas lost a considerable part of their region to the Western Chalukya ruler, Vikramaditya VI. The attempts of Vikrama Chola (1118-1135), son of and successor to Kulottunga I, to regain the lost territories proved futile. Thus, for some period, the Velanati Chodas had to rule as the vassals of the Western Chalukyas. However, after the death of Vikramaditya VI in 1127, Vikrama-Chola was succesful in putting an end to the authority of the Chalukyas of Kalyani over Vengi with the help of the mandalikas. Velanati Gonka II (1137-1162), son of Rajendra Choda I, fought with the Chalukyan armies on the banks of the Godavari, defeated them and captured a rich booty. This facilitated the restoration of Chalukya-Chola sovereignty in Vengi by about 1135.

Kulottunga II, successor to Vikrama Chola, pleased by the military services of Gonka II, conferred on him the rulership of Vengi. However, the Velanati Chodas were not strong enough to command the allegiance of the rest of the mandalikas. The attempts of the Velanatis to impose their authority over the other mandalikas resulted in revolts throughout the domain. To consolidate their position, the Velanatis entered into matrimonial alliances with the other chiefs such as the Kotas, the Haihayas of Palnad and the Kondapadumatis. Gonka II was successful in thwarting the attempts of the Telugu Chodas of Konidena, Kammanadu and Pakanadu and became independent. He undertook an expedition against southern Kalinga and inflicted a humiliating defeat on the Eastern Gangas around 1151. As a result of his successes in Kalinga, Gonka claimed himself as the lord of the entire area extending from Mahendragiri to Srisailam.

Rajendra Choda II (1162-1181), the successor of Gonka II, was also successful in curbing the activities of several mandalikas. The Haihayas of Kona, the Kolanu rulers and the Undi chiefs were defeated by the Velanati armies. Rajendra Choda came out victorious in his campaigns against the Chalukyas of Pithapur and the southern Kalinga. He ruled over his kingdom almost independently, nominally acknowledging the sovereignty of the Chalukya-Cholas. Rajadhiraja II, the Chalukya-Chola king, being a weak ruler and having been preoccupied with the affairs of the Chola region, allowed the Velanatis to handle the affairs of Andhra independently.

The famous battle of Palnadu was waged towards the last years of the rule of Rajendra Choda II. It was the result of a dispute over succession to the throne of Palnati Haihayas. The various mandalika rulers of Andhra like the Velanati chiefs, the Kotas, the Kalachuris, the Hoyasalas, the Chagis of Gudimetta, the Kakatiyas, etc. participated in the battle at Karempudi. They took sides in accordance with their friendly and matrimonial alliances. The war weakened both the Velanatis and the other mandalikas and paved the way for Kakatiyas to defeat the mandalikas and annex their regions in due course.

Velanati Prithvisvara, son of Gonka III (1181-1186), ascended the Velanati throne in 1186. He was successful at first in regaining control over the Chalukyas of Pithapur and southern Kalinga. But Kakatiya Ganapati Deva, who extended his sway over Andhra by his conquests defeated and killed Prithvisvara in a battle in 1203. Thus ended the rule of the Velanati Chodas. With this ended the mandalika era and the rule of the Chalukya-Cholas as well.

Eastern Gangas

The Eastern Gangas appeared on the political scene towards the close of the 5th century as rulers of Orissa. Their dominions appear to have extended up to the banks of the Godavari. The Gangas claimed themselves as 'Trikalingadhipatis' (Lords of Trikalinga). It cannot be definitely accertained to which part of the present Kalinga this Trikalinga would apply. However, some contemporary records give scope to assume that it comprised not only the present Andhra districts north of the Godavari, but also some tracts in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. There are several problems in reconstructing their dynastic history as the early Gangas issued their charters in Ganga era and there is no consensus among the scholars regarding its initial year. However, the later rulers, from Anantavarma Vajrahasta (1038-1069) onwards issued their grants in Saka era. This had enabled the historians to reconstruct the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty to an extent.

The first known ruler of the dynasty was Indravarma (6th century). He had his capital at Dantapura, but later shifted it to Kalinganagara (Mukhalingam in Srikakulam District). The Gangas thus ruled with their capital in Andhra for nearly five centuries, until it was shifted to Cuttack at the end of the 11th century. The early Eastern Gangas had to face the opposition of the Vishnukundis of Vengi in their attempts to retain their control over northern Andhra. Since the Eastern Chalukyas annexed to their kingdom a large portion of the dominion of the Gangas, only a small tract of Andhra in the north around Mukhalingam, remained in the Ganga rule upto the 11th century.

Anantavarma Vajrahasta (1038-1070), known as Vajrahasta III, was the first ruler of the later Eastern Gangas. It is from his time that we find the lithic records of the dynasty with dates in Saka era. Rajaraja Devendravarma was the successor of Vajrahasta. During his reign, Rajendra Chola invaded Kalinga to punish Devendravarma Rajarajadeva for having supported the right of Chalukya Vijayaditya to the throne of Vengi. Both the parties claimed to have been successful in the battle. Whatever be the outcome of the battle, peace was brought between the two and Kulottunga I gave his daughter in marriage to Rajarajadeva. Anantavarma Choda Ganga, who succeeded his father, Rajarajadeva, to the throne in 1078 was the most illustrious of the Ganga rulers. He ruled for nearly 70 years. He was the son of Rajarajadeva by the Chalukya-Chola princess, Rajasundari, and was thus closely related to the neighbouring Chalukya-Chola kings. When his succession was disputed by Devendravarma, a Ganga king of a collateral line, Kulottunga II, sent his army under Vikrama Choda to punish Devendravarma. Thus, his relationship with the Chalukya-Cholas helped Anantavarma in establishing his rule during the early years. However, after the death of Kulottunga I, Anantavarma invaded the neighbouring Chalukya-Chola territory and annexed a part of it to his territories. By about 1135, he brought under his authority the territory extending from the River Ganga to the Godavari and transferred his capital from Kalinganagara to Cuttack.

During the reign of Anantavarma Choda Ganga's successor, Kamarnava (1147-56), Velanati Gonka II, the Chalukya-Chola feudatory at Vengi, invaded Kalinga and conquered its southern part. From this time onwards, the attack of the rulers of Andhra on Kalinga became continuous and parts of Kalinga kept on changing hands between the Gangas and the rulers of Andhra. During the reign of Rajarajadeva II (1170-90), the Gangas reoccupied the territory upto the Godavari lost during the reign of their previous rulers. After the conquest of the Velanati territories by the Kakatiyas, the latter bacame the main rivals to the Gangas in the Kalinga region. After the fall of the Kakatiyas, the conflicts of the Gangas continued with the Reddis and Velamas. The Gangas also had to face the enmity of the Sultans of Gulbarga who were trying to establish their control over Andhra. The Ganga power weakened considerably during the reign of Narasimhadeva IV (1378-1414). Later, under Bhanudeva IV (1414-32) the Gangas had to face opposition from the rulers of Vijayanagar as well. The rule of the Eastern Gangas came to an end with a revolt led by Kapilesvara Gajapati, who occupied the throne at Cuttack and displaced Bhanudeva IV. Thus ended the long rule of the Eastern Gangas over Kalinga.

Kakatiyas

Telugu speaking people were, to a large extent, brought under one government, which identified itself with their aspirations and their social and cultural activities during the reign of the Kakatiyas. They made their first appearance in Andhra sometime in the tenth century as the military generals of the Rashtrakuta kings. Later they were appointed as 'Mahasamanta' chiefs of Hanumakonda *vishaya* (province) by the Western Chalukyas whom they served as loyal subordinates. When the Chalukya authority was overthrown by Kalachuri Bijjala in 1156-57, Kakatiya Prola II, with the help of his son Rudradeva, asserted himself as an independent ruler. In order to secure sovereignty, he struggled hard to subdue the other feudatories in Telangana - Gundaraja of Manthani, Medaraja of Polavasa, Dommaraja of Nagunuru, and the

Telugu Chodas of Panugallu and Kandurunadu. Prola II died in about 1158. Rudradeva, having accomplished the cherished desire of his father, proclaimed independence on 19th January, 1163 with Hanumakonda as his capital, and much of Telangana as his kingdom.

Rudradeva's military activities in the coastal Andhradesa seem to have begun as early as in 1158, the date of the Daksharamam inscription of his general, Inangala Bammi Reddy. Although it does not disclose any political event attached to it, the method of recording the date both in the Saka year (1080) and the (13th) regnal year of the Chalukya Chola king, Rajaraja II, indicates that Rudradeva might have deputed his army to assist Rajaraja. The march of the Kakatiya armies beyond the Godavari is also referred to in the Hanumakonda (fragmentary) epigraph of the minister, Gangadhara. In recognition of Rudra's help, Rajaraja II might have given Rudra a part of Kona *mandala* as gift, which must have made Rudra mention in his Hanumakonda inscription that his kingdom extended from the sea in the east up to Srisailam in the west. The advancement of the Kakatiya armies in that region was checked by the rising power of the Durjaya chief, Rajendra Choda II of Velanadu. Subsequent to his death in 1181 and the outbreak of the fratricidal war among the Haihaya chiefs of Palnadu, Rudra got a second opportunity to interfere in the political affairs of coastal Andhra. At the request of Nalagamaraja of Palnadu, Rudra set out with an army led by capable nayakas and participated in the ensuing battle. Although the outcome is not known, it is evident that the Kakatiya king could gain considerable influence and even defeat the Kota chief, Dodda Bhima of Dharanikota, and the Kondapadumati chiefs. The last reference to Rudra is noticed in the Bekkallu inscription dated 1195. As Rudradeva had no issues, his younger brother Mahadeva succeeded him in about 1196 and ruled the kingdom for three years. It is clearly stated in he Khandavalli and Yanamadala inscriptions of the Kakatiyas that Mahadeva died in a battle with Jaitrapala, the Yadava king, in 1198. The reasons for Mahadeva's waging a war against he Yadava king are not known. Mahadeva's queen was Bayyamamba, the daughter of a Natavadi chief. They had a son, Ganapatideva and two daughters, Mailamba and Kundamba. The two daughters were given in marriage to two princes of the Natavadi family.

At the time of the death of his father, Mahadeva, in the battle, Ganapatideva was himself prisoner in the hands of the Yadava king. However, his ministers managed to secure his elease and install him on the Kakakitya throne. The Manthena inscripiton datable to the end f 1199 is Ganapatideva's earliest known record.

After consolidating his position in the capital, Ganapatideva turned his attention to coastal ndhra. The Velanati king, Prithvisvara, had shifted his capital from Chandavolu to Pithapuram the East Godavari district temporarily, to consolidate his authority in the Godavari region t the same time, he kept the Krishna region in charge of his loyal subordinate, Pinnachodi, Ayya family. The Kakatiya general, Malyala Chaunda, marched to the island of Divi against nnachodi in 1203. In spite of the stubborn resistance of Pinnachodi, the Kakatiya general ould capture the island-fortress, the last strong hold of Prithvisvara, with all its occupants and riched the treasury of his master with the precious diamonds stored there by Prithisvara for fety. But, for diplomatic reasons, Ganapatideva allowed Pinnachodi to rule the territory as s subordinate. Pinnachodi gave his two daughters, Naramamba and Peramamba in marriage to Ganapatideva. Having been impressed by the good qualities of young Jayana, son of Pinnachodi, Ganapatideva brought him to the capital and got him educated and trained in fine arts and statecraft. Subsequently, the king appointed Jayana as the commander of the elephant forces.

Though defeated, Prithvisvara did not surrender. He fled to Kalinga and later managed to come back to his capital Chandavolu in about 1206-7. Ganapatideva deputed his general, Malyala Kata, as the head of an army against the Velanati king. Some Telugu Choda chiefs, including Tikkabhupati of Nellore and Balliya Choda of Kammanadu, joined the Kakatiya forces and Prithvisvara was slain in the ensuing battle. Velanadu was annexed to the Kakatiya kingdom and Jayana was appointed the governor of that region.

The conquest of Velanadu gave Ganapatideva an opportunity to dominate the affairs of the Telugu Chodas of Nellore. The Chola emperor, Kulottunga Chola III, had earlier dislodged the Telugu Choda king, Manumasiddhi I of Nellore and installed the latter's brother Nallasiddhi on the throne. Manumasiddhi's son Tikkabhupati, the rightful heir to the throne, solicited Ganapatideva's help. Ganapatideva marched against Nellore and after defeating the insurgents, installed Tikkabhupati on the throne. The Kakatiya army further marched into the Chola country as far as Kanchi, as alluded to in the Kakatiya inscriptions at Chebrolu and Gana-peswaram.

In another expedition to the east coast, the Kakatiya generals covered, in their march, the present agency tracts of Bastar, Chikrakuta, Kalinga and the Godavari region. The Upparapalli inscription of Rajanayaka, datable to 1186, enumerates his victories over the Manniyas and Bokkera, in the Aska taluk of the Ganjam district and Godhumaratti and Padiraya near Parlakimidi. However, these victories did not fetch any territorial benefits to the Kakatiyas. The expedition turned out to be just a raid. The principality of Kolanu was, until 1128, under the rule of Kesavadeva, who was patronised by the Eastern Ganga king, Aniyanka Bhima III. The Ganga king posted one of his officers at Daksharamam and imposed his authority over the Manniyas of Orissa, the Chalukyas of Pithapuram, the Haihayas of Konamandala and the Kolanu chief, Kesavadeva. In order to assert his authority in the Godavari region, Ganapatideva despatched an army under Induluri Soma. This expedition is vividly described in *Śivayōgasāra*, a Saiva treatise of the 15th century, written by Kolanu Ganapati. According to its narration, Induluri Soma, one of the author's ancestors, conquered Kolanu and Kalinga in a single campaign and established Kakatiya authority there, which remained undisturbed until the end of the dynasty.

After the death of Tikkabhupati in 1248, the affairs of Nellore again necessitated Ganapatideva's intervention as the ruler Manumasiddhi II was in trouble. Vijayaganda Gopala, a scion of the Telugu Cholas, seized the southern part of the kingdom of Nellore. Added to this, Manumasiddhi's trusted ministers - Bayyana and Tikkana - revolted against him and drove him out of the capital. In the Cuddapah region, a Vaidumba chief, Rakkasa Ganga, occupied Manumasiddhi's territories. Thus deprived of all his territory, Manumasiddhi II appealed to Ganapatideva for help, through his court-poet, Tikkana, the celebrated author of *Āndhra Mahābhāratamu*. Ganapatideva readily conceded to the request of Manumasiddhi II. According to the Nayanapally epigraph of Ganapatideva, the Kakatiya armies reduced Nellore to ashes and, having killed Bayyana and Tikkana, marched further south. After a decisive battle at Palaiyaru in Tanjavur district, they captured Kanchi in or about 1250. Then, the Kakatiya forces marched against the Vaidumba chief, Rakkasa Ganga and restored the lost territory to Manumasiddhi. Recognising the ability of Gangaya Sahini, the Kayastha general of Manumasiddhi, Ganapatideva appointed him as 'Bahattara Niyogadhipati' (Superintendent of seventy two departments of administration) in his court. He also gave to Gangaya Sahini, the region of Marjavadi, captured from the Vaidumba chief, Rakkasa Ganga, as family fief

Manumasiddhi II was in trouble again in 1257, attacked by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, who, having wrested Kanchi from the Chola king, Rajendra Chola III, sent the Kadava chief, Kopperunjinga, with a formidable army to occupy the Nellore kingdom. The Kadava chief marched his forces beyond the Nellore kingdom and penetrated as far as Tripurantakam in the Kakatiya kingdom. Though Ganapatideva could repel the Pandyan forces, he thought it wise to make friends with the Kadava chief, as Manumasiddhi II died in a battle at Muttukur sometime before 1263 and the kingdom of Nellore was annexed to the Pandya kingdom. However, the enmity between the two kingdoms - Kakatiya and Pandya - continued in a subdued form for sometime, only to erupt at a later stage. Ganapatideva became too old to face the situation and had to retire from politics.

The reign of Ganapatideva was one of the brilliant epochs in the history of Andhra. In the first place, a large part of the Telugu speaking area was brought under a single political authority. Many of the erstwhile mandalika chiefs of the coastal region were reduced to vassalage. The most powerful Velanadu chief was totally eliminated from the political scene. The Kotas of Dhanyakataka and the Chalukyas of Nidadavole were brought nearer by marital alliances as Ganapatideva gave his first daughter, Ganapamba, to the Kota chief, Beta, and his second daughter, Rudramadevi, to the Chalukya chief, Virabhadra of Nidadavole. The other minor chiefs like those of Konidena, Potthapi, Kona and Kolani were reduced to subordination. By taking the Kayastha chief, Gangaya Sahini, into service, the eastern part of the present Rayalaseema became a part of the Kakatiya kingdom.

The fort of Orugallu, the foundation for which was laid by Rudradeva, was completed by Ganapatideva with two formidable ramparts - the outer mudfort, twenty five feet high, and the inner stone fort, twenty feet high - both being skirted by deep moats. This fort was noted to be one of the strongest medieval forts in the country. Another noteworthy feature of Ganapatideva's administration was his choice of able ministers and generals like Jayana, Recherla Rudra, the Kayastha chief Gangaya Sahini and Jannigadeva. Ganapatideva introduced uniform adminstration in the kingdom by organising the departments and official machinery.

Having no male issue, Ganapatideva nominated his younger daughter, Rudrama, as his successor to the throne. She was well trained in statecraft as well as in military strategy. This decision was not to the liking of some members of the royal family who considered it a shame and loss of dignity to serve a lady as subordinates. But as long as Ganapatideva was alive, they did not dare question the decision. Ganapatideva, who retired from active politics in 1263, was, however, constantly watching the affairs of the kingdom and guiding his daughter in all important matters. The old king lived until 1267.

Soon after the death of Ganapatideva, the Yadava King, Mahadeva of Devagiri, invaded the Kakatiya kingdom. The Kakatiya capital was besieged by the Yadava forces for about two weeks. But the Kakatiya queen could not only repel the enemy but also force him to retreat. The Kakatiya forces, making the best use of this opportunity, chased the Yadava armies and captured the fort of Bedadakota (Bidar). The fort was then kept under the control of a Kakatiya general named Bhairava of the Sinda lineage, as revealed in an inscription set up by the latter in that fort. As a result of this outstanding victory gained by Rudramadevi, the Yadava king was made to seek peace paying the Kakatiya queen large amounts of gold coins and numerous horses, as indemnity. Having thus proved herself to be a worthy daughter of a worthy father, Rudrama assumed the royal title 'Rayagajakesari' of her father Ganapatideva. To commemmorate her victory over the Yadava king, she got a large *mandapa* constructed before the temple of Svayambhu Deva in the fort, now perceivable from the ruins, depicitng herself in a series of Rayagajakesari motifs on the pillars.

In the last days of Ganapatideva's reign, the chiefs of Konamandala sought the help of the Ganga King Narasimha I of Orissa and switched over their allegiance to him. Rudrama sent an army under two able commanders - Potinayaka and Prolinayaka - to assist the Induluri chief. The combined forces checked the advance of the Ganga armies into Vengi. The river Godavari formed the boundary between the two kingdoms. Induluri Manma Ganna, son of Somamantri and the latter's younger brother Peda Ganna were posted as Governors of the entire Vengi by the queen as in the time of her father. Being pleased with their ability and services, Rudrama gave her third duaghter Ruyyama to Peda Ganna's son, Annaya.

During the reign of Ganapatideva, the Kayastha chief Gangaya Sahini rose to prominence not only as the commander of the cavalry but also as the superintendent of seventy two departments of administration. He was made 'Mahamandalesvara' of a long stretch of territory extending from Panugallu in Nalgonda district to Valluru in Cuddapah District.

As a result of the Pandya invasion, a part of the fief of Gangaya Sahini in the Cuddpah disitrict was lost to the Vaidumba chiefs, Kesavadeva and Somideva, towards the end of Ganapatideva's reign. However, in the beginning of Rudramadevi's reign, Ambadeva, the nephew of Gangaya Sahini, regained these two territories. But, with an ambition to carve out a principality of his own, Ambadeva began to oust the loyal subordinates of the queen, one by one, in the neighbouring territory. He obtained military help from the Pandya king in the south and the Yadava king in the north. Thus, he grew bold to fight against the Kakatiya armies led by the queen herself to suppress his rebellion. An inscription in the village Chandupatla in Nalgonda district dated 25th November 1289 records some gift to the local God, Somanathadeva, by a warrior, named Puvvula Mummadi, for the merit of Kakati Rudramadevi and her general Mallikarjunanayaka, both of them having attained *Śivalōka* (having died).

The reference to the simultaneous death of the queen and her general in the epigraph leads one to infer that both of them might have met their end in a war, either on the field or in the camp. It is quite likely that Rudrama, in spite of her old age, led the army personally and met with a fatal end. Ambadeva in his Tripurantaka inscription, dated subsequent to the incident, claims for himself the victory over all kings of Andhra (*sarvân Åndhra-mahîpatim raṇamukhê jitva yaśôlabdhavân*). Thus, Rudramadevi's reign ended with a rebellion of serious magnitude.

Rudrama was undoubtedly one of the great rulers of the Andhra country. She took an active part in the governance of the kingdom. Attired as a male and adopting the masculine name Rudradeva, she used to adorn the royal seat, gave interviews to foreigners, held consultations with her ministers, generals and other high dignitaries of the State and advised them how they should act. On occasions of emergency she did not hesitate to take to the field in person and to lead her troops against the enemy.

She was married, as mentioned earlier, to the Chalukya prince Virabhadra of Nidadavole and she had three daughters by him. The eldest daughter, Mummadamma was given in marriage to a Kakatiya prince named Mahadeva.

Rudramadevi, having no male issue, was succeeded by her grandson Prataparudra, son of her eldest daughter, Mummadamma. He was coronated at a critical time when the kingdom had to face Ambadeva's rebellion. For any action against Ambadeva, Prataparudra had to despatch his forces simultaneously to three fronts, the first to fight the Pandyas at Nellore, the second to wage war against Ambadeva at Tripurantakam and the third to check the Sevunas in the west. He lost no time in consolidating the military resources of the kingdom. The first contingent was despatched to Tripurantakam under the command of Manuma Gannaya, son of Kolani Somamantri (1290-91). Unable to meet the Kakatiya forces, Ambadeva fled away to Gandikota, his original capital in the Cuddapah region. It is not known how long he lived after this defeat. The expedition to Nellore was also successful as Prataparudra's general, Somayajula Rudraya, could drive away the Pandya armies and instal Manuma Gandagopala on the Nellore throne. In the west against the Sevunas, the Kakatiya army was led by the chief, Vitthala of the Gona family. He not only drove away the Sevunas but also wrested the forts of Adavani, Raichuru and Tumbalam together with Haluva and Manuva in the Raichur doab. Having reduced the chiefs in charge of these forts to subjugation, Vitthala kept the fort of Raichur under his control.

Thus, within a period of less than three years after his coronation in 1289, Prataparudra could wipe off the damage caused to the kingdom by the treacherous designs of the Kayastha subordinate, Ambadeva. But he had thereafter to divert his attention to a most disastrous threat from the north, the repeated invasions of the Mussalmans.

The armies of Jalal-ud-din Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi, attacked Devagiri, the capital of the Yadavas in 1295 and extracted heavy tributes from its ruler Ramachandradeva. Prataparudra, expecting a similar danger from the Mussalmans, reorgnised his defence by toning up the 'Nayamkara' system which comprised a total army strength of 9,00,000 archers, 20,000 horses and 100 elephants. The earliest of the Mussalman invasions was that of Alla-ud-din Khalji's army in 1303 under the command of Malik Fakher-ud-din Juna. Prataparudra could check the advance of the invading Mussalman armies at a distant place, Upparapalli. To avenge the disaster suffered by his army, Alla-ud-din despatched a larger army again in 1309 under the command of two able generals, Malik-Naib Kafir and Khwaja Haji. The siege of the Orugallu fort, according to *Pratāpacaritra*, continued for a period of twenty five days. Despite his preparedness, the king had no alternative but to sue for peace by agreeing to pay heavy annual tribute in cash and supply of horses to the Sultan.

Taking advantage of Prataparudra's difficulties, the vassals in the outlying provinces of Nellore and Cuddapah flouted his authority. Prataparudra sent an army under Juttayalenka Gonkayareddi who could successfully suppress the revolts and restore the Kakatiya authority in the region. The king appointed him as governor of the region with his seat at Gandikota. In the meantime, Alla-ud-din Khalji, solicited the assitance of Prataparudra in his invasion against the Pandya kingdom in 1311. Availing himself of this opportunity the Kakatiya king marched towards south suppressing the rebellion of Ranganath, the king of Nellore and proceeded towards Kanchi.

At the same time, there arose a civil war for the Pandya throne between the two brothers, Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya. Added to this, the Hoyasala King, Ballala III of Dwarasamudram, led a severe attack on Kanchi and conquered it. The Kakatiya general Peda Rudra lost no time in expelling Ballala's forces from Kanchi and captured the town. In the second phase of the invasion, Prataparudra himself took the lead with the assistance of the generals - Muppidinayaka, Recherla Era Dacha, Manavira and Devarinayaka. Finally, the Kakatiya generals succeeded in making the forces of Vira Pandya retreat. Sundara Pandya, the other contender for the Pandya kingdom, was installed on the throne. With this outstanding victory over the Pandyas, the Kakatiya generals earned laurels and honours in the shape of awards and titles such as 'Pandyaraya gajakesari' (Lion to the elephant that is the Pandya king).

In 1318, Prataparudra had to face another attack by the Mussalman army sent by the Sultan Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah, son of Alla-ud-din Khalji under the command of Khusraukhan. Without offering any resistance, Prataparudra paid the annual tribute with arrears including elephants, horses and gold. He also agreed to cede Bidar and a few other forts on the border of the Yadava kingdom, which was conquered by the Mussalman forces. Meanwhile, in 1320, Delhi throne was seized by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluk, who sent, in 1323, an expedition to Telangana led by his son Ulugh Khan.

Different accounts about the capture of Orugallu are narrated by the Muslim historians, of which the account given by Isami, the earliest writer on the subject, in 1349, is taken to be more reliable than the others. According to him, Ulugh Khan plundered the country and before reaching Orugallu captured some minor forts like Kotagiri on the way. He invested the fort for six long months but could not reduce it. On account of the rebellious attitude of some of his generals, finally, Ulugh Khan was forced to lift the seige and retreat to Delhi. But the Sultan sent Ulugh Khan again with a reinforced army and trusted generals with instructions to capture the fort of Orugallu and bring the king Prataparudra as captive. Accordingly, Ulugh

Khan came unawares and laid seige of the town and the fort. The stocks of provisions in the fort being scanty and exhausted, the Muslim armies could easily enter into the fort. The king was taken captive. Vilasa grant of Musunuri Prolaya, dated 1330 states that Prataparudra committed suicide on the way to Delhi while crossing the river Narmada. The Kaluvacheru grant of the Reddi queen, Anitalli (1423) confirms the same. He considered, perhaps, that death was perferable to dishonour. Thus ended the rule of the Kakatiya line of kings and the country passed into the hands of the rulers belonging to an alien race and religion.

SOCIETY AND RELIGION

Society

At the time of Pulakesi's conquest, the society in Andhradesa was undergoing a revolutionary transformation. The social set-up until then was largely based on the Buddhistic thought of a casteless society. It began to switch over to the Hindu Puranic theistic system that relied on caste. The factors that contributed to such a revolutionary transformation cannot be delineated at present as the necessary material - inscriptional or otherwise - is not availabe in detail. But the fact is there quite clearly discernible. In the last quarter of the sixth century, we find a Vishnukundi king donating some lands to a Buddhist *vihāra*, eulogising the greatness of that religion. But curiously enough, from the 7th century onwards, we do not find even one instance of a donation to any Buddhist institution either by a king or a noble or a citizen. Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim who visited Andhra country in 641, found many *vihāras* and *stūpas* deserted and many a Hindu temple erected at the Buddhist holy places.

The sudden collapse of Buddhism during the period may be attributed to the nihilistic trends that gained dominance in that religion and gradually paved the way for a deplorable fall in moral values, thus alienating the learned as well as the lay people. Some inscriptions certainly point out towards such a culmination by mentioning that the Kalamukha Saivas played a prominent role during this period in saving the people from being misled. It was the Mahayana sect of Buddhism that was affected by this. The Theravada sect, which had already lost its hold on the masses as early as in the 3rd century, lingered on in some parts of the country without any popular or royal support upto the 14th century and vanished thereafter.

The social structure in the Buddhist society was practically based on professional groups, and the rulers who followed the Vedic religion did not interfere with it. Brahmins alone functioned as a separate caste and were honoured by the rulers. However, with the introduction of Puranic theism and the social concepts associated with it, the people - who till then had no caste distinction - had to be accommodated in the castes suitable to their professions. The trading groups were grouped as Vaisyas and the rest as Sudras. However, this division did not affect the existence of the professional groups. As such, the caste system could never function with all its rigidity in Andhra and we find the professional groups continuing as subsects in a caste. Hence, we find in the inscriptions of the period the word *aṣṭâdaśa praja* (eighteen sections of people) as a comprehensive term denoting the people.

However, there were sects like 'Bantes' (warriors), 'Ekkatis' (dwellers), 'Reddis', 'Kampus' or 'Kapus' and various tribals of the Telugu-speaking society which came under the fourth caste but do not find mention in the list of the eighteen sections.

Next to birth and profession, it was region which accounted for sectarian sub-divisions in all the castes like those of Kammanadu being called Kamma-Brahmana, Kamma-Kapu, Kamma-Sresthi and so on. Leaving a few instances, it can be said that the social order of Andhradesa in this period was a harmonious blend of different sectarian as well as religious beliefs.

Among the four main castes, the Brahmins and the Vaisyas or Komatis retained some rigidity in maintaining their caste distinction. The Brahmins, although divided into two classes, the priests (Vaidikas) and the holders of ministerial positions (Niyogis), the distinction was not so conspicuous as in the later Reddi regime. In some cases the rules and duties of the caste were discarded in seeking a new profession. The great ministers like Gangadhara and noted generals like Somayajula Rudraya, hailed from Vaidika families. A noteworthy feature of the Brahmin sub-sects during this period is the emergence of Aradhya Brahmins, the Vaishnava Brahmins and the Saiva Brahmins owing to the influence of the respective Acharyas, namely Panditaradhya, Ramanuja and Kalamukha-Pasupata Acharyas

Among the warrior classes, the most important sub-caste that emerged during the Kakatiya period was the Padmanayakas, the Velama chiefs, who played a prominent role in the post-Kakatiya politics of Andhra. A considerable number of their families flourished as notabe zamindars in later period.

In the social order of the Deccan during this period, each caste or sub-caste was led by a certain discipline of corporate nature generally called 'samaya-dharma'. The 'samaya' or corporate body of a particular sect, caste or occupation has its organisational activities at three levels, the *grāma* (village), *sthala* (place) and *nāḍu* (region). The samayas of 'Teliki-vevuru' and 'Panchanamvaru', for example, had their organisational jurisdiction extended to *nāḍus* as noticed in some records. The corporate organisation leading to religious and professional distinctions extended to the *sthalas* like Bezawada, Kondapalli, etc. The control of these corporate bodies over the respective communities was considerably effective till recent times. The daily life, including the judicial affairs of the society as a whole, remained under the supervision of the respective corporate bodies.

The main occupation of the individual in the society was almost self-imposed by virtue of birth in a particular caste or sub-caste. The Brahmins - with the exception of those called Niyogis - usually had to take to the studies of Vedas, *Śāstras* and other branches of learning. Their ambition was merely to achieve knowledge and to impart the same to the succeeding generations. The rulers extended their benevolence by granting several villages to them as evidenced by the records of the period. The Niyogis functioned as officers in the service of the ruler. Institutions like Saiva *maṭhas* at Malkapuram, Pushpagiri, Kaleswaram and Srisailam with attached 'Vidya-mandapas', for imparting education in several branches of learning, flourished under the patronage of the Kakatiya kings and their subordinates. Most of the recipients of the grants of *agrahāras* were 'ghatasasins' - scholars engaged in teaching *Śāstras* in the *ghaṭikas* or educational centres.

Agriculture, as in the other periods of Indian social life, was the main occupation of the people at large, only a minority of them taking to the profession of industries based on agriculture and animal breeding. Kampu or Kapu was the general term which denoted the agriculturist, but most of them belonged to the Reddi community. Inscriptions of the period under study do not reveal either a Vaisya or a Velama taking to the profession of cultivation. Similarly it is noticed that those of the communities of Reddis, Velamas, Ekkatis, Boyas and Bantes are generally taken into the army. Vaisyas, also called Settis and Komatis, were the general traders but there were instances where the Bananjas or Balinjas and Reddis also became members of guilds known as the *nakara, svadēśi, paradēśi* and *nānādeśi pekkaṇḍru.*

Pratāpacaritra, though a later work, furnishes some idea of the urban population of the capital, Orugallu. The list given in it includes Brahmins, ministers and other dignitaries, warriors, ordinary merchants or Vaisyas, rich merchants, Padmanayakas (Velamas), Visvakarmas (goldsmiths), Gollas (cowherds), Kampus (cultivators), Edigas (tappers), Siva-Brahmanas, Kumbhakaras (potters), Pattusales (silk weavers), Padma-sales (ordinary weavers), Medaras (basket-makers), Upparas (earth excavators), Meras (tailors), Bestas (fishermen), Tenugus, Bukkas and Samgaras (their specific profession not known), Rajakas (washermen), Vesyas (prostitutes), Putakutivaru (hoteliers), Balijas (also called Bananja), and others. According to *Krīḍābhirāmam*, a Telugu play by Vinukonda Vallabharaya, the pastimes of the people included cock-fight, ram-fight, gambling, snake-dances, festivals to gods and worship of heroes. From the same source, it can be deduced that hotel business was managed by ladies of all communities, a custom which continued in the Telugu country till the early decades of the present century. The cost of a sumptuous meal with different items including special dishes is stated to be one *rūka* (one-third of a rupee). All the above-mentioned classes of people depended for their livelihood either on industries or on royal patronage.

Much of the Eastern Chalukya territory had to depend entirely on the vagaries of monsoon rains for cultivation, as the rulers and the subordinates did not bestow much attention to construct dams and tanks. The Kakatiya rulers, on the other hand, paid greater attention to cultivation by bringing vast areas of land under the plough and providing many irrigational facilities. A good number of tanks were constructed by these kings and their subordinates. Many tanks or 'Kesari Samudrams' were constructed by Prola I ('Samudram' means sea, an exaggerated name for a tank. Prola had a title 'Ari gaja kesari' meaning a lion to an elephant-like enemy. The nomenclature, Kesari samudram, is to remind the title). Similar tanks called 'Rudra Samudrams' and 'Ganapa Samudrams' were caused to be dug by Rudradeva and Ganapatideva. The latter's general, Recherla Rudra, had to his credit the great tank at Palampet; the famous Pakala lake was constructed at the instance of Ganapatideva by his subordinate Jagadala Mummadi. Ganapatideva's sister, Mailamba, constructed a large tank at Bayyaram and another sister of his, Kundamba, at Nidigonda and Kundavaram. These and several other tanks irrigate thousands of acres of land in Telangana even today. In constructing such big tanks they selected a place where a stream passed through hillocks and built a dam connecting the hillocks, thereby forming a reservoir. Many villages in Telangana have more than one tank. The innumerable streams in the region have been fully harnessed either to feed the tanks or canals (*ēṭi-kāluvas:* canals along the courses of the streams). Paddy was produced in abundance in the fields under the tanks and *ēti-kāluvas*. Inscriptions of the period frequently refer to the cultivation of wet lands. Maintenance of tanks and irrigational canals was mainly entrusted to one of the village *āyagārs* called *nīru-kāvali* ('water watchman'), who had to look after the up-keep of the tank and let out water to fields according to the prescribed system and schedule of distribution.

The economy was mainly based on agriculture and industries were to a great extent based on the processing of agricultural products as finished goods. Weaving, along with cotton spinning, was the most flourishing cottage industry. The yarn produced by Andhra cotton-spinners and the cloth made out of it won the praise of the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who visited Andhradesa in the closing years of Rudramadevi's reign. He paid glowing tributes to the cloth woven out of such yarn : 'They look like tissues of a spider's web. There is no king or queen in the world who might not be glad to wear them". Second in order came the edible oil industry.

The main source of income to the royal exchequer was in the form of taxes on various items - mainly, land, profession, property and articles of trade. Tax on lands was generally levied in two forms, kind and coin. The word *siddhāya*, used in the records of the earlier period to indicate the fixed levy both in the shape of grain and monetary tax, was replaced in the Kakatiya period by the words *panga* and *pannu* to indicate the levies in kind and coin respectively. *Kōru* is another term applicable to the king's share of the yield in the government land in any village which was not assigned on a permanent basis to the cultivators, but only leased out on the basis of partnership in the produce. Such land, which was called *rāca-bhūmi* (king's land), was not subjected to monetary taxation. If the land happens to be part of *brahmadēya* (given to Brahmins) or *dēva-vṛtti* (given to gods), the donees receive the proportionate *kōru* from the Kampus (cultivators), but they had to pay monetary tax called *pannu* or *ari*. In a grant of Ganapatideva, it is specified that the cultivators should pay the king's share to the donees. Thus the transfer of the land to the donees did not affect the tenants in any way. *Panga* (part or share), also called *kolucu* (share by measure) in some parts of the kingdom was the levy in kind on all cultivated lands other than the king's lands, *dēva-vṛttis* and *brahmadēyas*.

The *kolucu* was collected by the government officers. As the grain collected in the form of *kolucu* was usually very large in quantity, the government could not maintain public granaries in all villages. The cultivators were asked to sell the grain in public markets in their presence and pay the sale proceeds to the government.

The second main item of government revenue was the land tax called *pannu* in general. This monetary tax was levied either on the extent of the land as at present or on the yield of the crop. The officers used to visit the fields in the harvesting season and assess the levy to be paid by the cultivators. Its rate, as we know from the records, is generally one *māḍa* or *pahiṇḍi* (gold coin) for each *puṭṭi* of the produce. This tax was a fixed levy in some cases, particularly on the wet lands, depending on their extent. The variety of the crop was also considered as one of the factors in assessing the levy of monetary tax.

Taxes on industries, professions and properties also contributed considerable income to the royal exchequer. Among the industries, the oil-industry and the weaving industry constitued the most prominent in contributing to the royal exchequer by way of taxes. However, the corporate bodies called 'Teliki-vevuru' and 'Sale-samaya' used to look after most of their communal as well as professional dealings. For setting up an oil mill or loom they had to pay some installation tax called *mudra-sumka* and for running it also they had to pay annual tax called *varusa-rūka*, the actual rate of which is not known. Besides these, they had to pay *sumka* (toll-tax) when they sold their oil or cloth. A similar tax was also levied on the smiths, carpenters, barbers, washermen, potters, toddy-tappers, etc. Manufacturing of salt near the sea-shore was also an important item for taxation. It seems that tax collection on items like salt pans, toddy-tapping and ferries was made on the basis of the auction sale. The Kakatiya kings used to levy taxes on the *rahats* (water-drawing devices).

Among the taxable properties, the records of the Kakatiya regime mention houses, *angaḍis* or shops, and domesticated animals - oxen, horses, cows, sheep and the like. House tax varied in accordance with the categories of the houses - *uttama* (high), *madhyama* (middle) and *adhama* (low).

Large scale trade, during this period, was essentially a concern managed by well-organized guilds. The traders of the Telugu country, by and large, belonged to the Vaisya community called *Kômaṭi* in Telugu. The word *seṭṭi* was applicable to traders of other communities also, like *balinja-seṭṭis* and *sâle-seṭṭis*. The local *Kômaṭi*, according to Baddena, the author of the Telugu works *Nītiśâstra Muktâvaḷi* and *Sumatī Śataka* of the twelth century, was the vital life-force of the village, 'like the trunk to an elephant and water to the paddy field.' The old 'Ayyavali' merchant guild, which functioned in the early period monopolising the land and overseas trades, seems to have ceased to exist during the Kakatiya regime. Its mention in the records was simply nominal but the guilds like *swadêśi, paradêśi, nânâdêśi pekkaṇḍru* became more popular. It is evident from the records that there was the system of issuing licence to the traders by the government with specifications regarding the regions of their business operations and articles of trade. More than one guild could obtain licence in the same area. Hanumakonda-*sthala*, being the metropolitan trade centre, used to be the meeting place of several guilds as noted in a record of Ganapatideva. Besides the capital complex of Orungallu (Warangal) and Hanumakonda, several towns in the kingdom like Tripurantakam, Koccherlakota, Velpuru, Panugallu, Magatala, the capital towns of all *nâḍus* and *sthalas* were places of business where the government used to conduct regular fairs by providing sheds and market yards for storing and selling the merchandise. Special officers designated as *sumkari, tīrpari* and *karaṇam* whose respective duties were to collect toll, to assess the amount of duty and to maintain the accounts, were appointed at every market place (*pêta*)

Sea-borne trade was also very active during the Kakatiya regime as attested by the Motupalli charter, issued by Ganapatideva, offering protection to the sea-merchants from pirates. The commodities of trade at this port, as mentioned in the record, were elephants, horses, gold, sandal, camphor, pearl, ivory, rose-water, copper, zinc, mercury, lead, silk-thread, corals, perfumes, pepper, areca-nuts, cloth, etc. The nominal rate of duty is stated to be one in thrity on all exports and imports. Besides Motupalli, Krishnapatnam near Nellore was another important sea-port in those days.

We have no direct evidence to assess the rate of commercial taxes during the Kakatiya regime. It is in some cases seen to be double-phased i.e., both the purchaser as well as the seller had to pay the *sumka* on the same article. A record at Velpuru, dated 1247, shows that Ganapatideva's minister, Dochana Preggada, offered to gods a gift of the *sumka* on both sales and purchases of all articles - grain, horses and sheep in the *adda* (market) of Velpuru for the merit of the king. From the Motupalli record it is seen that the general rate of duty was one in thirty on some articles; but one *vīsa* on each *mâḍa* of the value - that is one in hundred and sixty - seems to be the rate of duty in the ordinary markets, because the term *māḍavīsālu* is frequently noticed in the inscriptions of this period in the context of *sumka*. Our knowledge in this regard is based on the records of gifts of *sumka* to the temples which may not in all cases represent the actual rate of duty.

There are definite evidences that a kind of standard system of weights, measures and coinage had been in vogue in this period. A book on mathematics, *Gaṇitasâra Sangraha*, written by Pavuluri Mallana of the 11th century, provides us with a table of such standardised measures. The recent discovery of the Khandavalli plates of Prataparudra which contained a seal with the clear legend 'Daya-gaja-kesari', solved the long standing problem of identifying the real coins of the Kakatiya rulers. It is found that all the Kakatiya rulers bore the title ending with gaja-kesari; Prola I had the title ari-gaja-kesari, Rudradeva had Daya-gaja-kesari, Ganapati and Rudramadevi bore the title Raya-gaja-kesari and Prataparudra Daya-gaja-kesari, the meaning of all these being 'a lion to elephant-like enemies'. Ganapatideva is known to have standardised the land unit called 'Kesari-pati-putti' measured with the rod called 'Kesari-pati-ghada'. On the same analogy volumetric measures were also called 'Kesari-tumu', 'Kesari-kunchamu', etc. The *māḍa* (also called *gadyāṇa*) was the gold coin of the Kakatiyas. It contained *varâha* (divine boar), four lotus symbols in the four corners and the legend 'Daya-gaja' and 'kesari' above and below the *varāha* image respectively. The second side was left blank. *Rûka* was the silver coin with the same printing over its obverse. Ten *rūkas* made one *gadyâṇa*. *Aḍḍuga, pâtika* and *vīsa*, respectively half, one fourth and one-sixteenth of a *rûka*, frequently find mention in the records.

Religion

This period in Andhra History is considered to be a remarkable one, for it witnessed several religio-cultural changes.

The society of this period is not easy to understand on the basis of the traditional approach. The social structure based on *varṇa* was not native to south Indian culture but was only superimposed by the Aryan tradition. So, it remained, by and large, a theoretical model rather than a practical reality. However, the ideal of *varṇa* is closely associated with *dharma*. One can notice a steady increase in the caste proliferation in the early part of this period. Furthermore, the dichotomy between *Dvija* and *Śūdra* in the *varṇa*-divided society became complicated during this age. This was on account of the advancement of the *Śūdras* in the economic status from slaves and servants into independent peasants-traders. The new ruling elite became the primary element of the *Kshatriya varṇa*. The landed aristocracy, while enhancing the agrarian base, came into contact with the forest and pastoral tribes. The Brahmins, who hitherto supported the accident of birth to determine Kshatriyas, had to seek new techniques to incorporate several warrior families and to pacify the forest and pastoral people through Hinduisation of their deities in order to integrate them into the general Hindu society. All these new trends necessitated a readjustment of *varṇa* duties to suit the changing conditions of the age, which lent to a curious development in the sphere of religion. Puranic theism, which replaced Vedic Brahiminism, emerged as a temple-centred and ritual-oriented cult, with *bhakti* or devotion as its base. This cushioned the ever-increasing caste proliferation and accommodated the new entrants i.e., tribal and pastoral communities into the social order.

Buddhism, which dominated the early centuries of the Christian era, began to lose its impact by the 7th century. The Buddha appears to have been incorporated into the Hindu pantheon by the 10th century and was considered to be the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. Only on this assumption, several gifts were made by the devotees to the Buddha during the medieval times. The Abbur inscription (1182) and the Amaravati inscriptions of Kota Keta of Dharanikota mention several gifts made by kings and courtesans to the Buddha. A certain Mallireddi of the times of Kakati Rudra (1158-95) declared that Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism and Vaisnavisim were four different paths to reach the 'Ultimate' and hence he made donations to all of them. Such a compromise on one side and militancy of Saivite and Vaisnavite sects on the other, appear to have sealed the fate of Buddhism as a separate religion in Andhradesa.

However, the other non-Vedic sect, Jainism, remained prominent upto the 11th century and lingered on at certain places even after severe attacks by the religious campaigns of the radical Saivites. In some places Jainsim was given royal patronage. Several new *vasadis* were constructed. The older ones were reconstructed, rehabilitated and endowed with grants. Ayyamahadevi, the wife of Kubjavisnuvardhana, the founder of the Vengi line of Chalukyas, constructed a Jain establishment at Vijayawada to which Vishnuvardhana III (718-752) made donations for renovations. During the times of Ammaraja II, Jain *vasadis* such as Katakabharana

Jinalaya at Maliyampudi and a Jain temple and a *vasadi* at Bezwada were constructed. Ramatirtham in the present-day Visakhapatnam district was a flourishing centre of Jainism in those days. In the Rayalseema region, the Rashtrakuta kings, Amoghavarsha II and Krishna II, liberally patronised Jainism. During this period, some places in Andhra such as Biccavolu, Danavulapadu and Hanumakonda were famous as centres of Jainism. During the time of Vemulavada Chalukya king, Arikesari II (930-955), Tribhuvanatilaka *vasadi* was built and 24 'Thirthankaras' along with 'Cakresvaris' were installed by Jinavallabha, brother of the famous Kannada poet, Pampa. Baddega, another king of the same line, constructed Subhadhama, a Jinalaya, and appointed Somadeva, a famous Jain poet, as its pontiff. The reign of the Kalyani Chalukyas witnessed the growth of several Jain centres, viz. Potlaceruvu, Bodhan, Ujjili, Kolanupaka, Pedakodumuru, Togarakunta, Vardhamanapuram, Thumbalam, etc. They were endowed with rich donations. The early Kakatiyas built the famous Padmakshi temple at Hanumakonda. Kadalalaya *vasadi* was constructed at the same place during the reign of Prola II (1116-1157) and it was repaired by Gangadhara, a minister of Rudradeva. In spite of the persecution by Saivites, Jainism managed to survive and gain respect at the Kakatiya court. Appayarya, the famous writer of *Jinêndra Kalyâṇâbhyudayam* was patronised by Kakati Prataparudra.

The contribution of Jainism to Andhra culture and society is memorable. Some of the Jain teachers were well-versed in occult practices which attracted the common people towards this faith and served their psychological and religious needs. But gradually Jainism had to yield ground to Saivism. The contemporary inscriptions and literature reflect the Saiva-Jaina conflicts and persecution of the latter by the former. Thus, non-Vedic sects such as Jainism declined steadily. This was graphically described by Palkuriki Somanatha, in his *Panḍitârâdhya Caritra* and *Basava Purāṇam*. Many religious crusades were conducted by Basava in Karnataka and the three Panditas - Sripati Pandita, Mallikarjuna Pandita and Mancana Pandita - in Andhra. Mallikarjuna destroyed the Jain establishments in Vardhamanapuram and Buddhist monasteries at Buddham. The Kalacuri generals, Viragoggideva and Virupaksha, destroyed the Jain abodes in Karnataka and western Andhra. The former held the title 'Jaina gana dhumaketu', 'Jaina phani vainateya' and 'Jaina kuthara'. Even the sculptures from places such as Pudur, Alampur, Tripurantakam, Kolanupaka, etc. present not only the scenes of Saiva-Jaina conflict but also its impact on contemporary life.

Thus Saivism became the most popular and predominant religion in the medieval period. Among the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, Vijayaditya I (763-770) and Vijayaditya II (808-847), Chalukya Bhima and Ammaraja II were great patrons of Saivism. In the Rayalaseema and Telangana regions the Western Chalukyas and their subordinates such as the Kanduru Chodas, the Polavasa chiefs and the Mudigonda Chalukyas patronised Saivism. It is to be noted that it was during this period Srisailam became the chief centre of Saivism along with its four main gateways - Tripurantakam (east), Siddhavatam (south), Umamaheswaram (north) and Alampur (west). It had four other subsidiary gateways : Eleswaram (northeast), Somasila (southeast), Sangameswaram (northwest) and Pushpagiri (south-west). The Kakatiyas became *Paramamâhêśvaras* since the time of Beta I and their reign witnessed the growth of sectarianism within Saivite monastic order. In this period several sects in Saivism - the Kalamukha, Pasupata, Virasaiva and Aradhya Saiva along with their subsects flourished in Andhra.

The Kalamukha school of Saivism established its centres in Andhra during the time of the Chalukyas of Vengi. They were divided into two schools : Simha parishad and Sakthi parishad. The Kalamukhas believe in *Īśvarakartṛvâda*. The Tadikonda inscription of Ammaraja II (c. 950) furnishes us with the genealogy of the Kalamukha line of teachers. Bezwada, Chebrolu, Tadikonda, Vemulavada, Perur and Srisailam with its main gateways were the famous centres of the Kalamukha school of Saivism in Andhra.

The Pasupata system was the earliest branch of Saivism. It was founded by Lakulisvara of Gujarat in the 1st century. By the time of Chalukya Vishnuvardhana III, it entered the Andhra region, as attested by his Eluru grant. It gradually attained strength by the 12th century. The Pasupatas believe in *Īśvara karaṇavâda* and hold the view that *pati* (Siva) relieves *paśu* (individual) from *pâśa* (fetters of the world). The Pasupatas are of two schools: the Vaidikas and Tantrikas. During the times of Ganapatideva, Golaki Saivism won predominance and royal patronage. Ganapatideva, his daughter, Rudramba, and her grandson, Prataparudra, received *dīkṣa* (initiation) from Visveswara Siva, the chief pontiff of Golaki *maṭhas* of Andhra Desa. The Malkapuram inscription of Rudramba, dated 1261, refers to a gift of two villages, Mandadam and Velagapudi, to her preceptor who caused the establishment namely Viswanatha Golaki at Mandadam, along with a temple named after himself, a Vedic school, a Vidyamandapa and a maternity home. The Golaki system based on Suddhasaivism, a Vaidika branch of Pasupata sect, believes that the Saivahood can be achieved by the worship of Siva alone without any intermediary, either Sakti or Bhairava. *Sômaśambhupaddhati*, written by Somasambhu, one of the teachers of Golaki line, was an authority on Golaki saivism. The ascetics associated with this *maṭha* were of 'Mattamayura' clan. Tripuri was their stronghold. From there missionaries were sent to Andhra and other parts of south India where they propagated their faith through the *maṭhas*. Several Golaki *maṭhas* at Tadikalapudi, Pedakallepalli, Tripurantakam, Srisailam, Pondalur, Gangavaram, Kotagadda, Kalesvaram, Khammampalli, Kambhampalem, Pushpagiri, Mandadam, etc. were established throughout Andhra under the influence of Visweswara Siva and his guru, Dharma Siva.

The Golaki system and the Saivite *maṭhas* were on the decline by the end of the 13th century because of the advancement of Vaishnavism in coastal Andhra and the leanings of the rulers towards the 'Smartha' system.

The Kapalika sect, which belongs to the Tantric school of Saivism, had its hold in Andhra by the 7th century. They were otherwise known as Siva *Śâsanas*. They worshipped militant forms of Siva such as Bhairava and Mailara and also Sakti. They even conducted human sacrifices. Siddhas were of another Tantric school of Saivism who believed in yogic practices and were said to be proficient in *rasavidya* (alchemy). They claimed their descent from Adinatha, who is believed to be the incarnation of Siva. Srisailam and its gateways functioned for sometime as the centres of these Tantric schools.

Though contemporary records in Andhra do not refer to the actual word 'Virasaiva', the works of Mallikarjuna Pandita and Palkuriki Somanatha bear testimony to its prevalence.

The Virasaivites condemned Vedic rituals and practices. Virasaivism denies *Àgamic* practices and hence was called *Āgamānta* school. The system believes that Parasiva is the supreme deity and that the final goal of the individual is *lingânga samâśraya* that is achieved through *ṣaṭsthala*. Bhakti is the final means of deliverance. This school led by Basava profoundly influenced a section of the Andhras. Virasaivism won over the other Saivite sects at Srisailam and its gateways by the end of the Kakatiya rule.

The spread of Aradhya Saivism was due to the efforts put forth by 'Pandita traya' (the three Pandits). All of them tried to uphold the efficacy of Siva, Sivabhaktas and Sivabhakti through miracles and even militancy. Sripati Pandita converted such Jains as Anantapala, the *Danḍanāyaka* of the Western Chalukyan King Virkamaditya VI, to Saivism. Mallikarjuna Pandita (1100-1185) was a resident of Daksharama. Inspired by the Nayanars of Tamilnadu, Mallikarjuna had shown militancy in the propagation of his faith. His work, *Sivatattvasâramu* reveals the essence of his philosophy which is similar to that of the Pasupatas. He propounded dualism in Saivism (Saiva Dvaitam). While Basava upheld devotionalism, Mallikarjuna tried to reconcile Brahminism with devotionalism.

Vaishnavism which was in a nascent stage in Andhra during the earlier part of this period began to bloom with the advent of Ramanujacharya (1016-1137). He chose *bhakti mârga* based on the Vedantic tradtion to propagate his faith. He struck a compromise between Brahminism and Bhagavatism on one hand and on the other the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharatra schools of Vaishnavism. He propounded Srivaishnavism. He upheld the cause of devotion and converted the *Śudras* into Srivaishnavas and allowed even the people of the fifth caste *(pancamas)* into the temple on certain festive occasions.

The system was further elaborated and made popular in Andhra by Brahmanaidu of Palnad, through his Viravaishnavism. Here, the word *vīra* does not denote the militancy in propagation or practice, but represents radical ideology with several socio-religious reforms. He appears to have been deeply influenced by the teachings not only of Ramanuja but also of Basava and Mallikarjuna. Further, the Haihayas of Palnad in whose court Brahmanaidu was a minister, had matrimonial relations with the Kalachuris of Karnataka, who were said to be Vaishnavites. Brahmanaidu offered 'dasanama' and 'ucchistam' to the Sudras and converted them into Viravaisnavas. He opened the Channakesava temple at Macherla to the people belonging to the fifth caste. He not only encouraged interecaste marriages but also 'intercaste-dining' *(cāpakūḍu)* practice. His teachings were treated with contempt by the traditionalists. His *cāpakūḍu* was attributed to be one of the reasons for the great battle of Karemapudi (1176-82).

Vaishnavism progressed in coastal Andhra under the patronage of the Chalukya Cholas and their suboridnates. Even during the times of the Kakatiyas, several Vishnu temples under various names of the deity, such as Prasannakesava, Sri Narasimha, etc. were established and endowed with huge grants. Several subordinates of the Kakatiyas, like the Viriyala and Chagi families, were Vaishnavites. Nellore Chodas and other local chiefs such as the Telugu Pallavas extended their patronage to a certain Margam Pahimdimukkala Tiruvengalanatha, a Vaishnava teacher. Nellore and Tirupati became chief centres of Vaishnavism from the time of Ramanuja. Mangalagiri, Macherla, Srikakulam, Srikurmam, Simhachalam, Ahobilam, Bapatla in coastal Andhra, Burugugadda, Maktala, Lingagiri in Telangana and Nandalur in Rayalseema became the renowned seats of Vaishnavism.

Though the antiquity of Smartha movement can be traced back to the times of the *Dharmaśâstras*, it was during the Puranic age that attempts were made to combine the doctrines and practices of Vaishnavism and Saivism. Acharya Sankara was a great champion of the system, which tried to reconcile and to encourage coexistence of the various Bhakti movements. It also allowed the traditional Vedic sacrifices while advocating monism (Advaita) of the Upanishads. With a view to bring about a reconcilation between the devotional schools - Saiva and Vaishnava - a cult of Harihara came into vogue and was championed by Tikkana Somayaji, as evidenced in his famous work, *Mahâbhâratamu*, which he dedicated to that God. The respect that was shown to Tikkana Somayaji by the Kakatiya ruler, Ganapatideva, clearly proves that the Kakatiyas, though Saivites, patronised the Smartha tradition also.

Saivism and Vaishnavism functioned as two parallel currents of the Bhakti movement in south India. The Bhakti movement in medieval Hinduism shaped the culture of the time. The Saivite and Vaishnavite teachers and their followers practised and propagated the cult of Bhakti by singing and dancing and by conducting pilgrimages. The devotional hymns, teachings and commentaries formed the core of religious literature of the period. The devotional sects were very simple in their doctrine and appealed to the ordinary people since they mostly used the spoken languages in their preaching. The doctrine of salvation through love and devotion eliminated none but embraced all. In other words, the main characteristic of Bhakti movement was its openness which resulted in its universal appeal without regard for caste.

Intimately connected with the devotional sects was the institution of temple which came into existence as the centre of all religious activities. The sectarian leaders and the teachers, such as Ramesvara Pandita of Kalamukha school, and Santa Siva of Abhinava Golaki associated themselves with great temples.

The Brahmins and the sectarian leaders also helped the rulers of medieval Andhra in extending the agrarian base. When forests were cleared and pastoral lands were brought into cultivation, the Brahmins succeeded in organising the natives as the tenants and temple-servants grading them into castes and sub-castes. Puranic theism was greatly used for integrating the tribal and pastoral people. The *avatâra* concept was used for the acculturation of these natives. The folk deities were treated as *avatâras* either of Siva or Vishnu. The tribal deities such as Ellamma, Ekavira, Kakati, Mailaramma, Mallanna, Birappa, etc. were identified with Parvati, Durga, Siva, etc. In this process of acculturation, tribals such as the *Bôyas* were drawn into the society as the cowherds in the temples. They gradually rose to the position of 'mahamandalesvaras' in the state-services. Similar is the case with the Pulindas who rose to occupy the offices of generals. The Chenchus were given a prominent role in the ritualistic activities of the temples of Srisailam and Ahobilam.

The temple, being the cult centre, its construction was treated with high esteem and as a matter of social status to the patrons. The Bhakti movement connected one temple with the other through pilgrimages. The tradition of pilgrimage was very well used by the rules. The temple centres became political platforms for the propogation of royal authority. Innumerable epigraphs found at these centres testify the above fact. Several Saiva and Vaishnava temples were constructed in the medieval times and a particular style was favoured by each dynasty. The famous 'Pancharama' temples at Amaravati, Daksharamam, Palakol, Gudipudi, Bhimavaram and Samarlakota, Bhimeswaram were constructed during the Chalukya times. Among the Kakatiya temples, the Ramappa temple (Palampet), Thousand Pillar temple (Hanumakonda), Bhadrakali temple (Warangal) and the group of temples at Nagulapadu, Pillalamarri and Ainavol are note- worthy.

The south Indian warrior groups lent their generous support to the temples and the priests. Kubjavishnuvardhana granted the village Kalvakonda in Visakhapatnam district to two Brahmins who were proficient in Vedic learning. The Tadikonda inscription of Ammaraja refers to the gift of Tadikonda, Ammalapundi, Asuvulaparru and Gollapundi villages as *dêvabhôga* to the temple of *Samastabhuvanâśraya* Umamahesvaraswami for its renovation, reconstruction and maintenance. The Kayastha chief, Jannigadeva, granted the village Pondalur to Santasivadesika for establishing a *maṭham* and a *vidyâmanḍapa* at Srisailam. During the Kakatiya rule, forests were cleared near Mantrakuta (Manthena), Hanumakonda, Adilabad, Kareemnagar and other regions and new *agrahâras* were formed. The Brahmins were invited to these new settlements. The Pithapuram plates of Virachodadeva refer to the establishment (1098) of 'Virachoda chaturvedi mandalam' in the deltaic lands of the Godavari to which 535 Brahmin families from Gauda, Dehala, Dravida and Madhyadesa were invited. Visvesvara Siva invited the Brahmins from Gauda and Dravidadesa to settle in the Golaki establishment at Mandadam. Several records between the 10th and the 13th centuries attest to such migrations not only from long distances, but also within the state. Several Brahmin families migrated from coastal Andhra to Telangana region.

The *agrahâras*, the temples, the *brahmapuris* and the *maṭhas* became the centres of learning. While the *agrahâras* and the *brahmapuris* imparted Vedic education, the temples and the *maṭhas* taught, in addition, the respective sectarian doctrines. Academic discourses were conducted in the *Vidyâmanḍapa*. In some Saiva *maṭhas*, the Vedas were also taught. Vedic education was not the privilege of the Brahmin caste alone. Western Chalukya emperor, Someswara, is said to be proficient in Sanskrit and Vedic studies. Jayapa, the brother-in-law of Ganapatideva, was an erudite scholar in Sanskrit. Nannechoda, Baddena, Gona Buddhareddi, etc. were proficient in Sanskrit literature. Generally, the *maṭhas* that imparted education were of three types: *Virakta maṭhas* imparted Vedic or religious education, *Adisu mathas* gave training in reading and writing and the *Sâle maṭhas* imparted general education along with vocational eduction. The artisans got training from their parents. The Saiva teachers informally educated the masses through their devotional songs and lyrics based on Puranas or stories of Saivite devotees in the temples and religious gatherings.

The rituals in the temples had also become, in course of time, more complex. The *dêvadâsi* system, in fact, was a by-product of the Bhakti movement. It raised a number of educated and dedicated women to a high status. The temple girls were ordained to conduct *anga-ranga-bhôga* ritual to the God. This system reached its zenith by the 10th century and gradually deteriorated into one of prostitution by the end of the Vijayanagara times.

Thus, the revival of Hinduism in the form of Bhakti movement with its two currents - Saivism and Vaishnavism - gave a death blow to the non-Vedic sects in south India. Puranic theism, with the temple as its centre, pervaded all spheres of life and encouraged caste proliferation and tried to adjust the changing roles of various *varṇas* in the society.

Language and Literature

Though the language of the people, Telugu, gradually gained status as a medium of functional as well as literary expression, Sanskrit continued to enjoy the patronage and reverence of scholars and kings. Many of the inscriptions issued by kings and nobles were either fully or partly in Sanskrit during the early centuries of this period. Pallava ruler, Mahendravarma I, the author of two delectable farces - *Mattavilâsam* and *Bhagavadajjukam*, Dandi, the renowned author of *Daśakumâra Caritam*, and Bharavi, the author of *Kirâtârjunīyam*, belonged to this period. Kumarila, the famous commentator upholding *Pūrvamīmâmsa*, is said to have hailed from Andhra. During the rule of the Kakatiyas, many Sanskrit poets including Vidyanatha, the author of *Pratâparudra Yaśôbhûṣaṇam* and Agasthya, the versatile poet who authored 74 poetic works, adorned the royal court.

Telugu made its appearance in inscriptions from the last quarter of the 6th century. From the middle of the 9th century, coinciding with the rise of the Eastern Chalukya power in coastal Andhra, metrical compositions found their way into the Telugu inscriptions. As per the evidence as on date, the Addanki inscription (848) of Pandaranga, a military commander of the Eastern Chalukya king, Gunaga Vijayaditya, is the earliest inscription containing a stanza in the *Taruvôja* metre. The first poetic work that has survived is a re-creation of the early books of the Sanskrit epic *Mahâbhâratam* by Nannaya, who was in the court of an Eastern Chalukya king of later years, Rajaraja (1018-1061). Nannaya blended the *mârga* (Sanskritic) and *dêśi* (native) elements in launching an era of literature in the Telugu language. His contribution to the Telugu langauge and literature is multidimensional.

A new chapter began in the history of the Telugu language and literature very soon after Nannaya laid solid foundations for Telugu poetry. Nannechoda, the author of *Kumâra Sambhavamu* and Palkuriki Somanatha, the author of a number of poetic works including *Basava Purânamu* and *Paṇḍitârâdhya Caritra*, championed the cause of further intensifying the *dēśi* component. Though the new approach differed from Nannaya's, primarily with regard to aspects of linguistic and literary traditions only, critics classified Nannechoda, Somanatha and others by their faith and called the epoch 'Sivakavi Yugam'.

There were Vaishnava poets like Buddha Reddi and his sons who wrote *Ramâyaṇamu* in Telugu adapting the techniques of the Saiva poets. Tikkana, a minister of the Choda king of Nellore in the 13th century, nearly completed the *Mahâbhâratamu* left unfinished by Nannaya. He also wrote earlier a completely versified (without any prose) work on the later story of the *Rāmāyaṇa (Nirvacanôttara Râmâyaṇamu)*. He attempted once again to blend the *mârga* and *desi* traditions to the utmost effect and advantage.

Curiously enough, Kannada literature also prospered in the Andhra region. Pampa, one of the greatest poets in Kannada and remembered as one of the 'three diamonds', wrote *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* under the patronage of Arikesari II of the Vemulavada Chalukya dynasty.

Architecture, Sculpture and other Fine Arts

Much of the architectural and sculptural wealth of this age is lost due to vandalistic activities and deliberate destruction carried on by religious fanatics. The relics and remnants that lie here and there and a few temples that have survived are the only sources that help us to reconstruct the old glory.

Bezwada (present-day Vijayawada) flourished as a very important city during the time of the Eastern Chalukyas. It was a junction on the main highways of the time and was a noted trade centre. The city had retained some vestiges of the architecture of the period. In the Jammidoddi in Vijayawada is found a *maṇḍapa* with beautifully carved capitals and pillars. The capitals with seated lions at the corner on either side of the central projection are full of life.

The next stage in the development of these pillars can be noticed at the Bhimeswara temple in Daksharamam and also the temple in Bhimavaram near Samalkota. Rows of figures and dancers in *hallīsa lāsya* posture adorn the pillars here. Chalukya Bhima constructed these famous shrines naming the presiding deity after his own name.

The pillars of the *maṇḍapa* of the Bhimeswara temple at Samalkota, which houses the Nandi, are decorated with carvings illustrating musicians and dancers. This is a typical feature in the Eastern Chalukya architecture.

Of somewhat earlier date are the temples at Biccavolu. The features of these temples are very interesting from the point of veiw of architecture. They show that the Eastern Chalukya temple structure followed the Dravidian type and was inspired by southern traditions. These temples may be assigned to the time of Gunaga Vijayaditya (848-892) or slightly later.

A mention must be made of the Brahmeswara temple at Alampur, which probably belonged to the age of the Chalukyas, but stands by itself, quite different in style from the Eastern Chalukya temple architecture. Northern influence is quite clearly seen here.

In the early stages, the sculptures of the Eastern Chalukyas were inspired by the Western Chalukya tradition and were huge in dimensions. Two *Dwărapălas* (door-keepers) of huge proportions were a feature of the Eastern Chalukya temples. A pair of them is now in the Musuem at Madras. One of the pair wears *yagjnôpavītam* of lotuses and lillies and the other has suspended bells from it at intervals. Both of them wear armlets and ornaments with lion-faced decoration. Their two hands are in the characteristic *tarjani* and *vismaya* postures and the other two hold a noose *(pâśa)* and a huge club (*gada*) as weapons.

The large-sized elephants, which also came from the same ruined temple from which the pair of *dwârapâlas* came, demand comparison with similar representation of the animal in the great relief of Arjuna's penance at Mahabalipuram.

At Vijayawada, there are, at present, several Nandis of the Eastern Chalukya times displaying fine garlands of bells closely resembling the Western Chalukya ones.

At Biccavolu, Nataraja is presented with four arms as in the southern sculptures, though the northern features representing him multi-armed was already present at Mogalrajapuram. Seated Siva as 'Virabhadra' with a group of *Mâtṛkas* of which only a Kaumari and Chamunda are still preserved in one of these temples, is of fine workmanship.

Somewhat earlier than these and probably to be assigned to the 8th century are the fine panels in a kind of pink stone from the Vishnu temple at Samalkot. There is a small figure of Ganesa of fine workmanship here. Among the larger panels, which are all fixed in walls of later date, one showing Vishnu on Garuda is a remarkable one. There are similarly other panels of good workmanship which still await a detailed study.

The next phase of art, which continues the same style but with the figures a little more elaborately decorated, is the Kakatiya one. In Kakatiya sculpture, the fine pillars that almost glitter like polished ones, have bracketed figures in various interesting dance poses. A large lintel found at Warangal and now preserved in the National Museum at Delhi is a fine piece to illustrate typical Kakatiya art. Here the *Makaratôraṇa* is most intricately worked and the figure of dancing Natesa is exquisite, not to speak of other figures in the panel.

The Kakatiyas, who were the political successors of the Chalukyas in the Andhra country, had to their credit several temples which illustrate the continuity of the earlier traditions. In a very characteristic manner the temples of the Kakatiyas are shown on a raised base with highly polished and decorative pillars, exquisitely worked ceilings, small parapet wall around the *maṇḍapas* with decorative lattice work. The bracket figures of dancers and musicians carved in slender proportions, though reminding us of similar figures in the Western Chalukya and Hoyasala temples, have their own chracteristics. The ceiling of the Kakatiya temple is equally rich in decorative work as may be seen from some pieces preserved in the museum at Hyderabad. Palampet, Warangal, Hanumakonda, Tripurantakam and other places are noted for their exquisite temples of the Kakatiya period. The temple at Macherla is also of the same period.

There are other temples in Telangana like those at Pillalamarri, Nagulapad, etc. and also in Palnad area as at Macherla and Gurazala, where carvings of the Kakatiya period still await study.

Some faded paintings found in some temples in Palnad show that painting too flourished in that age and was well patronised. That music and dance too were much favoured by the rulers, nobles and the masses in these days is quite evident from many a dance sculpture that are found on the walls of the temple niches and pillars. The great dance sculptures of the Ramappa temple at Palampet, by their lively pose and exuberance of expression, attract connoisseurs from every corner of the world even today. Much literature that dealt with music and dance was lost. *Nṛttaratnâvaḷi* written by Jayapa, a Kakatiya general, is the only surviving specimen of that literature.

THE AGE OF CONFLICT, GLORY AND DECLINE (1323 A.D.-1707 A.D.)

The disastrous fall of Warangal (Orugallu) in 1323 brought the Andhras, for the first time in their history, under the yoke of an alien ruler, the Muslim - alien in language, religion, social order, ideals and aspirations. So, they set out with determination to regroup, reassert and fight for the survival of their political and cultural unity. A struggle for liberation started at first in the Rekapalli forests of the coastal area. It gradually spread to the other parts and met with partial success. As a consequence, two centres of Hindu resurgence - Warangal and Vijayanagar - emerged by 1336.

Meanwhile, revolting against the Delhi Sultanate, an independent Muslim state, the Bahmani kingdom, came into existence in south India (1347) and took upon itself the mission of carrying on Muslim expansionism. So, an inevitable conflict ensued and continued as an undercurrent throughout the course of history during this age, with varying degrees of vehemence.

However, being individualistic, the Hindu centres of resurgence never thought of putting forth a united effort to achieve their common aim. To add to this, the unity that reigned supreme among the nayaks of the east coast during the time of the struggle for liberation proved to be only a nine days' wonder, and Kapayanayaka of Warangal found himself to be presiding over a divided house. This state of affairs provided an opportunity to the Bahmani rulers to subdue not only Warangal but also, in due course, the Velama and Reddi kingdoms, by the middle of the 15th century. Then, the only remaining centre of Hindu resurgence, the Vijayanagar kingdom, had to carry on the fight against the Bahmanis.

There were dissensions in the camp of the Muslim rulers also, mainly between the native and the foreign Muslims. This gradually led to the dismemberment of the Bahmani kingdom into five smaller ones which are denoted as the 'Shahi kingdoms'. This dismemberment led to a period of thaw which facilitated a reconcilation and a sincere approach for coexistence between the Hindus and the Muslims in the beginning of the 16th century. Though even this period of thaw was marred at times by outbursts of religious frenzy, circumstances forced the Muslim states and the Vijayanagar kingdom, to co-exist, albeit unwillingly, for nearly two centuries and to contribute in their respective ways to the cultural wealth of the country.

During the age of Vijayanagar, Andhra glory reached its zenith in every branch of fine arts, relying mostly upon the traditional Hindu heritage but not excluding the best aspects of the alien arts. Its prosperity, its architectural and sculptural wealth, and the degree of excellence it achieved in literature and other fine arts, gained adulation from contemporary European and West Asian visitors and diplomats. The Bahmanis and their successors, the Shahis, did not lag behind. The Qutb Shahis of Golconda, who ruled over Telangana and some coastal areas of Andhra at the time, worked for a synthesis of the Hindu and Muslim principles of art. The kingdom flourished so well that 'Wealth of Golconda' became a proverbial phrase synonymous with prosperity.

But this glory did not last long. Religious animosity and hatred, along with chauvinism, gained an upper hand in the end. The united might of the Shahi kingdoms put an end to Vijayanagar and its glory by 1565. However, this unity did not last long. The mutual bickerings, rivalries and dissensions among various Muslim groups weakened these kingdoms to such an extent that they could not withstand the onslaught of the Moghul army from the north. One after the other, they were overrun by the Moghul armies. Golconda, the last to lose its independence, was conquered by the Moghul army in 1687 and the glory that was Golconda vanished into thin air.

But curiously enough, even the Moghul empire, in its attempt to extend its frontiers to every corner of the subcontinent, outstretched itself to such a perilous extent that it had to lose all its vitality and dynamism to function as a cohesive unit. Following the death of Aurangazeb in 1707, the empire began to disintegrate even before gaining a strong foothold in the Andhra country. So, by the end of this age, we find the Telugu land, along with other parts of the subcontinent, in a state of political anarchy and cultural decline.

A narration of the events that led to such a catastrophe has to start with an account of the struggle for liberation.

Movement for Liberation

Though the Kakatiya kingdom was conquered and plundered by and annexed to the Tughlak empire, the Andhra people - especially those in the rural areas - were not reconciled to the new set-up. Uninhibited religous intolerance that guided the activities of the invaders alienated them from the people. To add to this, the system of administration introduced by the conquerors by which authority was distributed among despotic Muslim chieftains, not only failed to take root but also led to strife and instability everywhere. It is no wonder, then, that the whole system crumbled down at the first touch of the liberation movement that came not long after.

The movement was unique when we consider the circumstances that prevailed in India during this period. Not only the south, but the entire Indian subcontinent was overrun by the alien invaders and the whole nation lay prostrate, stunned and immobile. In such a situation it was in the forest region of Rekapalli, on the banks of the Godavari, that the spirit of defiance regenerated itself under the leadership of Musunuri Prolaya Nayaka, to gain enough strength in due course to drive away the invader from the eastern Andhra by 1328. Prolaya united all the feudatories for the common task of winning independence for the country. He was assisted in this by his cousin, Kapaya Nayaka, who after the demise of Prolaya in 1333, took over the leadership. He was successful in regaining Warangal and hoisting there the Andhra flag in 1336. Kapaya then proclaimed himself a king with the titles 'Andhra Desadhisvara' and 'Andhra Suratrana'.

The same year saw the rise of a new power, the kingdom of Vijayanagar in the south-western part of Andhra on the banks of the Tungabhadra. It was founded by Harihara I who was assisted by his brothers with the noble aim of upholding the cause of Hinduism.

About the same time, in 1347, Allauddin Hasan Shah, the viceroy of the Delhi Sultan in Deccan, rebelled against the Delhi Sultanate and proclaimed himself the ruler of an independent kingdom, known as the Bahmani kingdom, with Gulburga as its capital. As soon as he found himself safe on the throne, he asserted his authority on Andhra and Kapaya had to agree to pay an annual tribute.

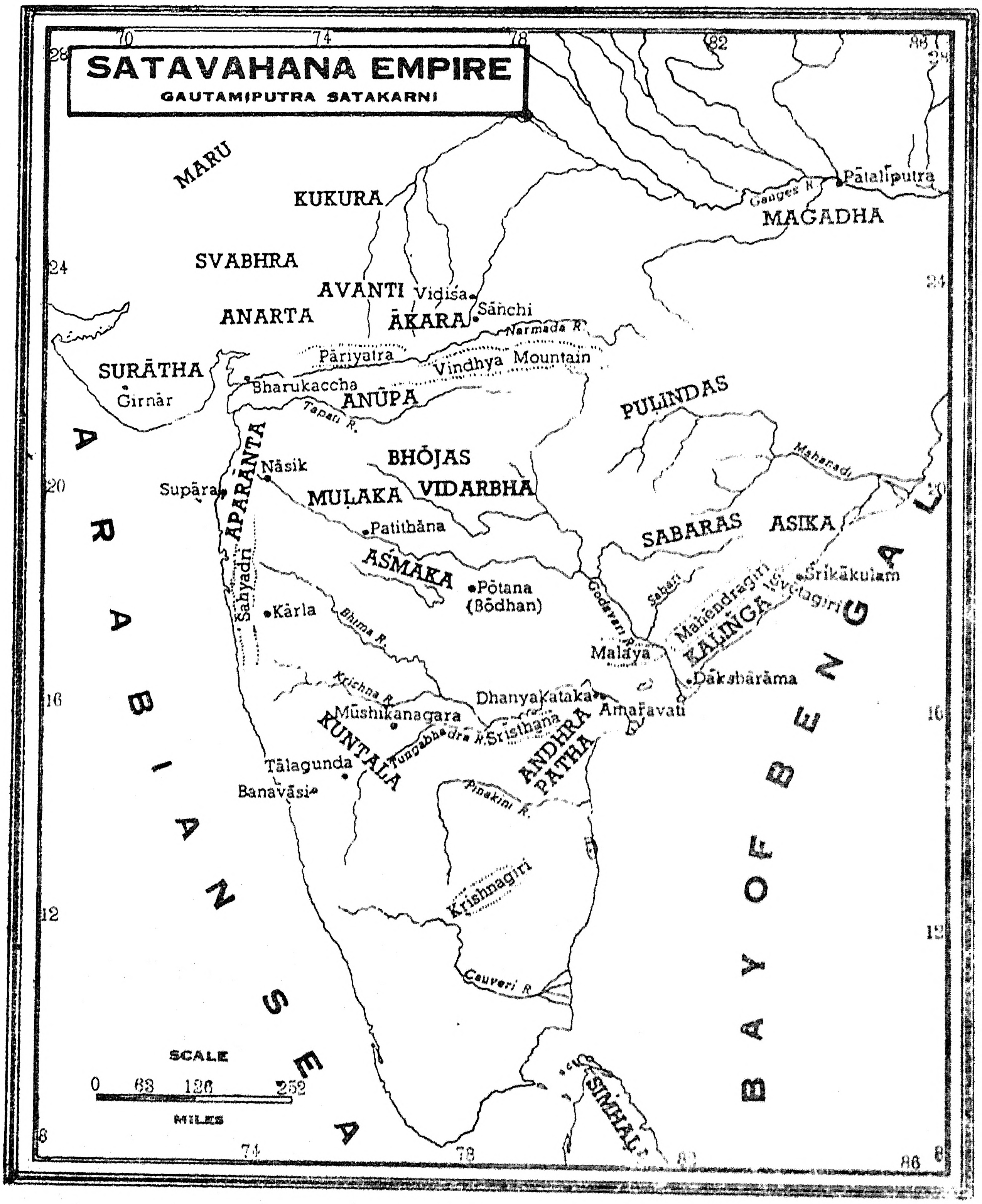
Kapaya, at the same time, had also to deal with rebellious feudatories, such as the Reddis and Velamas, who tried to assert themselves as independent rulers. He recognised the virtual independence of some of them, especially of the Reddis of Kondavidu. But in the end, the internecine strife took its toll and Kapaya met with death in a battle with the Velama ruler, Anapota, in 1369.

Thus, by the last quarter of the 14th century, the Andhra country was shared by four powers, namely the Velamas, the Reddis, the Bahmanis and the Vijayanagar kings.

Velama Rulers

The origin and the early history of the Velama rulers is not known clearly. These Velamas belong to Recherla *gōtra* and one Chevi Reddi is said to be the originator of this family. Pillalamarri-Anumanagallu area in Telangana was their original home.

The Kakatiya ruler, Ganapatideva, patronised this family. The earliest known members of the family - Damanayaka, Prasaditya and Rudranayaka - were in the service of the Kakatiyas. It is said that Prasaditya championed the cause of Rudramadevi when her coronation was



SATAVAHANA EMPIRE

GAUTAMIPUTRA SATAKARNI

70
74
78
82
86
28
24
20
16
12
8
MARU
KUKURA
SVABHRA
AVANTI
Vidiśa
Sāñchi
ANARTA
ĀKARA
Narmada R.
Pāriyatra
Vindhya Mountain
SURĀTHA
Girnār
Bharukaccha
ANŪPA
Tapati R.
Pātaliputra
Ganges R.
MAGADHA
PULINDAS
Mahanadi
APARĀNTA
Nāsik
BHŌJAS
Supāra
MULAKA
VIDARBHA
Patithāna
SABARAS
ASIKA
ASMĀKA
Pōtana
(Bōdhan)
Sahyadri
Kārla
Bhima R.
Godavari R.
Sabari
Mahendragiri
Śrikākulam
Svetagiri
KALIṄGA
Malaya
Dākshārāma
Krishna R.
Dhanyakataka
Amarāvati
Mūshikanagara
KUNTALA
Tungabhadra R.
Sristhana
ANDHRA PATHA
Tālagunda
Banavāsi
Pinakini R.
Krishnagiri
Cauveri R.
SIMHALA
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
SCALE
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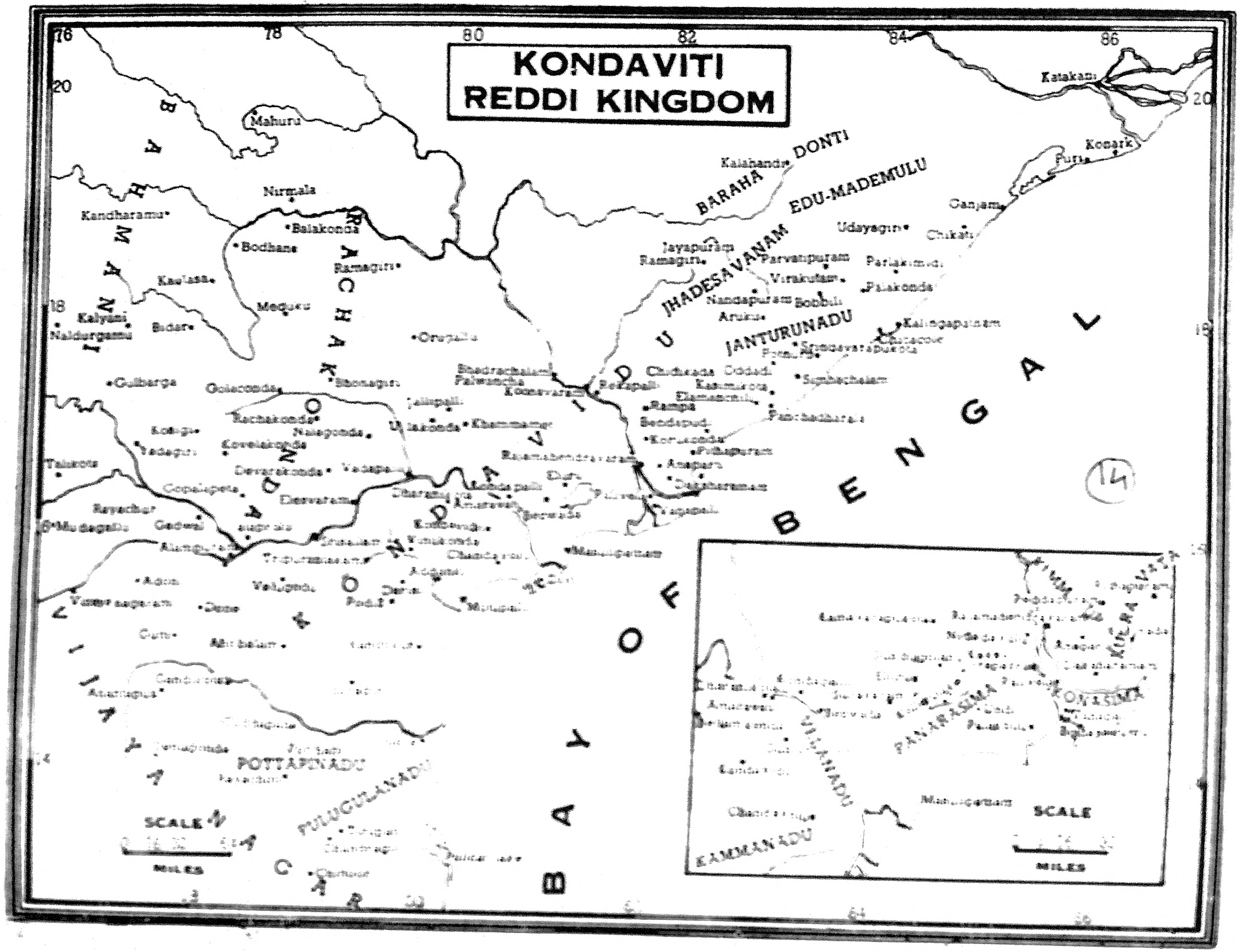
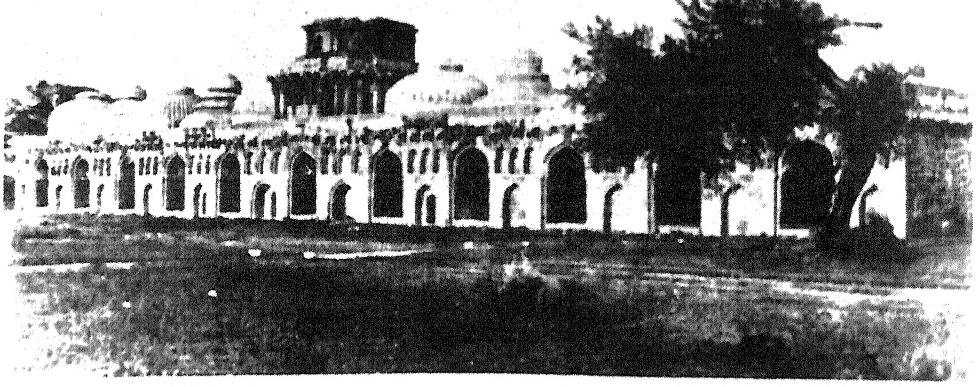
63
126
252
MILES



KONDAVITI REDDI KINGDOM

76
78
80
82
84
86
20
18
BAHMANI
RACHAKONDA
KONDAVIDU
VIJAYANAGARA
BAY OF BENGAL
BARAHA
DONTI
EDU-MADEMULU
JHADESAVANAM
JANTURUNADU
POTTAPINADU
PULUGULANADU
Mahuru
Nirmala
Kandharamu
Balakonda
Bodhana
Ramagiri
Kaulasa
Meduku
Kalyani
Naldurgamu
Bidar
Orugallu
Gulbarga
Golconda
Bhonagiri
Rachakonda
Nalagonda
Kovelakonda
Devarakonda
Devaram
Gopalapeta
Rayachur
Mudagallu
Gadwal
Talikota
Alampur
Adoni
Velugodu
Podili
Dene
Gutti
Anantapur
Jallipalli
Khammamet
Bhadrachalam
Palwancha
Koonavaram
Rekapalli
Chidikada
Oddadi
Kasimkota
Elamanchili
Rampa
Bendapudi
Korukonda
Pithapuram
Anaparti
Rajamahendravaram
Draksharamam
Eluru
Kondapalli
Amaravati
Bezwada
Kondavidu
Vinukonda
Chandavolu
Addanki
Motupalli
Masulipattanam
Jayapuram
Ramagiri
Parvatipuram
Virakutam
Nandapuram
Bobbili
Aruku
Kalahandi
Udayagiri
Ganjam
Chikati
Parlakimidi
Palakonda
Kalingapatnam
Chicacole
Srikakulam
Simhachalam
Katakam
Puri
Konark
SCALE
MILES
VELANADU
PANARASIMA
KONASIMA
KULAVATA
KAMMANADU
Masulipattanam
SCALE
MILES

1



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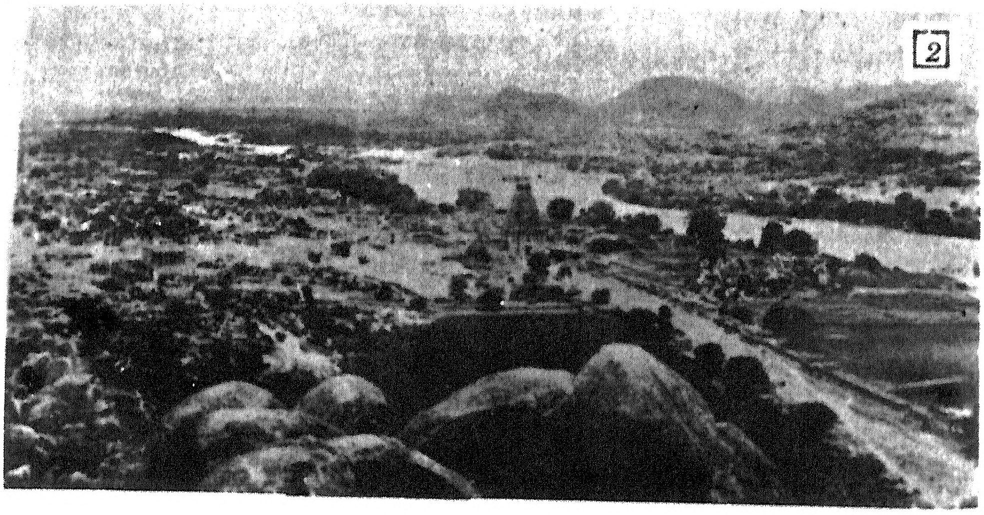

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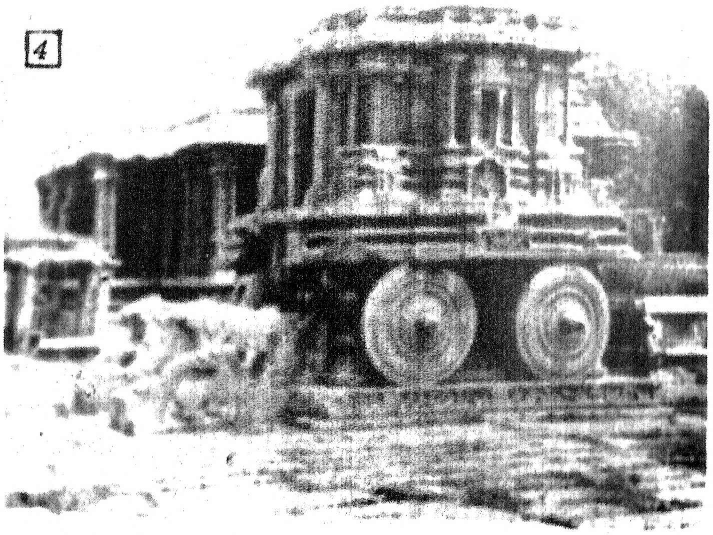
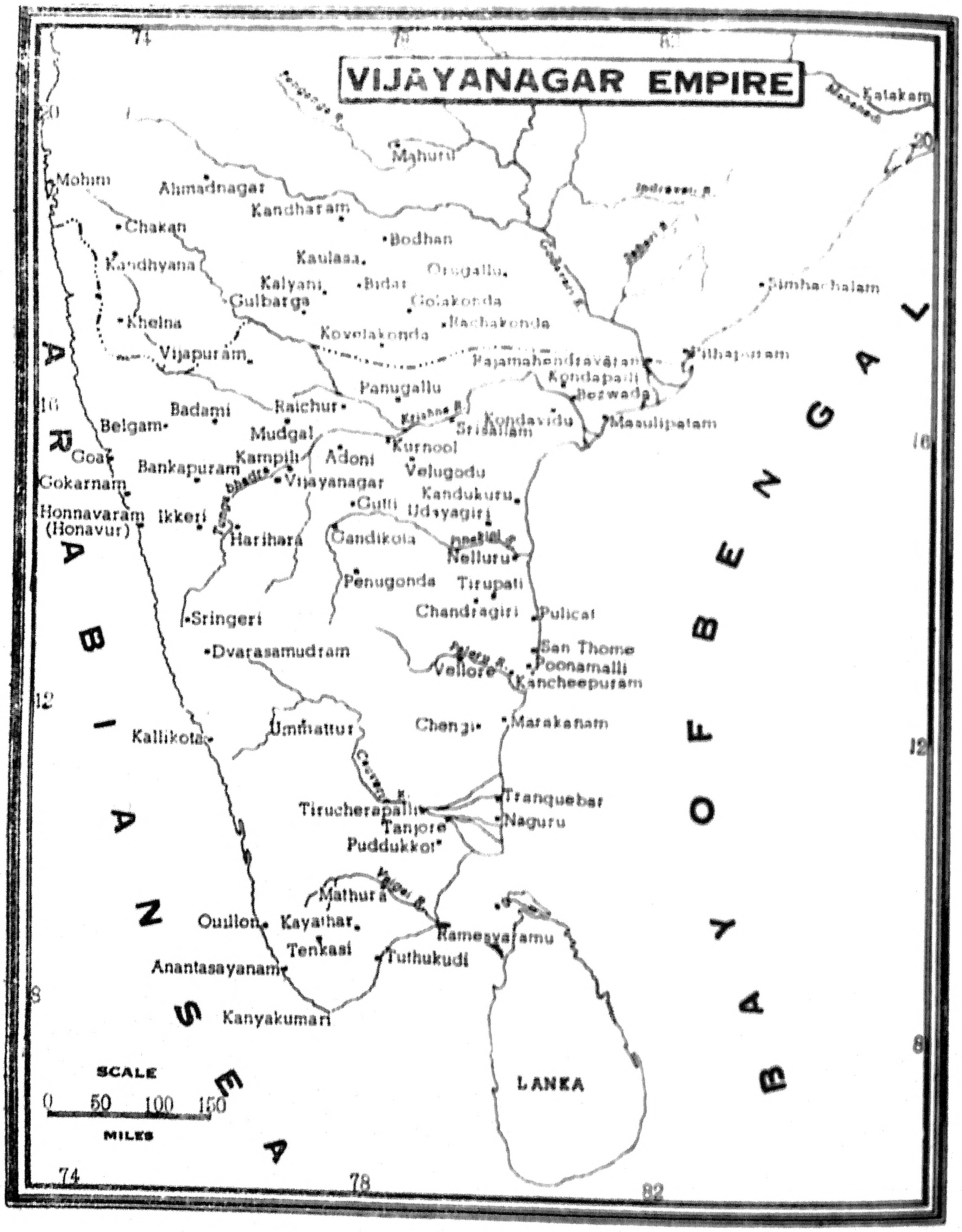


1. *Gaja salalu* - ***Hampi***
2. *Pampavathi Temple - Bazar - Hampi Ruins*
3. *Sri Krishnadevarayalu with wives Chinna Devi and Tirumala Devi*
4. *Vithala Swami Temple - Hampi*



VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

74
78
82
20
16
12
8
Kalakam
Mahuru
Mohim
Ahmadnagar
Kandharam
Indravati R.
Chakan
Bodhan
Kandhyana
Kaulasa
Orugallu
Kalyani
Bidar
Simhachalam
Gulbarga
Golakonda
Khelna
Rachakonda
Kovelakonda
Vijapuram
Rajamahendravaram
Pithapuram
Kondapalli
Panugallu
Bezwada
Badami
Raichur
Krishna R.
Kondavidu
Masulipatam
Belgam
Mudgal
Srisailam
Goa
Kurnool
Kampili
Adoni
Bankapuram
Velugodu
Gokarnam
Vijayanagar
Kandukuru
Gutti
Udayagiri
Honnavaram
(Honavur)
Ikkeri
Harihara
Gandikota
Nelluru
Penugonda
Tirupati
Chandragiri
Pulicat
Sringeri
San Thome
Dvarasamudram
Poonamalli
Vellore
Kancheepuram
Chengi
Marakanam
Kallikota
Ummattur
Tranquebar
Tirucherapalli
Naguru
Tanjore
Puddukkoi
Mathura
Vaigai R.
Quilon
Kayathar
Rameswaramu
Tenkasi
Tuthukudi
Anantasayanam
Kanyakumari
LANKA
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
SCALE
0 50 100 150
MILES

opposed by a number of subordinates. In return, Rudramadevi honoured him with the titles *Kākatiya rājya sthāpanācārya* and *Rāya pitāmahānka*. The achievements of Damanayaka and Rudranayaka are not known except that they also were in the service of the Kakatiyas. Dachanidu, the grandson of Damanayaka, was a military general under Prataparudra. He conquered Kanchipuram in 1316 and was honoured by Prataparudra with the title *Pancapāṇḍya daḷa vibhāḷa*. His son, Singamanidu, also accompanied Prataparudra in a number of battles and is stated to have obtained eighty boons from him for his services. After the end of the Kakatiya empire, these Velama chiefs joined hands with the Musunuri brothers in liberating the Andhra country from the Muslims in 1336 and established a kingdom of their own with their capital at Anumanagallu. Singamanidu is the first known ruler. The capital was later shifted to Rachakonda by Anapotanidu (1361-84), the elder son of Singamanidu. With the help of his younger brother Madanidu, Anapota tried hard to strengthen his position by a series of conquests over neighbouring kingdoms. In 1361, he attacked the Chalukyas of Jallipalli, who killed his father Singamanidu and took upon himself a number of titles like *Sōmakula paraśurāma*. The *Velugōṭivāri Vamśāvaḷi* (the lineage of the Velugoti family) offers a list of his conquests over Reddis and Telugu Nayakas. In the course of these conquests he went upto Srisailam. The conquest of Srisailam by the Velamas is the beginning of their continuous warfare with the Reddi power, which ended only with the disappearance of the Kondavidu Reddi kingdom. After this conquest, Anapota marched over Warangal (about 1369), killed Kapayanayaka and occupied the entire area of Telangana. Probably in this conquest he might have obtained the help of the Bahmani Sultan. As a reward to all the services rendered in these conquests by his brother Madanidu, Anapota made him the ruler of Devarakonda. The inscriptions at Simhachalam refer to the conquests of Anapota over Kalinga also.

Kumara Singa or Singa II (1383/84-99) succeeded Anapota to the Rachakonda throne. He was both a poet and patron of letters. He was praised as *Sarvajna* and *Sarvajna cūḍāmaṇi. Andhra Maṇḍalādhīśvara, Pratigaṇḍa bhairava, Khaḍganārāyaṇa*, etc. were his other titles. *Camatkāra Candrika*, written by Visvesvara under this ruler's patronage, states that Singa also conquered Kalyananagara in Karnataka. It is during Singa's rule that the Velamas played an important role and were benefited by the hostile relations between the Bahmanis and the Rayas of Vijayanagar. The Bahmanis supported the interests of the Velamas every time so that they would not join hands with the Vijayanagar rulers. Thus obtaining support from the Bahmanis, Singa gradually tried to extend his authority to Kalinga in 1387. His hostilities with the Vijayanagar power continued for a decade and in 1397, in the battle at Panagal, the Velamas lost the territories to the Rayas finally.

Singa II was succeeded by Anapota II (1399-1421). His contemporaries on the Vijayanagar and Bahmani thrones were Devaraya I and Feroz Shah. *Velugōṭivāri Praśasti* (the eulogy of the Velugotis) describes Anapota II as a great warrior. He challenged the Vijayanagar armies in protecting his fort at Medak. He conquered Kondavidu, Panagal and Rajahmundry, the areas which were until then under the Reddis or the Rayas. But owing to some differences with Feroz Shah, it seems that the Velamas shifted their loyalty to the Rayas in the battle at Panagal, which resulted in the defeat of the Muslims. Madanidu (1421-30), brother of Anapota, succeeded him to the kingdom and seems to have followed the same policy as that of Anapota II towards the Rayas and the Bahmanis. He supported the Rayas in all their battles against the Bahmanis. He was a great scholar and wrote *Râghaviyam*, a commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in 1427. His wife Nagambika had a tank constructed in her name as Nagasamudram at Rachakonda in 1429. Muslim accounts indicate that the authority of the Velamas was frequently disturbed by the Bahmanis.

During this period Lingamanidu and Vedagiri, the Velama rulers, had to fight the Reddis of Kondavidu. Machareddi, brother of Pedakomati Vemareddi, was killed by Vedagiri, who, in turn, was killed by Pedakomati Vema. It is this rivalry between the Velama and Reddi powers that weakened both the kingdoms, resulting ultimately in their gradual disappearance. In the end, the Velamas had to seek the protection of Kapileswara Gajapati, the ruler of Kalinga, to withstand pressure from the Bahmanis. However, after the death of Kapileswara in 1470, the Bahmanis struck the last blow against the Velamas and occupied their territories.

Reddi Rulers

The Reddis came to power during the period of the struggle for liberation carried on by the Hindus against Muslim rule. They joined hands with the Musunuri chiefs and succeeded in liberating the Andhra country from the occupation of the Muslims. Pantarashtra, comprising the southern part of the present Nellore district, was their original home and hence they were called Panta kapus or Panta reddis. Vemareddi, the earliest-known ruler of the Reddi kingdom, belongs to Desati family. Though details of the origin and the earliest achievements of the Reddis are not known, their titles like 'Appaya goppaya disappatta', 'Dandenagova', 'Pandya gaja kesari', 'Aneya Mandalikara ganda' etc., which are customary and dynastic, give scope to trace their earlier stages of power. Their signature 'Trinetra Pallava' on their inscriptions gives scope to assume that they were once the feudatories of the later Pallavas. They were in the service of the Telugu Chodas of Nellore and the Kakatiyas of Warangal and gradually established their power in the southeast coast of Andhra, after the fall of the Kakatiya empire. Their capital was at Addanki on the bank of the Gundlakamma (Prakasam district). Vemareddi (1325-53) established an independent Reddi kingdom with the loyal support of his warrior brothers - Mallareddi, Annareddi and Machareddi. Mallareddi annexed the Motupalli area to the kingdom, and conquered a number of powerful enemies like Alla-ud-din Hasangangu, who founded the Bahmani kingdom. Anna Reddi occupied the areas around Tripurantakam and Srisailam. Thus, within a short period, Reddi kingdom extended itself from Ahobilam to the Bay of Bengal and from Nellore to river Krishna. But, in due course, the authority of the Reddis was checked by the Rayas of Vijayanagar in the Nellore area and the resulting hostility continued for a century. To rule the conquered areas effectively, Vemareddi constructed eighty-four forts at places like Dharanikota, Chandavolu, Vinukonda, Kondavidu and Bellamkonda and kept them under able subordinates. Machareddi and Mallareddi, his elder and younger brothers, were made rulers of Chandavolu and Kandukuru respectively. Vemareddi restored peace and order in the kingdom and tried hard for the reinstallation of Hindu dharma. Temples were raised and Brahmins and scholars were given *agrahāras*. He himself performed a number of Vedic rituals. He got constructed flights of steps to Ahobilam and Srisailam temples. Erra Pragada, one of the three great poets that brought the *Mahābhāratamu* into Telugu, was patronized by Vemareddi.

Anavotareddi succeeded to the Reddi kingdom in 1353. Trained well in the art of statecraft and warfare, he faced the difficulties which confronted the Reddi power with courage. He thought it safe for the kingdom if he could annex the entire coastal area upto Kalinga, which was under the Gangas, Manchikonda chiefs and a number of other petty chieftains. He started his campaign towards the Godavari and Kalinga in 1356. The records of Anavota and his brother Anavema describe a number of battles that took place in this attempt. Being aware of the fact that trade and commerce were the backbone of economy, Anavota tried hard to develop the sea-borne trade and reduced the taxes at the port of Motupalli, as evidenced by the 'Abhayasasana' (edict of Assurance), on the pillar of a *manṭapa* of the Virabhadreswara temple at Motupalli. He thus protected the interests of the traders and attracted them to the Motupalli port, which ultimately resulted in increasing the exports and imports of the country. But this peace and prosperity did not continue for long. The Bahmani sultans, the Velama chiefs and the Vijayanagar rulers designed their strategies to occupy the Reddi dominions, each in their own way. A record at Amaravati, dated 1361, refers to the reinstallation by Reddis of the main deity that was destroyed by the Muslims. It also mentions that the army under the leadership of Anavota protected the Reddi areas from the Bahmanis. Simultaneously, the Reddis had to face trouble from the Velama chiefs of Rachakonda on one side and the Rayas of Vijayanagar on the other. *Velugōṭivāri Vamśāvaḷi* states that the Velama chiefs, Madanayaka and Naganayaka, defeated Anavotareddi at Dharanikota and went as far as Srisailam. On the southern side, Bukkaraya of Vijayanagar was successful in occupying the south-eastern provinces of the Reddi kingdom. Probably it was under these circumstances that Anavota had shifted the capital from Addanki to Kondavidu, a strong hill-fort, situated in the Guntur district. But during his period he could not restore the lost prestige of the Reddis. As his son Komaragiri was a minor, his brother Anavema ascended the Reddi throne of Kondavidu in 1364 at the time of his death. He despatched his forces towards those who had earlier accepted the Reddi suzerainty but later declared independence. He conquered all the major and minor kingdoms upto Simhachalam. He defeated the kings of Undi, Telugu Cholas of Kamavarapukota, Chalukyas of Nidadavolu, Korukonda chiefs, Koppula Nayakas, Chalukyas of Elamanchili and Matsyas of Oddadi and made offerings in the temple of Simhachalam. After occupying the eastern areas, he proceeded against the Velama chief of Rachakonda, who once defeated his brother Anavota. He conquered some parts of Telangana and went upto Srisailam. Thus, by 1378, he extended his kingdom from Simhachalam to Srisailam and had the title *Mahanīyāndhradēsa Paṭṭābhiṣeka samvrita mahābhāgya*. He celebrated the prestigious festival of 'Vasantotsava' and became popular as 'Vasantaraya' and 'Karpura Vasantaraya'. He patronized scholars and poets and granted a number of *agrahâras*. Several of his charities were described in the records and legends. Vennelakanti Surana, in his work, *Viṣṇupurâṇamu* praises him as one who devoted his life for the prosperity of the Brahmins, for the pride and honour of his dynasty and for the welfare of his people.

Anavema was succeeded by Komaragiri Reddi in 1386. His succession was disputed by Pedakomati Vema Reddi, grandson of Machareddi, who also aspired for the Reddi throne. But Komaragiri was guided by his able brother-in-law, Katayavema Reddi, who was hostile towards Pedakomati Vema. However, a compromise was arrived at between the rival parties on the issue of succession to the throne of Kondavidu and Komaragiri was permitted to come to power. After he ascended the throne, Komaragiri sent Katayavema with a huge army against Harihara II of Vijayanagar, who occupied the areas of Tripurantakam and Srisailam. A battle took place between the Reddis and the Rayas, and it was concluded by a treaty. As the Bahmanis and Velamas were the common enemies of both the powers, they agreed to support their mutual interests. The areas of dispute were divided between them and Harihara gave his daughter in marriage to Katayavema. Thus the Reddis succeeded in strengthening their relations with the Vijayanagar rulers.

Then, Katayavema turned his attention towards the east. Assisted by a strong army, he marched upto Katakam, the capital of the Gangas, capturing a number of places on his way. *Kumăragirirâjĭyam*, a commentary by Katayavema on *Śâkuntalam*, and the works of Srinatha describe the achievements of the Reddi forces in this campaign. Pillars of victory were installed at places like Simhachalam, Purushottamam and at Chilka lake. Komaragiri annexed all the conquered provinces to his kingdom and kept them under the authority of his son, Anavota II, with Rajamundry as his capital. After these conquests, Komaragiri dedicated himself to literature and fine arts. However, the last days of Komaragiri ended unhappily. His son, Anavota, died suddenly and so he made Katayavema the ruler of Rajahmundry and this provoked the anger of the other Reddi chiefs, particularly of Pedakomati Vema. Added to this, a severe famine, which lasted for 12 years, struck the country in 1396 and caused much damage to the economy. A number of subordinates declared independence and in the capital itself Pedakomati Vema organised a rival camp. Komaragiri had no option but to flee to Rajahmundry. He passed away by the end of 1403. Then, Pedakomati Vemareddi (1402-1420) occupied the throne. The hostility between Pedakomati Vema and Katayavema continued even after the death of Komaragiri. It was during this period that the Telugu Chodas, the Velamas, the Bahmanis and the Rayas of Vijayanagar interfered in the internal affairs of the Reddis. Katayavema lost his life in a battle with Pedakomati Vema.

Alladareddi, a loyal feudatory of Katayavema, came to the rescue of the Rajahmundry branch of the Reddis. He placed Komaragiri Reddi II, the son of Katayavema, on the throne of Rajahmundry. However, the hostilities between the Rajahmundry and the Kondavidu branches of the Reddi ruling family continued unabated and this provided a splendid opportunity to the

Velamas, the Rayas of Vijayanagar and the Bahmanis, to profit by it. *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* refers to the conflict of Kumara Vedagiri and Lingamanidu, the Velema chiefs, with Pedakomati Vema. Thus checkmated on all fronts, Pedakomati Vema could not achieve his object of occupying Rajamundry. But in the cultural history of the period he occupies a unique place. He was a poet and patron of letters and was proficient in the art of music. Pedakomati Vema was succeeded in 1428 by Racha Vema, a weak ruler. By his measures of excessive taxation, he soon became unpopular and was stabbed to death by one of his own servants in 1424 and with him the Kondavidu kingdom ended, crushed between the encroaching armies of the Vijayanagar Rayas and the Velamas.

After the death of Komaragiri Reddi II (1411-12), Alladareddi himself occupied the throne of Rajahmundry and got Anitalli, daughter of Komaragiri, married to his second son, Veerabhadra Reddi. Because of the alliance, Veerabhadra Reddi became the ruler in 1423, after the demise of Alladareddi. He was guided in the affairs of the state by his elder brother, Vema Reddi. But, in 1448, the kingdom of Rajahmundry Reddis was conquered by the Gajapatis of Kalinga.

Bahmani Rulers

As already mentioned, the Bahmani kingdom was established by Alla-ud-din Hasan Gangu in 1347 to check the authority of the Delhi Sultanate in south India. He is stated to have belonged to the lineage of Bahman Shah of ancient Persia and hence his kingdom is called the Bahmani kingdom and his successors Bahmanis. To stabilise his position, Alla-ud-din Hasan waged wars to annex the two neighbouring Hindu kingdoms - Warangal, then under the Musunuri Nayakas, and Vijayanagar, which was under the Rayas. He started his campaign with an attack on Telangana and went upto Amaravati destroying the temples and villages on the way. In 1358, he marched against the Rayas of Vijayanagar and occupied the entire area upto the river Tungabhadra. Thus, after extending the borders of his kingdom, he shifted his capital from Daulatabad to Gul-barga.

Hasan was succeeded by his elder son, Muhmmad Shah (1358-75), a warrior and a good administrator. During the period of his rule, the sultans of Delhi tried to re-establish their power in the Deccan and simultaneously the Hindu rulers of the south to reoccupy their lost provinces. He saw that it was not possible for him to face all of them at once. He pressurised the sultan of Delhi through the Caliph of Baghdad that it was not advisable to weaken the Bahmanis, another Muslim power in India. Thus protecting himself from the sultans of Delhi, he declared war against the Musunuris and the Rayas. Though the course of events is not clearly known, this conflict cost thousands of lives, both of the Hindus and the Muslims. Mujahid Shah, his son and successor, came to the throne in 1375 and ruled for a short period. He continued the war with the Vijayanagar rulers, but was put to death by his own uncle, Daud Khan. Daud was also not allowed to live long and Muhammad Shah II ascended the Bahmani throne in 1378. During his reign, Harihara Raya II of Vijayanagar conquered many areas which were under the Bahmanis. Vijayanagar armies marched into Telangana also, probably to create trouble for the Velama chiefs, who were then subordinate to the Bahmanis. Muhmmad Shah came to the rescue of the Velamas. Except for the battles with Vijayanagar, his rule was noted for peace and prosperity. He is considered to be the most enligtened monarch among the Bahmanis. A severe famine struck the country during the period of his rule and, to protect the people from it, he took liberal steps and emptied the royal treasury to purchase food grains from distant lands. After the death of Muhmmad Shah II (1397) Feroz Shah, the son of the former's brother, succeeded in occupying the throne. He continued the same policy of hostility towards the Rayas of Vijayanagar and waged wars with them. The causes of the battles and their results were narrated in different ways in the Hindu and the Muslim accounts. Realising the strength of the Rayas, Feroz Shah seems to have joined hands with the other Hindu rulers like the Velamas and the Reddis and took their help. The conflict of the Velamas and the Reddis of Kondavidu with the Rayas of Vijayanagar helped Feroz Shah to a good extent. But this did not continue for a long time. In the later part of his reign, the Velama chiefs left him and joined hands with Devaraya of Vijayanagar. Ultimately Feroz Shah was defeated by the Vijayanagar armies in the battle of Panagal. His brother, Ahmad Shah, rescued Feroz and his kingdom from the Rayas and in due course succeeded to the throne (1422). He shifted his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. Throughout his reign, he spent his time in unending wars with the Velama chiefs and the Rayas.

Ahmed was succeeded by his eldest son Alla-ud-din II (1436-58) during whose regime Raichur doab continued to be a bone of contention with varying fortunes between the Bahmanis and the Rayas of Vijayanagar. After Ala-ud-din II, eight rulers of the dynasty ruled in succession till 1527. An account of their regimes is not pertinent to the history of Andhras except for three events: 1. The issue of Raichur doab remained unsettled during the entire period, punctuated by disruptive wars which cost both the parties heavy losses both of men and money. 2. During the reign of Muhammad III (1463-82), the Bahmanis, for the first time, extended their empire from sea to sea and thereby got into their possession a large part of the Telugu area - namely the area north of the Krishna up to the coast and the present Guntur District. 3. By the end of the 15th century, the Bahmani rule was plagued by intrigues, rebellions and faction fights between the Deccani Muslims and the foreign Muslims to such an extent that the governors of some provinces asserted themselves as independent rulers. Thus there came into existence the five Shahi kingdoms - the Nizamshahis of Ahmednagar, the Adilshahis of Bijapur, the Imadshahis of Berar, the Qutbshahis of Golkonda and the Baridshahis of Bidar.

Thereafter too, four rulers of Bahmani dynasty continued in succession to function as nominal rulers, allowing themselves to be swayed by ambitious and unprincipled king-makers. The last of the dynasty, the eighteenth one, Kalumullah had a miserable end in 1527.

Of the five Shahi dynasties, it was the Qutbshahi dynasty of Golkonda that played a significant and notable role in the history of Andhras. An account of the dynasty is given in its proper place.

Gajapathi Rulers

The Gajapathis of Orissa intervened at times in the continuous political conflicts in Andhra and were able to change the course of events. The founder of the Gajapathi dynasty was Kapileswara Gajapathi, earlier a minister of the last of the Eastern Ganga rulers. He managed to become its ruler in 1434. With Cuttack as his capital, he extended the frontiers of his kingdom far into the Telugu land by conquering the Reddis of Rajahmundry in or about 1456. He could occupy some parts of the Bahmani kingdom also. He led his armies into the Vijayanagar kingdom and conquered the south coastal region upto Kanchi (1464).

After the demise of Kapileswara Gajapati (1468), his two sons fought for the throne and this provided an opportunity for the Bahmanis and the Vijayanagar rulers to reoccupy their lost possessions. But, Purushottama Gajapathi, the younger son of Kapileswara, who emerged successful and occupied the throne (1468), could reassert his authority in the coastal region and Telangana by 1486. Purushottama passed away in 1497. During the rule of his son, Prataparudra Gajapathi (1497-1538), the kingdom had to pass through many vicissitudes. Vijayanagar armies, under the able leadership of their ruler, Krishnadevaraya, occupied the entire Telugu region that was in the possession of the Gajapathis and further proceeded upto Cuttack, their capital. Prataparudra was left with no other option but to sue for peace and give his daughter in marriage to Krishnadevaraya. And so, the Telugu land north of the river Krishna was given back to the Gajapathi.

But very soon, in 1523-24, Quli Qutb Shah, the ruler of Golconda, invaded this part of the Gajapathi kingdom and finally occupied it (1530). The repeated efforts put forth by the Gajapathis to reconquer the lost territory proved futile.

Vijayanagar Rulers

The Vijayanagar kingdom is rightly considered as the most important resurgent Hindu state that successfully resisted the Islamic expansionism in defence of the ancient Hindu dharma and native cultural tradtions. In the words of an eminent historian, "it was that great kingdom which, by resisting the onslaughts of Islam, championed the cause of Hindu civilisation and culture in the south for close upon three centuries and thus preserved the ancient traditions of the country in its polity, its learning and its arts". The history of Vijayanagar kingdom is the last glorious chapter in the history of independent south India.

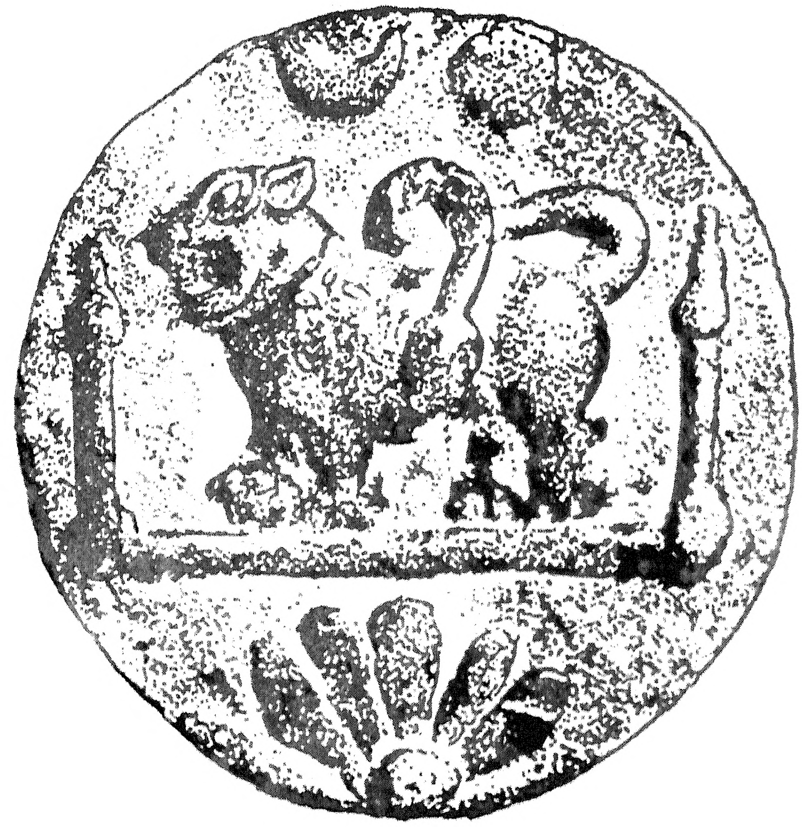
In a way, the Vijayanagar kindom was an outcome of the 'Liberation Movement', led by Prolaya Nayaka and his successor, Kapaya Nayaka. Likewise, the people of the Western Andhra region also raised the banner of rebellion under the leadership of Araviti Somadeva, who claimed descent from the ancient Chalukya dynasty. With Kurnool and the neighbourhood as his base, he captured the forts of Anegondi, Raichur and Mudgal. During the same period, the Hoyasala ruler of Karnataka, Ballala III, revolted against the governor of Kampili, Malik Muhammad (under the sultan of Delhi) and wrested the territory around Kampili from him. Malik Muhammad made a report of his helplessness to Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. On the advice of his court that some one acquainted with the local land and people should be sent to re-establish the authority of the Delhi rule over the territory of Kampili. Tughlaq deputed Harihara and his brother Bukka for the purpose. These two brothers were once in the service of the Kakatiya ruler, Prataparudra II, but after the Muslim conquest of that kingdom in 1323, went over to Kampili. When Kampili fell in 1327, they were taken to Delhi as prisoners of war, where they embraced Islam and gained the favour of the sultan. After being entrusted with the task of crushing down the revolt of the Hindus of the western Andhra and Karnataka, they came to the south.

They, at first, carried on the work entrusted to them by the sultan and were successful to some extent. Their former connection with the region made their task easy. By following a policy of conciliation, and rarely using force, the brothers established a semblance of the sultan's authority in Gutti and its neighbourhood in Andhra at first. But they were not successful in a war they had undertaken against Ballala III.

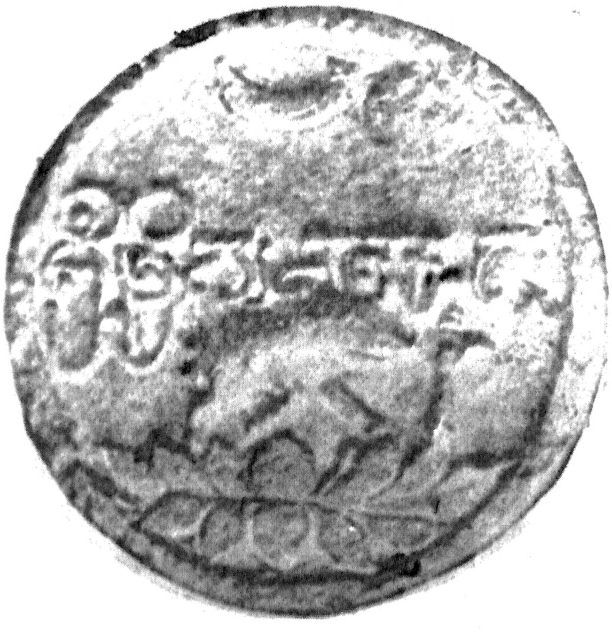
What really happened then is not clear as the Muslim historians and the Hindu sources furnish conflicting versions. But both of them agree in saying that the two brothers - Harihara and Bukka - soon gave up Islam and the cause of the sultan. According to the Hindu tradition, the two brothers returned to the Hindu fold, influenced by the sage, Vidyaranya. They then proceeded to set up an independent Hindu state, which was destined to grow into the powerful kingdom of Vijayanagar. Apart from the advice of Vidyaranya, the general anti-Islamic movement prevailing at the time in the region might have influenced Harihara and Bukka to take the decision to return to their ancestral religion and serve their country.

The brothers were successful in their second expedition against Ballala and their success gave them a free hand to pursue their schemes of conquest and consolidation. After taking possession of Kampili, they conquered areas around, before they proclaimed independence. They later founded a new city on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra, opposite Anegondi, for which they gave a purposeful and significant name, Vijayanagar (City of Victory) or Vidyanagar (City of Learning). Hindu tradition avers that the second name was given to commemorate the role Vidyaranya played in founding the new state. Harihara celebrated his coronation on the 1st of April, 1336, in the presence of Lord Virupaksha in traditional Hindu style, undertaking to rule the kingdom as an agent of the Lord. His successors strictly followed the practice set up by him and issued all edicts of the state by the sign manual of Sri Virupaksha. For more than two centuries, the Vijayanagar rulers stood firmly against the repeated invasions of the Bahmanis and were able, at times, to repay the invader in his own coin by carrying the war and devastation to his own dominions. During the long period of its existence, different dynasties succeeded to the throne of Vijayanagar one after the other, but the aim of the rulers had always been to uphold the cause of Hindu Dharma.

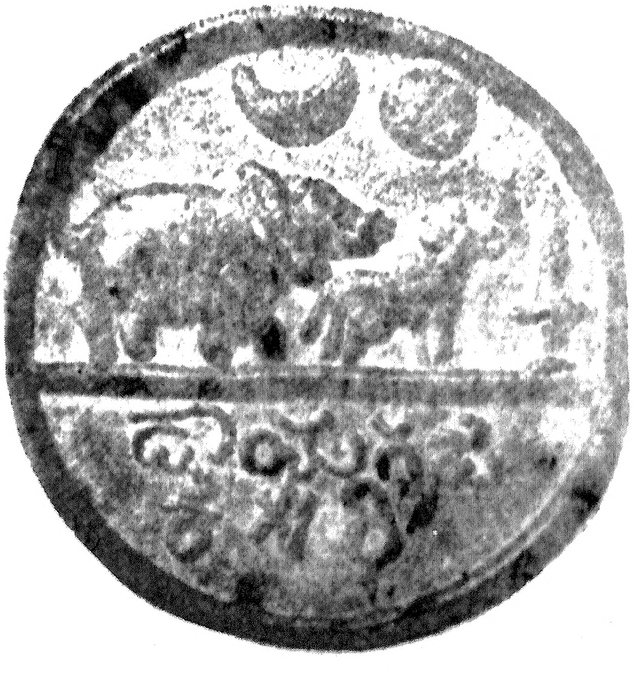
Harihara I, the founder of the first dynasty, was the eldest of a family of five brothers - sons of Sangama. Hence the dynasty was known as the Sangama dynasty. In his attempts



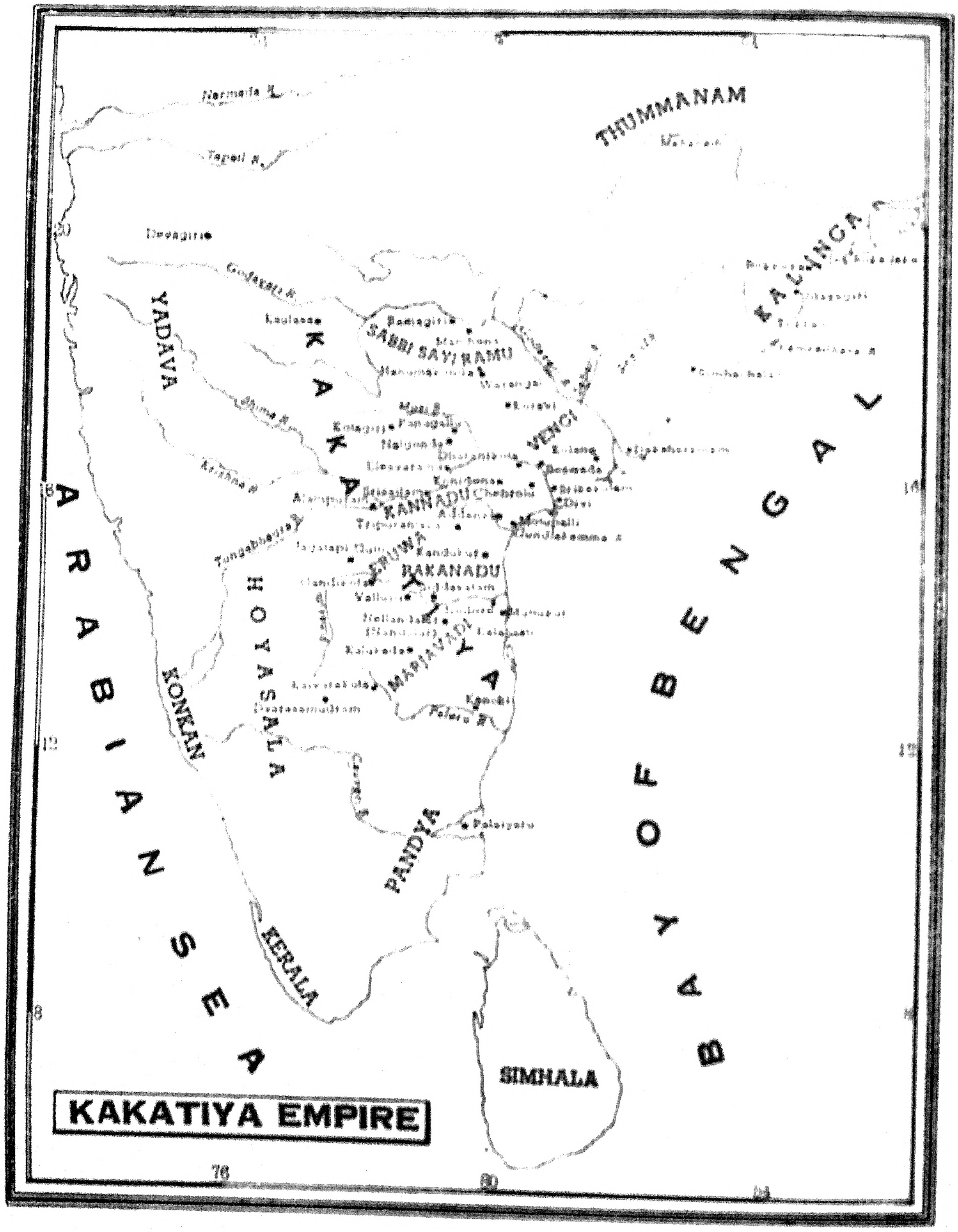
Rēnaṭi cola Rajamudrika



Calukya Rājamudrika



Kākatīya Rājamudrika


Narmada R.
Tapati R.
THUMMANAM
Devagiri
Godavari R.
KALINGA
YADAVA
KAKATIYA
SABBI SAYIRAMU
Ramagiri
Warangal
Musi R.
Nalgonda
Dharanikota
VENGI
Bezwada
Divi
Chebrolu
Srisailam
Alampuram
KANNADU
Tripurantakam
Motupalli
Tungabhadra R.
ERUWA
PAKANADU
Kandukur
Valluru
MARJAVADI
Kanchi
Palaru R.
HOYASALA
KONKAN
Dvarasamudram
PANDYA
KERALA
SIMHALA
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
20
16
12
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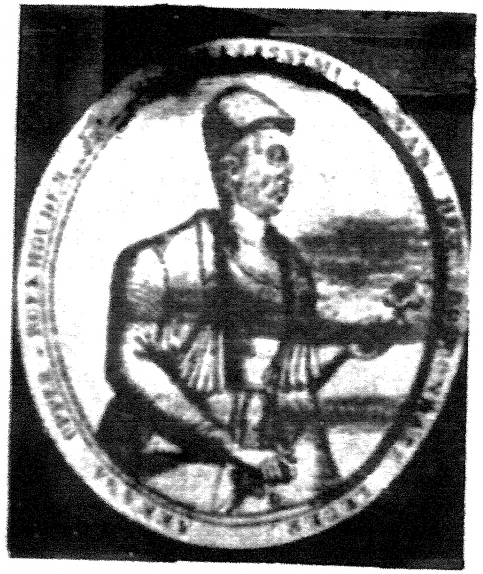
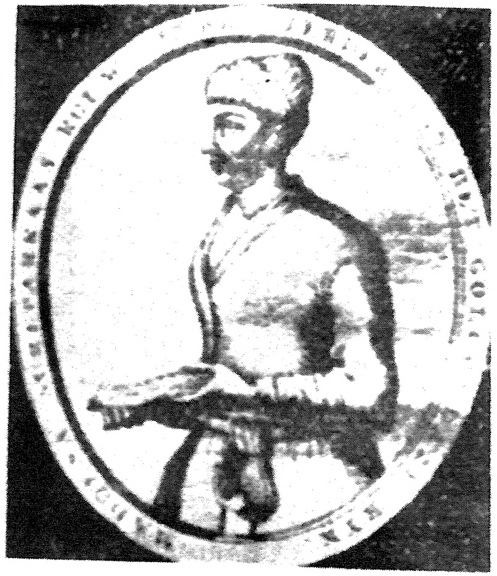
80
84

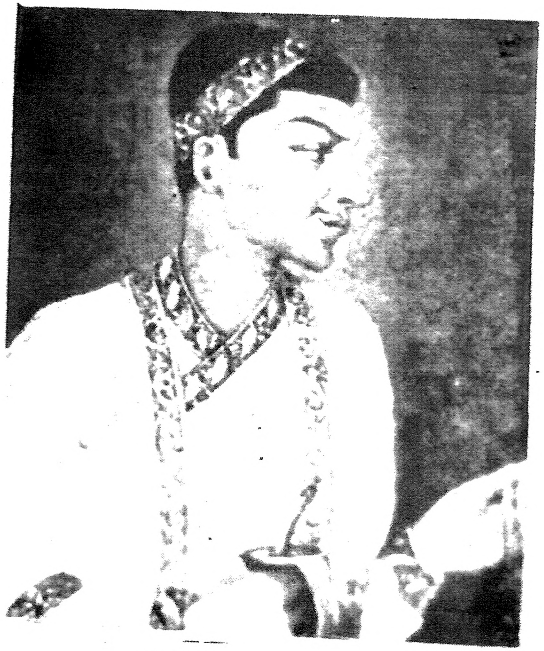
KAKATIYA EMPIRE



Akkanna

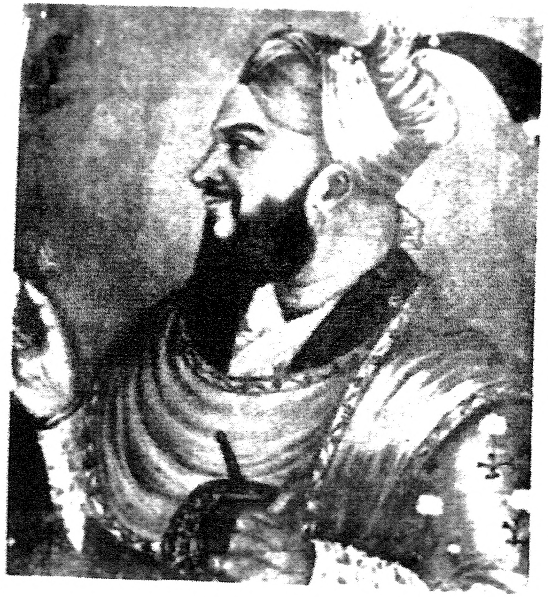


Mādanna

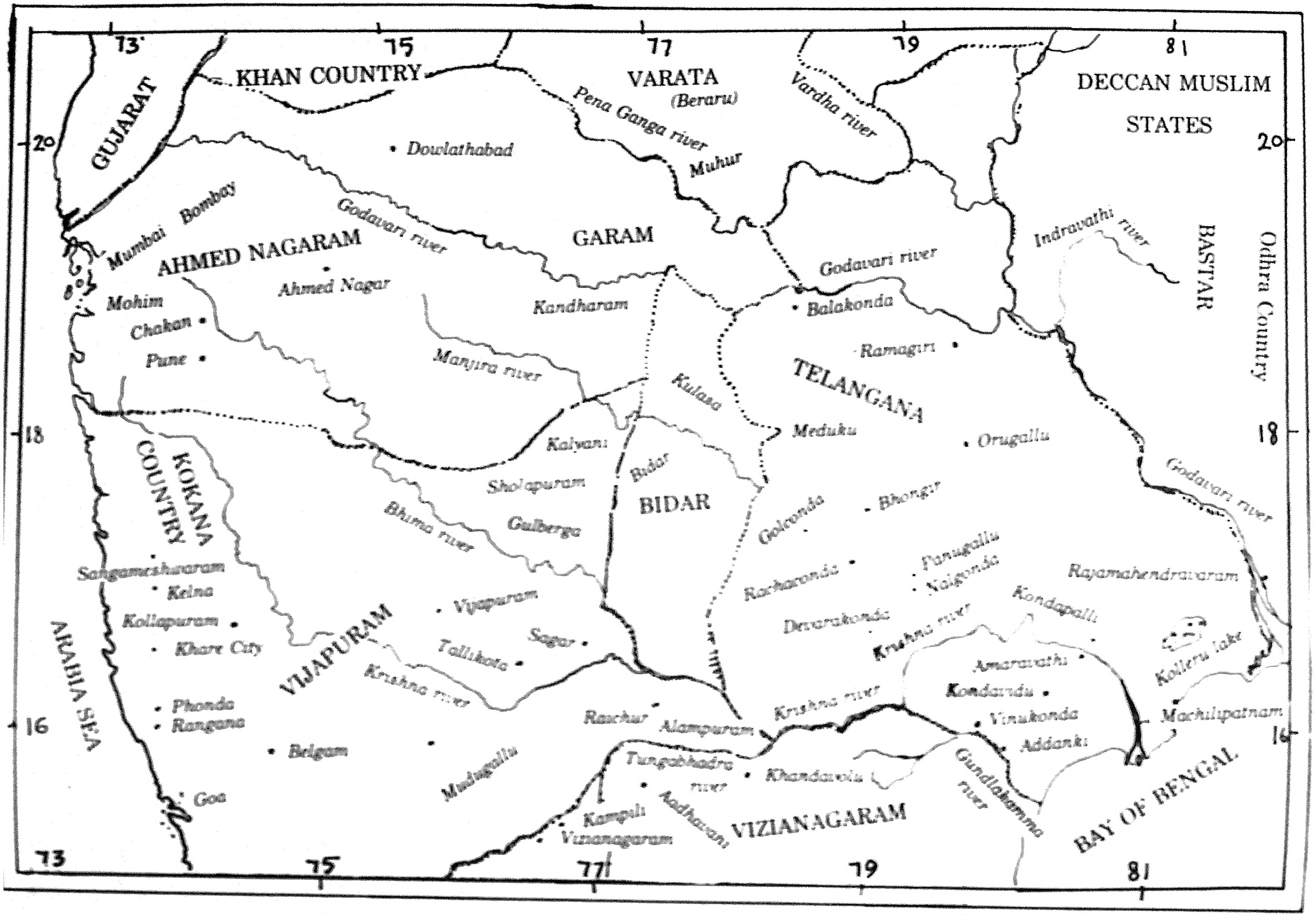


Quli Qutub Shah

Golkonda Fort



Tanīsā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KHAN COUNTRY
VARATA
(Beraru)
DECCAN MUSLIM
STATES
GUJARAT
Dowlathabad
Pena Ganga river
Vardha river
Muhur
Mumbai
Bombay
Godavari river
AHMED NAGARAM
GARAM
Indravathi river
BASTAR
Odhra Country
Ahmed Nagar
Mohim
Kandharam
Godavari river
Balakonda
Chakan
Pune
Manjira river
Ramagiri
TELANGANA
Kulasa
Meduku
Orugallu
Kalyani
Bidar
KOKANA
COUNTRY
Sholapuram
BIDAR
Godavari river
Bhongir
Golconda
Bhima river
Gulberga
Panugallu
Nalgonda
Rachakonda
Rajamahendravaram
Sangameshwaram
Kelna
Vijapuram
Devarakonda
Kondapalli
Kollapuram
Krishna river
Sagar
Khare City
VIJAPURAM
Tallikota
Amaravathi
Kolleru lake
Krishna river
Kondavidu
Phonda
Rangana
Raichur
Alampuram
Krishna river
Vinukonda
Machilipatnam
ARABIA SEA
Belgam
Mudugallu
Addanki
Tungabhadra
river
Khandavolu
Goa
Gundlakamma
river
Kampili
Aadhavani
VIZIANAGARAM
BAY OF BENGAL
Vijianagaram

to conquer and weld the petty kingdoms of south India into a formidable empire, Harihara I received assistance not only from his four brothers but also from their sons.

Expansion under Harihara started with the occupation of Udayagiri fort in the Nellore region by Bukkaraya. This fort held the key for occupying the coastal tract of Andhra. Then, Bukka fought with the Hoyasalas and occupied the fort of Penugonda, taking advantage of the Hoyasala wars against the Sultan of Madhura (present-day Madurai) and his victory signalled the beginning of the end of the power of the Hoyasalas. The political power and life of Ballala III suffered a fatal blow at the hands of the Sultan of Madhura, Ghiyas-ud-din Damghani. Ballala III was succeeded by his son, Virupaksha Ballala IV, in 1343.

Meanwhile the political scene of India began changing. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq died and Firuz Shah Tughlaq became the sultan of Delhi. The Bahmani kingdom came into existence in Deccan. Firuz Shah sent firmans to the newly established kingdoms of south India to acknowledge his suzerainty and pay tributes. The Sultan of Madhura ignored the firman. He sought the assistance of Alla-ud-din Gangu, the Bahmani ruler fearing an attack from Vijayanagar. Alla-ud-din agreed for an alliance with Madhura as that would also help him in checking Vijayanagar's expansion. He sent his son-in-law, Qurbat Hasan Gangu, to the help of the Sultan of Madhura and himself proceeded to Raichur Doab to stall the Vijayanagar army moving against Madhura. Hesitant to fight on two fronts, Harihara concentrated only on attacking the more powerful Bahmani army. Harihara seems to have lost some territory in the conflict. One of the principal themes of Vijayanagar history, the Vijayanagar-Bahmani conflict with Raichur-Doab as the bone of contention, thus started right from the time of Harihara I.

Harihara's first brother, Kampana, ruled as a viceroy at Udayagiri. Sayanacharya, brother of Madhava Vidyaranya, served him as a minister and commander. Harihara owed many of the achievements of his reign to Bukkaraya, his brother. For some years Harihara and Bukkaraya jointly ruled the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Another brother of Harihara, Marappa, helped in the conquest of Vanavasi (Kadamba) kingdom. A Saiva scholar, Chaundapa Madhava, helped him as a minister and commander. Not much is known about the fourth brother of Harihara, Muddappa. Harihara laid a solid foundation for administrative and economic structure of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Having consolidated their empire stretching from one sea to the other, south of the Krishna, the five brothers along with their ministers and lieutenants met in 1346 at Sringeri, the seat of the pontiff of the Hindu community and celebrated *vijayōtsava* (Festival of Victory).

Harihara I passed away in 1355 and Bukkaraya succeeded him to the throne as the former had no children. His reign of twenty years witnessed the continuation of the work of Harihara I. Noteworthy is the assembly of emissaries he sent to China, recorded under the year 1374 in the annals of the Ming dynasty. Though frequent wars with the Bahmani sultans, Muhammad I and Mujahid, gave him some trouble and checked his activities for nearly two decades, the accession of Muhammad II, a man of peace, to the Bahmani throne in 1378 brought a lull in the hostilities. Bukka ended the rule of Sambuvaraya by conquering Tondaimandalam. The most notable event of Bukka's reign was the conquest of Madhura by his son, Kumara Kampana, assisted by his able generals, Gopana and Saluva Manga. An epic version of the conquest of Madhura is found in the exquisite Sanskrit poem, *Madhurâ Vijayam* (The Conquest of Madhura) by the wife of Kampana, Gangadevi. The image of Lord Ranganatha, which had been carried away from Srirangam to a distant place for safety during the period of Muslim invasions was restored to its original place in 1371. With the conquest of Madhura, the entire south India upto Rameswaram came under Vijayanagar rule. The empire was divided into several *râjyas* ruled over by princes of the royal family or by generals. Though the rulers were Saivites by conviction, they gave due respect to the other religious sects also. When a conflict arose between the religious sects of Vaishnavites and Jains, Bukka formulated a code of conduct to be observed by the followers of the two religions, which became an ideal edict of religious tolerance for all religious sects. Vedic as well as secular learning and literature began to flourish in the Vijayanagar empire.

After Bukka, his son, Harihara II (1377-1404), ascended the throne. During his reign, the kingdom was further consolidated and its frontiers extended. Sayancharya, the brother of Madhava, was his chief minister. For ensuring loyalty, Harihara replaced his cousins by his own sons as governors of provinces. One of his sons, Devaraya was made the governor of Udayagiri. Virupaksharaya son of Harihara, who was appointed his viceroy in the south, defeated the king of Ceylon and made him pay a tribute. Vijayanagar-Bahmani wars continued without any significant result and a lull was forced on both the parties by a famine which spread over a great part of the Deccan and made life difficult for the people.

During this time, coastal Andhra lying between Nellore and Kalinga was under the Reddi kings of Kondavidu. For gaining control over the territory, it became necessary to curb the power of Kondavidu Reddis. Therefore Harihara turned his attention towards the east and Devaraya, his son, was chosen for carrying the campaigin against the Reddis. Finally, Devaraya could wrest Addanki and Srisailam areas from the Reddis. Occupation of the Srisailam area led to clashes between the Vijayanagar kings and the Velamas of Rachakonda in Telangana. To counter Vijayanagar attack, Rachakonda approached the Bahmanis for help and this checkmated Harihara II from proceeding further into Telangana. However, the extension of Vijayanagar territory towards northwest gave it control over the ports of Goa, Chaul and Dabhol and led to an expansion of commerce and ensuing prosperity.

When Harihara II died, a dispute for succession arose among Virupaksha I, Bukka II and Devaraya I and finally Devaraya I (1406-1422) emerged victorious and ascended the throne. The sixteen years of his rule had to be spent in waging wars against the Bahmani sultans, the Velamas of Telangana and the Reddis of Kondavidu. The reign also saw the commencement of hostilities between the Gajapatis of Kalinga and the Vijayanagar rulers, which were to continue for many years.

According to the Portuguese chronicler, Nuniz, Bukka II and Devaraya I extended the boundaries of the city of Vijayanagar and raised fresh walls and towers. According to another historian, Sewell, their great work included the construction of a huge dam on the Tungabhadra river and the formation of an aqueduct, fifteen miles long, from the river to the city. It is considered to be one of the most remarkable irrigation works in the medieval period. Devaraya, also patronised literature. Towards the close of his reign, Nicolo Conti, an Italian, visited Vijayanagar and his description of the city reveals its glory. Devaraya I passed away in 1422. His sons, Ramachandraraya and Vijayaraya I, who ruled one after the other, did not do anything significant.

The next ruler, Devaraya II (1426-1446), son of Vijayaraya, was a great monarch. He effected the conquest of Kondavidu and carried his arms into Kerala, subjugating the ruler of Quilon and other chieftains. The writings of Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador who visited south India during the reign of Devaraya II, bear testimony to the supremacy of the king over many ports of south India. According to him, the dominions of Devaraya II extended from Ceylon to Gulbarga and from Orissa to Malbar. Nuniz says that Devaraya extracted tribute from the rulers of Quilon, Ceylon, Pulicat, Pegu and Tansasserim. The relations between the Vijayanagar and Bahmani kingdoms continued to be hostile in the reign of Devaraya II also. It is to be noted that Devaraya took a number of Muslims into his army and provided every facility to them for a free exercise of their religious obligations. Devaraya re-organised his army and gave them better training in archery. He was a great builder and a patron of poets. Extensive commerce and revenues from various sources contributed to the prosperity of the Vijayanagar kingdom under him.

The kings who succeeded Devaraya II were not of any importance. His son, Mallikarjuna, and his grandson, Virupaksha, were quite incompetent and allowed the empire to disintegrate. To add to this, there was pressure from Muhmud Shah, the Bahmani sultan who proclaimed a *jehād* (religious war) against Vijayanagar. To worsen the situation further, the Portuguese were rapidly trying to establish themselves on the west coast and in the ports along it. The Vijayanagar minister, Saluva Narasimha, was an able administrator and could successfully counter these forces. Later, in 1485 he usurped the throne. Thus the Saluva line of kings came to rule Vijayanagar.

There was formidable opposition to Saluva Narasimha at the outset and he had to spend a good deal of his time and energy putting down many rebel chieftains. He died in 1490 leaving his two sons to the care of Narasanayaka of the Tuluva family, a trusted general. The quarrels among the chieftains in the court necessitated a change in favour of a more capable and stronger ruler and Narasanayaka assumed himself the power as a regent in 1492, keeping the real ruler under tutelage.

Narasanayaka died in 1503 and by that time he had established his authority effectively over the whole of his extensive dominion. His son, Vira Narasimha, took his place as regent and later, after the death of the nominal ruler, proclaimed himself as the ruler, thus inaugurating the rule of the Tuluva dynasty in 1505. He was succeeded by his brother, Krishnadevaraya in 1509. It was during this period that Vijayanagar reached the zenith of its glory and prosperity. Krishnadevaraya realised that his kingdom was, at that time, under the threat of the evil designs of the subordinate feudatories and the neighbouring rulers. He also realised that a large, reliable and stable army was needed to face the situation. With the help of his astute chief minister, Saluva Timmarusu, he gained control over the *amaranâyakas* (the feudal nobles) and ensured for himself the support of a large army provided by them.

At the time of Krishnadevaraya's accession, the rebel chieftain of Ummattur was contesting for the lordship of the best part of the Mysore territory; the Gajapatis of Orissa were in occupation of the north-eastern districts and Prataparudra Gajapati was openly hostile and aggressive. Krishnadevaraya faced the situation with courage coupled with tact. His first task was to repulse the Bahmani forces and thereafter the forces of Bijapur, which succeeded the Bahmani power in the Raichur doab. Ultimately, Krishnadevaraya succeeded in occupying the doab and carried on the war into the realm of the enemy, making him sue for peace. Within ten years, Krishnadevaraya succeeded in consolidating his authority and in extending the boundaries of his kingdom upto Orissa in the east, Bhatkal and Honavar in the west, Raichur in the north and the sea in the south. The Portuguese became his friends. He extended his dominion in the east and northeast by defeating the erstwhile ruler of Orissa, the Gajapathi, who sued for peace and gave his daughter in marriage to Krishnadevaraya.

The period of his reign is considered to be the golden age in the history of Vijayanagar. He was a great warrior and an equally great statesman, administrator and patron of arts. He was himself a scholar and a poet. He authored *Àmuktamâlyada*, a celebrated Telugu work and also many Sanskrit works. The grandeur of his court won the admiration of many a foreign visitor. He was a great builder and added to the beauty of the capital. He respected all sects of the Hindu religion alike though his personal leanings were towards Vaishnavism.

Krishnadevaraya died in 1529, nominating his half-brother, Achyutaraya, to be his successor. But Ramaraya, an able general and son-in-law of Krishnadevaraya, proclaimed an infant son of the late ruler as king. There was a tussle for power which ended with Achyutaraya agreeing to share power with Ramaraya. But the death of the infant son soon after complicated the matters and Achyutaraya's reign was, therefore, spent in a struggle against internal revolts engineered by Ramaraya. Achyutaraya died in 1542 and was succeeded by his infant son. Ramaraya, who did not like this, proclaimed Sadasivaraya, the brother of Achyutaraya, as the ruler (1543) and was at last successful in enforcing his will with the help of his sword. Sadasivaraya had to function only as a puppet in the hands of Ramaraya.

Ramaraya, though an able general, was over-ambitious and lacked foresight. He began to admit large numbers of Muslims into the army and thereby helped them to get intimate knowledge of the affairs of the state. To add to this, Ramaraya followed a policy of interfering in the bickerings among the Muslim Shahi states of the Deccan. He pitted one against the other hoping to keep them weak and thereby under his thumb.

This policy paid him rich dividends initially. But when he overplayed it, the Shahi rulers realised that their disunity gave an advantage to Ramaraya. So, they patched up their differences and formed a general league to destroy the common enemy. Their combined armies were then led together against Vijayanagar.

Ramaraya faced the situation with utmost confidence. On the south bank of the Krishna, near the villages of Rakkasi and Tangadi, a decisive battle was fought on the 23rd of January, 1565. Ramaraya himself directed the operations in spite of his old age (He was then 93). At first the Raya's army was successful. But two Muslim commanders of Ramaraya deserted him and joined the Shahis with their men, causing a rout in Raya's army. Ramaraya was taken prisoner and immediately beheaded.

In the confusion that followed, Tirumalaraya, the younger brother of Ramaraya, managed to make good his escape to Vijayanagar and thereafter fled away to Penugonda, taking along with him the puppet ruler Sadasivaraya, the members of the royal family and the royal treasure loaded on one thousand five hundred and fifty elephants. The city of Vijayanagar, the capital of the empire and its inhabitants were left to their fate. The victorious armies of the sultans then marched towards Vijayanagar. Uninhibited looting of the city by the Shahi chieftains as well as ruthless robbers went on for days together.

"With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been brought and wrought on such a splendid city teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full of prosperity one day and on the next seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins amid scenes of savage measures and horrors beggaring description."

The Aravidu dynasty

Tirumalaraya after reaching Penugonda tried to the best of his ability to rebuild the army and to restore order in the empire. But the task proved to be Herculian. Anarchy prevailed in the empire from 1565 to 1571. The royal scions, the palegars and the amaranayakas extended the limits of their own powers and territories. Tirumalaraya knew his limitations and when he offered to recognise the amaranayakas as hereditary lords of the land in their possession, they accepted him as their liege lord and agreed to pay him the annual rents. After securing his position as de-facto ruler, Tirumalaraya proclaimed himself as the de-jure ruler too in 1571, imprisoning Sadasivaraya. Thus he founded a new dynasty, known as the Aravidu dynasty, after his surname. But by that time he was very old. He passed away in 1572 after a brief reign of eleven months as a crowned king.

Tirumalaraya divided his kingdom into three regions for administrative reasons and placed them under his three sons. It is interesting to note that this division was based on a linguistic pattern. Sriranga, his eldest son, governed the Telugu region from Penugonda (1572-1585); his second son, Sriramaraya over the Kannada region from Srirangapatnam and Venkatapati, his third son, over the Tamil land with Chandragiri as his capital.

His successor, Sriranga I, wore a crown of thorns. Demoralisation increased and the feudatories joined hands with the Muslim powers, the natural enemies of Vijayanagar. The internecine war, no nobler than a family feud, laid the country open for Ibrahim Qutb Shah to walk in freely and extend his dominions from the Krishna to Udayagiri. During the remaining part of the 16th century, decadence took every worst possible shape. The royal duties and policies became hardly distinguishable from those of the feudatory chiefs. At the time of Sriranga's death, his sons were in infancy. Sriramaraya, his next brother, was already dead. So, Venkatapatiraya, younger brother of Srirangaraya, who was already ruling a part of the kingdom from Chandragiri, succeeded to the throne in 1586.

However, by 1600, the Vijayanagar kingdom achieved some stability under Venkatapatiraya. During his reign, a quarrel arose between the Portuguese and the Dutch for gaining a foot-hold in the ports. The Raya sought the friendship of both; but this was not possible. He received a Jesuit mission at his court that brought a highly complimentary letter from Phillip III of Spain on behalf of the Portuguese. The elated Raya therefore preferred to benefit the Portuguese rather than the Dutch.

The Portuguese, however did not retain the Raya's good-will for long. In 1610 their Jesuit Mission was recalled on account of its subservience to the Hindu king. This provocation led the Raya to favour the Dutch. The Dutch built their factories and fortifications in Pulicat. The angry Portuguese led an attack on them. But the Raya helped the Dutch to ward off the attack. The Dutch importance lessened with the death of Venkatapatiraya in 1614.

Venktapatiraya dominated the politics of the south for nearly three decades. It was undoubtedly a period of strain and stress. Yet, at the end of it, the frontier of the empire of Vijayanagar once again ran along the Krishna in the north. Rakkasi-Tangadi was a nightmare of the past and all the glory of Vijayanagar was once again restored. Its friendship was sought after not only by the sultans of Delhi but also by the kings of far-off countries like Spain. After Venkatapatiraya's death, a war of succession broke out. This long internecine war (1614-29) threw the northern defences of the empire out of gear.

Every feudatory found pleasure in supporting some ambitious member of the royal family and the territory, as a consequence of it, became an easy prey to the invading armies of Bijapur, Golconda and the Mughals. The last ruler, a talented one, named Srirangaraya III (1642-1678), made an effort to stem the rot. He appealed to his people and the Nayaks in the name of their temples, Brahmins and religion to help him throw back the invaders.

Though too late, the Nayaks besought to correct themselves. Except the rulers of Madhura, all the others realised the great harm they had done to their country. Men and money poured in; the ladies of Velur divested themselves of all their jewellery. The coffers of God

Venkateswara poured forth money without count. Thus strengthened, Sriranagaraya made a supreme effort to rid the country of the enemies.

But all these came to nothing. As their own capitals were attacked, most of the chieftains had to leave the Raya to his own resources. Famine stalked the war-ridden land and to make matters worse, Tirumala Nayaka of Madhura joined the enemy and Sriranga, a victim of cupidity and selfishness of the feudal lords, fled from the land. Sriranga, however, continued to exercise power as a king in some parts of the kingdom upto 1678. However, thereafter, he fades away from our view and so does the flame of liberty lit at Vijayanagar three centuries and a half earlier in 1336. It is necessary here to say that during all these turmoils, the southern part of the Telugu area alone continued to be in the Vijayanagar empire. In the northern part, the Qutb Shahis established their rule by 1543.

Qutb Shahis

The Qutb Shahi dynasty which held sway over the Andhra country for two hundred years from the early part of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth, had a glorious past and a rich cultural legacy. Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, the founder of the dynasty, was a scion of a defunct royal family of Hamdan. He served the Bahmanis faithfully and was appointed governor of Telangana in 1492 and received the title, Qutb-ul-Mulk which continued in the dynasty till it was changed into that of 'Qutb Shah' after the dynasty had attained independence. He declared independence after the death of his patron king, Mahmood Shah, in 1518.

Sultan Quli controlled the province of Telangana for nearly 60 years, first as a general or governor and later as an independent king. During this period, he extended the territory upto the seaport of Masulipatam.

The aged king, who lived a long life of ninety years, was murdered by his third son, Yar Quli Jamsheed, who was anxious to seize the throne. Jamsheed reigned for seven years till 1550, but remained maligned by all for his patricidal crime. He failed to gain the goodwill of his subjects on account of his despicable acts and rude behaviour, despite the fact that he was a good soldier and a man of learning. His youngest brother, Ibrahim, who was hardly thirteen at the time of his father's assassination, fled with some of his trusted followers to Vijayanagar and remained there for seven years enjoying the hospitality of Ramaraya, the *de facto* ruler of the empire. His stay there afforded him not only a good asylum but also a training ground. It may be presumed that the prince had an opportunity to accustom himself with the Hindu cultural atmosphere and to learn the art of administration.

When Jamsheed died in 1550, Ibrahim found the political atmosphere of the kingdom favourable to his cause and returned to Golconda to ascend the throne. Ibrahim Qutb Shah who is known in Andhra country as Malkibharam, was the real architect of the Golconda kingdom. He ruled the kingdom for thirty years from 1550 to 1580, and consolidated it. The kingdom which Ibrahim was called upon to administer was in the making. It lacked sound administration and efficient governmental machinery. Ibrahim organised the central and provincial structures of government and brought them into close contact with each other. He also introduced an efficient intelligence service which kept the central government informed of the local affairs. All the thieves and the highway robbers were rounded up and the kingdom was made safe for trade and travel. The travellers moved on from one end of the kingdom to another unharmed. Great impetus was given to the growth of trade and industry. Ibrahim had also many works of public utility to his credit. He constructed lakes and laid out towns and gardens. He also encouraged the local language, Telugu, and patronized Telugu scholars and poets like Telaganna and Gangadhara who dedicated their works to the king.

A memorable event of far-reaching consequence of that period was the battle of Rakkasi-Tangadi fought against Vijayanagar in 1565, in which Golkonda under Ibrahim took active part along with the other Shahi kingdoms of Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Bidar. The dismemberment of the Vijayanagar empire, as a result of the battle, brought immense benefits both of cash and territories to Golconda and the kingdom was extended as far as Madras and Gandikota in the south.

The next period of forty years led by Ibrahim's son and grandson, is an era of peace and prosperity during which time the kingdom rose to its zenith. Ibrahim was succeeded by his son, Mohamed Quli, who was a great writer and builder. The lay-out of the city of Hyderabad was a great achievement of his regime. The city was laid out in 1591 with fine taste and geometrical accuracy, and was embellished with magnificent buildings, straight roads and other civic amenities such as banking transactions. For this purpose, he invited several Persian families to settle down in Hyderabad as well as in Masulipatam. Mohamed Quli was a scholar and a poet. He composed numerous poems in Deccani Urdu on various topics of literary, political and social character.

Mohamed Quli died in 1612 and was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Sultan Mohamad Qutb Shah. He was highly religious and was a model of virtue and piety. He was kind and humane and led a very pious life fully devoted to religious practices. He followed his uncle in promoting various activities in the fields of learning and architecture. The great mosque known as Mecca Masjid in Hyderabad was designed and its foundation laid by him, though the main structure of the Mosque was completed during the next four generations.

The premature death of Sultan Mohamed in 1626 was a sad prelude to the decline and fall of the Golconda kingdom. He was succeeded by his minor son, Abdullah Qutb Shah, who was an indolent and easy-going king. He spent his time mostly in frivolities and recreations with the result that self-seeking and imcompetent officers exploited the kingdom to their own advantage. To make matters worse, the kingdom had to face the Mughal invasions from the north. The fall of Ahmednagar in 1633 and its complete liquidation in 1635, sounded a death knell to the Deccan solidarity. The southern kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur were exposed to the Mughal menace. So, they had no alternative but to pay their homage and acknowledge the Mughal suzerainty which they did and signed a treaty in 1636.

The unfortunate treaty reduced the sultanates to vassalage and thus they conceded everything that the imperial government had dictated. They had to inscribe the name of the Emperor, Shah Jahan, on their coins and accept the Mughal *Hajib*, a resident officer who interfered with even day-to-day administration and tried to encourage fissiparous tendencies.

The traitors of Golconda found their supporter in the imperial government which did not shirk even to invade Golconda to support its favourities. Prince Aurangazeb, who administered the Mughal territories of the Deccan as a governor, beseiged Golconda in 1656. King Abdullah could not resist for long. He had to accept the disgraceful terms which the invaders dictated. He paid heavy indemnity and gave the hand of his daughter in marriage to Aurangazeb's eldest son.

Abdullah died in 1672 and was succeeded by his third son-in-law, Abdul Hassan Qutb Shah, against the superior claims of his elder co-son-in-law, Syed Ahmed. A sudden *coup d'etat* by one, Syed Muzaffar and his followers in support of Abdul Hassan brought the latter to the throne. Abdul Hassan is popularly known as Tana Shah in the Deccan. He had a steady mind, a broader vision and administrative experience of high order. He handled the domestic as well as foreign affairs so skilfully that the Imperial Government was extremely surprised. He not only guided the destinies of his subjects conscientiously but also took a comprehensive view of the Deccan at large and put forth effective schemes to contain the Mughal tide.

But the poor king and his kingdom were overtaken by the aggressive designs of the Mughal emperor. Abdul Hassan, for no fault of his, was described by the Mughal emperor, Aurangazeb and his band of historians as a vagabond and worthless creature. The misrepresentation was fabricated to justify the aggressive designs which the emperor had already contemplated in order to liquidate the Deccan sultanates or force them to accede to the Mughal empire. The emperor came to the Deccan in 1682 and launched his campaigns against both the Marathas and the Deccan sultanates. His original plan was to put down the Maratha power, but later on, he suspended the plan and directed his forces against Bijapur and Golconda in 1685. Bijapur fell in after only two months' siege. But Golconda held out for a longer time. The Golconda siege, which was conducted by the emperor, continued for eight long months as the fort was well defended. It exhausted the imperial patience to such an extent that the emperor had once decided to lift the siege. But it came to an abrupt conclusion owing to the treachery of an Afghan general, Abdullah Khan, who opened the gate in the dead of night and thus facilitated the capture of the fort. The equanimity with which Tana Shah had faced the Mughal captors and the unequalled loyalty of Abdul Razak Lari, who remained faithful to his king, Tana Shah, are of special significance. The fall of Golconda in 1687, however, brought the history of the kingdom to an abrupt end, followed by far-reaching consequences. It halted the pace of cultural progress for years and relaxed the administrative grip on the English Company at Masulipatam and Madras, with the result that the company became the master of the subcontinent in due course. So long as the kingdom was powerful in the south, king Abdul Hassan and his minister, Madanna, kept their constant vigil on the English merchants.

But Aurangzeb, who succeeded in liquidating the Golconda kingdom and in merging it with his vast empire, had no time to consolidate his gains. The continuous warfare that he carried on relentlessly against the Marathas gave him no leisure to set up a stable administrative machinery in the conquered territory. He died in 1707 leaving everything in chaos.

SOCIETY AND RELIGION

Society

The Telugu Country, during most of this period, was divided territorially into two sections. While the northern territory - lying to the south of the Krishna, extending at times down to Udayagiri (in the Nellore district) - was ruled by Muslim potentates; the southern section was under the rule of the Vijayanagar emperors, who represented resurgent Hinduism. Hence, the social developments are also to be studied under two different heads : 1. the society under the Deccani kingdoms, and 2. the society under the Vijayanagar empire.

Society under the Deccani Kingdoms

During the Bahmani rule, the Telugu society had to face the onslaught of an alien race and religion bent upon expansionism. The Reddi and Velama rulers, during this period, did their best to save the society and its age-old traditions and its language and literature from the fanatic invaders. However, with the end of the Bahmani rule, the force of circumstances mellowed down. The initial vehemence of the Islamic rulers and its resultant confrontation had to yield place, to some extent, to attempts at conciliation and coexistence between the sons of the soil and the invaders. This attempt was quite evident in the Qutb Shahi administration, which was responsive to the march of time and the local conditions. It was based on benevolence and mutual tolerance. The Hindu subjects and their interests were as carefully protected as those of the Muslims. The Hindus not only enjoyed full security of life and property but also had freedom of conscience.

The Qutb Shahis paid equal attention to the administration of justice, an essential part of civil administration. Muslim divines and 'Kazis' of the Muslim community and Hindu pandits were invited to attend the courts of justice and give their judgements according to their respective religious laws. Village panchayats which were in vogue from time immemorial were also encouraged to function. However, punishments for criminal offences were very harsh and quite deterrent.

The society at the time of the downfall of the Bahmani kingdom was heterogenous in character. The two main constituents of it were the foreign immigrants called the Afaquies and the local populace. The Afaquies who had migrated from different parts of central and western Asia were mostly Muslims by religion. Nusrati, the court poet of Ali Adil Shah II, in his 'Masnavi', *Ali Nāmā*, mentioned the various races and creeds of these foreign people. According to him, the Bijapuri army consisted of immigrants from the Mughal, Chugtai, Kazalbash, Uzbek, Quamdari, Bulaqui, Kabuli, Qurasani, Asfahani, Sabzavari, Bouqari, Harati, Tusi, Lari, Turk, Garji, Horaizi, Harvi and Azari stocks. The author of *Tarikh-e-Sultān, Muhammad Qutb Shah*, mentioned that the same applied to the Qutb Shahi kingdom also. According to him, there was a continuous inflow of people from Turkistan, Khurasan, Arabia and other lands into Hyderabad.

The other constituent of the society, which formed the majority, consisted of the local populace - both Muslims and non-Muslims. The division of the society did not stop there, but each had a number of subdivisions according to their origins, their sects and castes. The Muslims were divided mainly into two sects, the Sunnis and the Shias, while the Hindus, besides the four major castes, were divided into a number of subcastes and tribes.

In spite of this heterogeneity, the culture which bound the society was based on religious tolerance, broad-mindedness and humane outlook. The Muslims and Hindus borrowed heavily from each other's cultural traditions. The rulers - more so, those of Bijapur and Golconda - encouraged this attitude and the nobles and the Sufis supported it and thus literature, architecture, social and religious rituals and ceremonies of the period - show a happy fusion of foreign and local tradtions.

The rulers, specially the Qutb Shahis, encouraged the local language Telugu, besides the Deccani Urdu. They patronized scholars and awarded them titles and *jāgirs*. Ibrahim Qutb Shah, who lived in Vijayanagar for some time before he seized the throne, was liked and loved by the Telugu poets so much that we find a number of Telugu poems in his praise, mentioning him as Malkibharam (nativisation of Malik Ibrahim).

Addanki Gangadhara kavi dedicated his *Tapatī Samvaraṇōpākhyānamu* (1560), a prabandha in five cantos, to Ibrahim. The poet eulogises Malkibharam as Rama reborn.

Singaracharya, an accredited author of twenty works, was richly rewarded by Ibrahim. The poet wrote that he received elephants, white umbrellas, pearls, silk and satin robes, palanquins and *agrahāras* from Ibrahim Qutb Shah. Kandukuri Rudraya, another poet, was granted a village on the Paleru river near Kandukuru in Nellore District. The village still has an inscription which mentions this grant. It was not only Ibrahim who adopted this policy but the other sultans also did the same. We have a number of Telugu poetical works written during the period of the other sultans in which the poets have praised them. The famous Telugu poet Sarangu Thammayya, the karanam of Golkonda, wrote *Vaijayantī Vilāsamu* during Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's period. The verses in the introductory part of the poem show that he was very close to the Nawabs and enjoyed their patronage.

Ramadas (Gopanna), who lived in the period of Abul Hassan, wrote a number of poetical works and songs in praise of his deity, Sri Rama. He regarded Abul Hassan a saint born as a Mussalman.

The interaction between the Telugu poets and the poets of other languages brought out a happy exchange of thoughts and subjects. A number of Muslim poets borrowed subjects from the Hindu mythology and traditions as themes of their poems, while the Hindu poets borrowed from the Muslim lore. Telugu literature of the period, contained poems written on purely Muslim subjects such as the tragedy of Karbala. The songs connected with Muharram also formed a part of the Telugu folk literature. A Telugu poet of Raidurg taluk, Ramanna, wrote a number of poems on this subject.

The Muslim scholars, Sufis, poets and even the sultans adapted Deccani as their medium. The language itself was a happy combination of all the languages spoken during the period by the foreign immigrants as well as the local people. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur even adopted Deccani as the court language. The Sufis of the Deccani kingdoms, especially of Bijapur and Golconda, adopted this language for their works. For example, Shah Miranji and his disciple Shah Burhanuddin Janam composed poems in Deccani. Likewise, the Sufis of Golconda adopted Deccani Urdu for their writings. Shah Raju, a prominent Sufi of Abdul Hassan Qutb Shah's period, wrote a long poem *Sohâgan Nâmâ* in Deccani, adapting the style of the local folk songs.

The sultans not only patronised these efforts but also actively participated in them. Both Sultan Quli Qutb Shah and Abdullah Qutb Shah wrote poems in Deccani. *Kulliyât-e-Muhammad Quli Qutb Shâh* had nine poems in Deccani, written on the festival of Vasant (Spring). These poems describe in detail the celebrations of this Hindu festival by the sultan and the nobles.

Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur went a step ahead. He composed a book of songs entitled *Kitāb-e-Nauras*. As a musician, he made no secret of his respect for Saraswati, the patron deity of music, and Ganapati, the God of wisdom. But, while expressing his devotion to Hindu deities, he also bestows high praise on Prophet Muhammad and Khwaja Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga. The socio-cultural life of the people in the Deccani states was thus based on common understanding. This admixture of different cultures of the land resulted in what is known as Deccani culture.

It was Quli Qutb Shah, among the rulers of the Deccan, who adopted the local customs to a great extent. His example was followed by the nobles and people in general. The festivals provided an opportunity for both the Muslims and non-Muslims to come closer to each other. The Muslims participated in the Hindu festivals and *vice versa*. During the period, the institution which served well to fulfil this objective of the Deccani sultans, specially the Qutb Shahis, was the 'Ashurkhana'. An Ashurkhana is a building which houses the replicas of the standards carried by Prophet Muhammad's grandson, Imam Hussain, in the battlefield at Karbala in Iraq. These replicas, called *pīrs* in Telugu were found practically in every village and town in the Qutb Shahi kingdom. Everyone, irrespective of his religion, caste or creed, was allowed to visit the Ashurkhana and pay respects according to his own belief. Dr. Zore, in his book *Hyāt-e-Mēr Mōmin*, writes that the entire population, Muslim or non-Muslim, used to pay homage in Ashurkhanas and while doing so the differences between the rulers and the ruled and the differences of culture, religion and caste were forgotten. Most of the ceremonies of the Ashurkhanas were indianized. For example, the practice of disguising oneself as a tiger, monkey, etc. was clearly Indian. Likewise, the ceremony of 'rang' (colour) in which the people, painted their bodies with different colours and came reciting poems to the Ashurkhanas was adapted from Maharashtra. Likewise, the offerings to the *Ālams*, which included parched rice, *ghur* and coconut, are purely Hindu offerings given in the temples. Thus, the Ashurkhana became a meeting place of the people of different religions and castes with a common spirit.

The Deccani architecture - especially during the period of the Qutb Shahis - borrowed heavily from the Hindu style of architecture. The Hindu symbols like pot, lotus and elephant trunk were used in purely religious buildings like the mosques. The mosque built in Mushirabad during the period has elephant trunks supporting the roof of the prayer hall. Writing about the Toli Masjid built in 1671, Dr. Sherwani says: "It is remarkable in many ways, namely its size, its once-flourishing gardens and, most importantly, its blending in the best possible manner of the Hindu temple architecture and the Muslim mosque architecture. Almost without doubt, the circular earthen pot, so common a theme in Hindu architectural ornamentation, is largely adapted here."

It was not the mosques alone where these symbols were used. Even the tombs of the Sufi saints were decorated with them. For example, the tomb of Hazrat Meer Mahmood, situated on the bank of Meer Alam tank over a hillock, has the squirrel, deer and fish motifs done in stuccatto over the walls. As time progressed, this became a part of the Qutb Shahi architecture. The mosque usually had a sarai attached to it, which served as a guest house to provide shelter to the travellers and traders. During the Qutb Shahi period a large number of non-Muslims also were allowed to stay in them. Travernier, a non-Muslim, recorded that he stayed in a sarai at Hyderabad, when he visited the city.

Caligraphy had assumed a special significance under the Deccani rulers. The buildings at Bijapur and Golconda still stand as a testimony to it. Caligraphy was used to decorate the walls of the religious buildings. Practically all the styles of caligraphy were used by the caligraphers who were mostly Persians. For example the inscription on the detached gateway of Jami Masjid, according to Dr. Yazdani, presents perhaps the finest example of the 'Nastaliq' in Deccan, while on the same mosque the Quranic verses around the prayer niche are a good specimen of the ornamental 'Naskh'.

The costumes worn by the sultans, nobles and the people - specially the Muslims - gradually changed to the Deccani style. Among the rulers of Golconda, it was Sultan Quli, who first adapted the Deccani costumes. Two paintings, belonging to the Qutb Shahi period and consisting of a group of the rulers, show Sultan Quli in Deccani costume with a long embroidered 'angavastram' or kerchief on his shoulder. The example of the rulers was followed by the nobles. They wore a tight-fitting pajama, a shirt and a large coat of silk or cotton, pointed turbans and two pieces of cloth, one used as a belt around the waist and the other thrown over the shoulders.

The chroniclers of the Deccan did not generally elaborate details of the progress of the fine arts. But under the patronage of the sultans of Golconda and Bijapur, themselves great lovers of music and dance, it is certain that these must have attained great heights. Ibrahim Adil Shah's *Kitâb-e-Nauras* provides testimony to it. Likewise, Sultan Quli Qutb Shah's collection of poems in Deccani called *Kulliyât-e-Muhammad* helps us to assess the involvement of the ruler in fine arts like music and dance. For example, in one of his poems, while describing the beginning of the rainy season, he writes:

> The rainy season is the harbinger of greenery
> The girls attired in multi-coloured apparels,
> Decked with flowers (in their plaits),
> Like the twinkling stars in the Heavens,
> In joyous mirth are celebrating to the
> merriment of all,
> The thundering splatter of rains
> To the accompaniment of dancing peacock,
> Oh, Muhammad Quli, the onset of
> the rainy season
> Came as a blessing from Prophet Muhammad

Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmed in *Hadiqat-us-Salatin* described the celebration of Id-e-Milad-un-Nabi, the birthday of Prophet Muhammad, in detail. He writes that, on the occasion one thousand girls, selected from the empire and the surrounding places, performed in the court of Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah. The Qutb Shahis even patronized the local dances. A local form of a dance-drama called Kuchipudi, after the name of a village situated between Vijayawada and Musulipatam, was patronized by Abdul Hassan Qutb Shah. He made a perpetual grant of the village to the Brahmins who performed the dance-drama in his presence while he was staying in the neighbourhood.

Thus the socio-cultural life of the people during the rule of the Qutb Shahis was marked by a spirit of broad-mindedness and catholicity based on sharing and adopting of mutual traditions and customs.

Society under the Vijayanagar Kingdom

Founded after the dawn of Muslim expansion in south India, the Vijayanagar kingdom had served to be an effective check against the expansionism of Islam in the region. Under the patronage of a galaxy of great kings of Vijayanagar, Hindu dharma received all-round protection and encouragement at Vijayanagar through the agencies of *maṭhas* and temples. The rulers proclaimed themselves as the the agents of the god - either of Sri Virupaksha or of Sri Venkatesa.

The kingdom was divided into *râjyas* or *durgas* and *sîmas* for administrative purposes, mostly influenced by military considerations. The Telugu-speaking area of the empire was mainly covered by the provinces or *râjyas* of Kondavidu, Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Gutti, Penugonda, Rayadurga and Gandikota, all named after the respective forts and kept under the administrative control of military commanders. The smaller divisions were generally called *nāḍus* and *sthalas* following an earlier usage, like Renadu, Mulikinadu, Pottapinadu, Duvvuru sthala and Srisaila sthala, etc. Village was the smallest unit of administration.

The age-old system of the villages being administered by civic bodies called *ūru, samasta praja* or *ashṭādaśa praja* practically - disappeared with the advent of Mussalamans. So, the Vijayanagar kings introduced a new official hierarchy of *amaranāyakas, pārupatyadārs, rāyasamvāru, avasaramvāru* and other village officials appointed by the government. Of the twelve *āyagārs** or village servants of the Kakatiya period only three, namely the *reḍḍi* or *gauḍa*, the *karaṇam* or *sēnabōva* (accountant) and the *talāri*, survived as effective servants in the village as government officials although they were not paid in coin or kind by the government. But, they enjoyed the hereditary *mirāśi* lands, besides the usual privileges of collecting seasonal amounts of grains *(mēras)* from the cultivators. These three quasi-officials were entrusted with the duty of collecting taxes, in the form of cash and grain, from the villagers on behalf of the government.

The villages (*grāmas*) were generally classified into three kinds 1. *bhaṇḍāravāḍa grāmas*, 2. *amara grāmas* and 3. *agrahāra* and other *mānya grāmas*. The villages which were under the direct control of the government were called *bhaṇḍāravāḍa* villages and the entire revenue from these villages went to the state exchequer. *Amara grāmas* were the villages which were given to the *nāyakas* or military personnel in lieu of remunerations. The *nāyakas*, in return, had to provide the king with men and money in times of war. The *amaranāyakas*, according to *Rāyavācakam*, a prose work furnishing details about the times, were holding the territories containing the forts of Adavani, Gutti, Gandikota, Chandragiri, Penugonda and Nandyala. As such forts of big and small sizes were scattered all over the empire there were a number of *amaranāyakas* who actually constituted a part of the military organisation called the *nāyankar* system. However, the arrangement was not in the interest of the central authority, as it could pose a threat in times of civil war.

Agrahāras, devādāya grāmas and other *mānya grāmas* were tax-free villages. As the rulers of Vijayanagar were staunch promoters of Hindu dharma, they made gifts of numerous villages and land to learned Brahmins, temples and *maṭhas*, as *sarvamānya* (free from any kind of tax). The *agrahāras* were also called *śrōtriya grāmas* as they were granted to *Śrotriyas*, Brahmins learned in Vedas and Sastras. Both Saiva and Vaishnava temples and *maṭhas* received liberal donations in the form of villages and lands from the Rayas.

In the vast Vijayanagar empire a large number of social groups existed besides the major traditional castes. All these sub-castes were based on their respective callings. Thus there were as many sects as there were professions. Among the Brahmins, for example, one dividing factor was the *śâkhâ* or branch of the Veda; the second was the region from which they hailed; the third was their religious affinity like Smarta, Saiva or Vaishnava and the last, the nature of their work such as ministerial service or imparting education. A considerable number of Brahmins were employed in public services and such Brahmins were distinctly called the Niyogis. Some of the ruling classes, including the Rayas of Vijayanagar, belonged to the Kshatriya caste and traced their lineage from the Yadavas or Pururava of the lunar race. The third was the merchant class or Vaisyas. Rest of the society was generally taken as Sudras consisting of a large number of sub-castes including the cultivators forming the major sect, the smiths, weavers, oil-mongers, washermen and so on. However the 'chandalas' were considered to be a separate class.

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* The twelve *āyagārs* were: 1. *karaṇam* or *sēnabōva*, 2. *reḍḍi* or *gauḍa*, 3. *talāri*, 4. washerman, 5. shoemaker, 6. barber, 7. carpenter, 8. goldsmith, 9. *purōhita* (priest), 10. waterman, 11. potter, and 12. blacksmith.

In matters of social discipline, all the sects were guided by their respective traditions observed for generations. The elders of the respective sects were deemed to be the controlling authorities of those traditions. Violation of the tradition by any individual was considered to be a serious social offence and such an individual was liable for any punishment imposed by the elders. One could not change the profession of one's sect, or enter into intercaste marital relations or violate the family customs with regard to religious faith and ritualism. Almost every sect had a religious head whose word was final in matters pertaining not only to religion but also to public conduct. In some way the castes and sects during the period worked as social corporate bodies with established customs which were as effective as the bye-laws of any organization. The rulers had absolutely no authority over this kind of a social set-up. In fact, this helped the rulers in maintaining social discipline without the least effort on their part.

The cultivators formed the bulk of the society. The Reddis, Kammas and Velamas were the main sects among them. Those who participated in the military organisation were favoured with the posts of *amaranâyakas* and *palegârs* in the *nâyankara* system of military organisation. The Brahmins were preferred for appointment as ministers, secretaries, accountants (or *karaṇams*) and jurists in the courts. Rest of the Brahmin community lived in *agrahâras* engaged in the study of Vedas and Sastras and in imparting the same to the students.

People were subjected to a number of taxes. Land, plantations, gardens, professions, customs and excise, trade implements like looms, furnaces, ploughs, oil mills and sugar cane mills, property like houses, animals and carts used for transportation of commercial goods, trees grown for economic yield, mines and metallurgical works were liable to taxation. Under the item of land levy comes the primary land rent called *ari*. The grain and crop levies called *vennāyam* were assessed on the basis of the excess yield. Levies on plantations and some miscellaneous levies like the *meras* for the village servants or for conducting public functions and occasional festivals of the village deity were also imposed. The kings and the *amaranâyakas* used to depute someone on their behalf and conduct the festivals through them. The annual rate of house tax *(illari)* varied from three *sinnams* to one *paṇam* according to its size and structure. *Pullari* was the grazing tax. There were some miscellaneous taxes like marriage tax, pilgrim tax, barber tax, etc. Similarly, profession tax, industry tax and implement tax were also imposed.

Besides the regular taxes and levies paid to the royal exchequer the people had also to pay occasional tributes and contributions to the religious heads like the *Jiyars* and *Acāryas*.

Law and Order

The problem of maintaining law and order in the villages was mainly entrusted to *talāri* or *talavari*, one of the village *āyagārs*, similar to the modern police official. He had to protect the life and property of the villagers and was held responsible for any property that might be stolen in the village. In case he could not restore the stolen goods, he had to make good the loss sustained by the villagers from his own purse. He had to watch the movements of the villagers and those of the visitors. The *talāri* used to receive annual payments in the form of grain from the villagers.

Palegārs were separate quasi-officials of higher rank who were posted to maintain peace and order in the disturbed parts of the kingdom. In fortified towns they were permitted to maintain a body of retainers and were granted *jāgirs* for their maintenance.

The mode of punishment in the Vijayanagar empire, as in the other states of the medieval period, was very harsh. For a theft of any kind cutting off a limb was very common. In cases of greater offence the thief was even hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outraged a respectable woman or a virgin, he had to undergo a similar punishment. Treason was punishable with death. One who was convicted of high treason was made to put on red clothes and was hanged in public. Telugu works such as *Vijnānēśvarīyamu* of Mulaghatika Ketana, *Bhōjarājīyamu* of Anantamatya and *Simhāsana dwātrimśika* of Koravi Goparaju refer to these punishments in the later medieval period in Andhradesa.

The custom of oral agreements was in vogue during this period also. An oral agreement was first confirmed by exchanging *tāmbūla* or betel leaves and nuts. When once it was settled, none of the parties could go back on any account. In the case of civil dealings, land leases, sale deeds, etc. agreement between two or more parties was executed by exchanging *tāmbūla* in the presence of the village headman. The headman was deemed to be the approved executor of such agreements and he was competent to settle any dispute that might arise later.

Dress and Ornaments

The elderly men generally wore a cloth called *dhōvati* round the loins and an upper cloth on the shoulders called *uttarīyam*. Men of high status wore, in addition, a turban. Women folk of all classes wore *chīras* or saris in different colours with attractive borders. Ladies of rich families often wore silk saris. They covered their breasts with stitched garment called *raika*. Contemporary Telugu works furnish description of costumes of different classes of men like Brahmins, Kapus, shepherds, wrestlers, pilgrims and labourers. Growing long hair was a fashion and an age-long custom among men and women. The sculptures and paintings of the period depict the different styles of hair-knots called *muḍis* and twisted plaits called *jaḍas*.

Wearing ornaments was a compulsory feature among women and a fashion for men. People belonging to higher classes wore fine jewellery made of gold, studded with diamonds and other precious stones. Ordinary people in the countryside wore silver and copper armlets, anklets and waist belts *(vaḍḍāṇamu)*. Abdur Razzak, who visited Vijayanagar during the reign of Proudhadevaraya, says that all the inhabitants of the country, irrespective of their rank and class, wore pearls, or rings adorned with precious stones in their ears, around their necks and arms, on the upper part of the hand and around the fingers. As time rolled on, the number and variety of women's ornaments increased to such an extent that it became a fashion among the rich to have seven sets of ornaments, ear-marked for wearing on each of the seven days of the week. There were gilded ornaments also of silver and gold. The ordinary necklet *(kanṭiya)* was made either of solid gold or silver or was gilded, according to the status of the wearer. Necklace was another prominent ornament worn by ladies of the wealthy families. This was made of gold, thickly studded with precious stones and pearls. They used to wear ear ornaments of several designs, such as ring-shaped *duddulu* and *kammalu* made of gold, silver, copper or even ivory. *Ratnatātankas* made of gold and set with gems were worn by wealthy ladies. Among wrist ornaments, *gājulu* were very common to all classes of women, while *murugulu* made of gold, silver or copper were worn by men also.

Religious Beliefs

The kingdom of Vijayanagar was founded by Harihara and Bukka at the instance of Vidyaranya, in order to protect the 'Vaidika dharma'. The Rayas under the influence of Vidyaranya, the spirtual head of the Sringeri *Maṭha*, regarded all sects of Hindus alike, built temples to Siva and Vishnu and extended their patronage to them. They patronised even Jains and Muslims. Devaraya II built a mosque in his capital for the benefit of his Mussalman soldiers. Krishnadevaraya and Achyutaraya, though staunch Vaishnavites, showed considerable regard for the Saiva religion as borne out by their lavish grants to the temples of Siva at Virupaksha, Srisailam, Kalahasti, Amaravati and other places, besides their grants to Vishnu temples at Tirupati, Kanchi, Simhachalam, Ahobilam, Bapatla, etc. *Maṭhas* of the three sects - the Saivas, Vaishnavas and Jains flourished and largely influenced the sociey during this period. The *maṭha* at Sringeri was the principal centre for the 'smarthas' and its main branches were established at Virupaksha near the capital Vijayanagara, at Kumbhakonam and Pushpagiri.

There were, during this period, non-Brahmanical Saiva *maṭhas* belonging to the Lingayats. The most important of these, *Bhikshāvṛtti maṭha*, was situated at Srisailam. These *maṭhas* propagated the tenets of Lingayat school as propounded by the Virasaiva reformer, Basaveswara, of the 12th century. They preached the Saiva *Āgamas* and philosophy in Kannada, Telugu and Tamil.

The Vaishnavites of this period were of two sects - the Sri Vaishnavas who followed the teachings of Ramanuja and the Madhvas who followed those of Madhvacharya. The later Vijayanagar rulers were ardent Vaishnavaites and a good number of Vishnu temples in their kingdom owed their construction and development to them and their subordinates. Ahobilam *matha* is the principal Vaishnava centre in Andhradesa and its presiding acharyas are called *Jiyars*. Sathakopa *Jiyar* was the founder of the *maṭha* and he could exercise considerable influence at the Royal court of Vijayanagar. He was the guru of the poet-laureate Allasani Peddana who mentioned him with reverence in his *Manucaritra*. According to a passage in *Āmuktamālyada* of Krishnadevaraya, Sathakopa Jiyar carried on a vigorous propaganda of Vaishnavism in the Andhra country.

During this period, women in general were very orthodox in their customs and activities. They seldom left the houses, though the women of the poorer sects went out to participate in agricultural operations. Excepting a few, most of the housewives, irrespective of their caste, were trained from childhood to be good in domestic duties. In respectable and cultured families, women enjoyed honourable treatment as the primary agency in upholding family customs. Many of the girls in cultured families were taught fine arts like music and dance and literature. Some of them even wrote poetry. Gangadevi, the wife of Kampana, wrote *Vīrakamparāya caritam*. Tirumalamba was the author of *Varadāmbāpariṇayamu*, which describes the marriage of the king Achyutaraya with Varadamba. Ramabhadramba who authored *Raghunātha-abhyudayamu*, says that there were in the court of Raghunatha many accomplished ladies, proficient in composing four kinds of poetry *citra, āśu, bandha* and *garbha*. Some of them could compose verses at the rate of a hundred in a *ghaṭika* and wrote poetry in eight languages - Sanskrit, Telugu, and six Prakrits.

Some of the foreign travellers who visited the Vijayanagar kingdom recorded reliable accounts of the observance of Sati (self-immolation of a wife along with the deceased husband). However, it seems that it was more prevalent in the Kannada region than in the Telugu region.

During the Vijayanagar period, a considerable number of women took to services in the Royal household and court. The royal house used to employ women as the chamber-maids, guards, and servants. Some specially chosen were employed as personal attendants of the kings and princes. Courtesans, who were dancers and musicians, were employed in the courts of the Rayas and *amaranāyakas*. All such courtesans were provided with lodging and boarding facilities in the captial. Besides these, a number of other courtesans proficient in the arts of dance and music took to the profession of prostitution and lived in the towns all over the kingdom. It was a legalised profession during the period. Inscriptions bear testimony to a levy of a specified tax on it called *lanja-sumkamu*, which, as Barbosa observes, yielded to the exchequer a sum of 12,000 *paṇams*, sufficient to pay the wages of the policemen. Most of the noted temples in the kingdom also employed regular dancers called *dēvadāsis* to perform *ranga nātya* as part of the daily worship and before the car procession *(rathōtsava)* of the god.

Amusements

One of the popular entertainments was the dramatic performance based on select stories from the Puranas. The stories of Harischandra, Prahlada, Rukmangada, Jambavati Parinayam, Sita's exile, and episodes from the *Mahâbhârata* were very much favoured. The actors were called *nattuvas*. Most of the plays were enacted in the nights at public places like temples. Dance and music were essential features of attraction in these dramas. Puppet shows or *bommalâtas* were also favoured by the people. Other entertainers included the 'Vipravinodis' who were professional jugglers and who visited the villages showing their tricks and magic performances. Most of these entertainers used to collect annual *vartanas* or fixed payments as remuneration from the villagers. Among the out-door amusements, cock-fights were the most common. Among the indoor games, *jûdamu*, gambling of different kinds was a favourite pastime for the young. There were licenced gambling houses on which the government used to levy tax called *dyûta sunkamu*. A very common game of this kind was *puli jûdamu*. People from higher classes favoured chess.

Though the rulers of Vijayanagar encouraged the study of Sanskrit and all the South Indian languages, Telugu was given a preferential treatment and, in due course, came to be treated as the official language of the empire and as a link language among various groups.

The renowned Telugu poet Srinatha was honoured with *Kanakâbhişêka* (a bath in gold) by Proudhadevaraya of the first dynasty of the rulers of Vijayanagar. The court of Krishnadevaraya was adorned by such eminent poets as Allasani Peddana and Nandi Timmana. Peddana's ***Manucaritra*** initiated the romantic movement in Telugu poetry, heralding the eminence of the native genius of Telugus. With this work began the *prabandha* age in the history of Telugu literature. *Pârijâtâpaharaṇamu* of Nandi Timmana, though smaller in bulk, ranks with ***Manucaritra*** in its excellence. Krishnadevaraya himself wrote in Telugu and his work ***Āmuktamâlyada*** ranks high in thought and style. Of the later *prabandha* poets, Surana ranks high for his erudition, originality and delineation of character. His *Kalâpûrṇôdayamu* is a creative innovation. Ramarajabhushana, a contemporary of Surana, earned immortal fame among the Telugu poets, through his inimitable poem, *Vasucaritra*

During the times of the later Vijayanagar rulers, Telugu poetry flourished in the court of the Nayaka kings of Tanjore. Raghunatha Nayaka himself was a poet of distinction. Of the poets of his court, Chemakura Venkatakavi was one who may be termed as the last eminent *prabandha* poet.

Fine Arts

Music and dance flourished throughout this period under the patronage of the rulers and the nobles. Vidyaranya, the preceptor and the founding father of the empire, provided an ample theoretical base to music in his *Sangîta Sudhâkara*. Then followed many works elaborating specific areas of music. Annamacharya, the renowned musicologist-cum-composer, who lived at Tirupati during this period is said to have composed a *padam* (a lyric) a day in praise of Lord Venkateswara. Bandaru Lakshminarayana, a teacher of dance and music in the royal household of Krishnadevaraya wrote a treatise on music, *Sangîta Sûryôdaya*, in which he devoted an entire chapter for dance. Ramamatya, a protege of Alia Ramaraya wrote

Svaramēḷa Kaḷānidhi, an eminent theoretical work on Carnatic music. Govinda Dikshita and Venkatamakhi of the Nayaka period introduced some changes in fixing the number of 'svaras' as twelve.

The accounts given by foreigners and the sculptures at Hampi provide us with information better than contemporary literature. The most noteworthy part of the account was that of Paes, a foreign traveller, in which he described in detail the dance-hall of the Vijayanagar palace.

Architecture in the early Vijayanagar period continued to rely mostly on the Chalukyan tradition. Later, it incorporated the best traditions of Tamil and Kannada regions also, reflecting the cosmopolitan nature of the empire. The temple at Tadipatri in Anantapur district represents the earliest phase of Vijayanagar architecture, where Chalukyan traditions still predominate. As time passed on, the dominant note in the architecture came closer to the Tamil-Chola style. At Hampi we have instances of a blend of the Indian and the Saracenic elements, as noticed in the queen's bath. However, the Lotus Mahal is Hindu in spirit.

In sculpture, the Vijayanagar emperors ushered in a new phase in which the southern traditions were mostly followed. The Ganesa and Narasimha at Hampi - both multilated, the huge image of Ranganatha near the Chakratirtha tank at Tirupati and a few other sculptures in its vicinity are notable examples of the early monolithic sculptures of the period. The temple of Virabhadra at Lepakshi contains a 'Natya Mandapa' with large sculptures of dancing Siva and His attendants. Nandi, found at this place, is the most notable of its kind. The portrait-bronzes of Krishnadevaraya and his queens and of Venkatapatiraya - displayed in the temple at Tirupati reveal the perfection that sculpture in metal achieved during this period.

From the literature of the period and the notes of the chroniclers we learn that painting was practised not only by professional artists but by the members of the royal household also. However, much of that was lost due to vandalism and passage of time. What remains in the ruins at Hampi is ascribed to the earlier part of the period, while the Lepakshi paintings represent the art in the later period. The Lepakshi artist displays an inherent strength and delicacy but shows signs of stereotype.

THE AGE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM (1707 A.D.-1947 A.D.)

The history of the Mughal rulers following Aurangazeb was nothing but a sordid tale of struggles for succession, palace-intrigues and assassinations. The monarchs were weak and became puppets in the hands of powerful and influential members of the court. Regular attacks from the Marathas and Afghans, and the belligerent activities of the unscrupulous mercenary armies left the empire at the mercy of the local chiefs and bosses who made most of the situation to enlarge their territories, power and pelf. There was no native political power that could fill the vaccum. Surprisingly, it fell to the lot of a foreign trading company, the East India Company of England, to exploit the situation and inherit the imperial authority.

The company gained a foothold first in Bengal (1757) and later acquired authority over the east coast of Andhra Pradesh (1758). Thereafter, it could bring under its yoke substantial parts of the Indian sub-continent with an amazing rapidness. Destiny itself seemed to have helped it and by 1850, it sat pretty well in the saddle controlling most of the sub-continent as a *de facto* ruler, while the *de jure* Mughal 'emperor' continued to live in Delhi relying for his sustenance on an annual pension of Rupees 15 lakhs provided by the Company.

The abortive attempt in 1857 by some sepoys led by the Maratha and Muslim nobles to dislodge the English from power resulted only in the imprisonment of the last of the Mughal rulers, Bahadur Shah, and the assumption of direct rule in India by the British Crown superseding the Company's rule (1858).

The chronicle of this eventful period as far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned is to start with the story of the Mughal rule in the territory.

The Mughal Rule (1687-1724)

Aurangazeb conquered a substaintial part of south India and divided it into six divisions called 'subahs'. Of these, the Hyderabad and the Masulipatam subahs covered the Telugu-speaking areas. The Hyderabad subah, along with the Bijapur subah was placed under the charge of Kam Baksh, the third son of the emperor, while the Masulipatam subah was entrusted to a Mughal general for administration.

However, the administration of these territories was, by and large, carried on at a lower level by 'Khiledars' (*khila* - a fort; *khilèdâr* - an officer in charge of a fort). These khiledars, in the first flush of their victory, displayed greater interest in pursuing a policy of religious intolerance than in providing good administration. This resulted in the alienation of the people from the rulers and even a spirit of rebellion among them. An example of this is the uprising led by an energetic young man, Sarvayi Papanna, who became a legendary hero celebrated in folk ballads. The historians at the Mughal court, however, attempted to malign him as a dacoit and vagabond.

Papanna headed a popular movement that commenced during the last years of Aurangazeb. The confusion that followed the emperor's death and the consequent struggles for succession gave an opportunity to Papanna to intensify his movement. He extended the area of his operation over many districts of the present-day Telangana. The situation worsened to such an extent that a Muslim divine, Sha-e-Inayet, had to go all the way to Delhi to petition for replenishment of forces to suppress Papanna. But, meanwhile, Papanna was betrayed by one of his close associates and fell into the hands of a Mughal general, Yusuf Khan Ruz Bahami, who summarily beheaded him. The leaderless rebellion soon petered out.

However, by this time, the administrative machinery of the Mughal imperial regime began to crumble and the central authority manned by successive feeble rulers gradually lost control over the provinces. In Deccan, situated far away from the capital, the state of affairs was still worse. Lawlessness prevailed everywhere. But, paradoxically, this anarchy itself contributed much in giving a new turn to Indian history; it enabled two foreign mercantile companies to consolidate themselves as political powers capable of subsequently playing decisive roles in shaping the destiny of the nation. They were the East India Company of England and the *Compagnie de Inde Orientale* of France. These trading companies had their head-quarters at Madras and Pondicherry respectively and both had trade centres at Masulipatam. These companies maintained corps of Indian sepoys captained by European officers. The weak emperors of Delhi not only allowed them to augment their military strength but also granted to them villages near their forts. From experience the Companies learned that their disciplined bands of army with superior weaponry could defeat easily larger armies of the local rulers. They were waiting for suitable opportunities to expand their areas of control and so, did not hesitate to take sides in the local skirmishes. The death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of the Asif Jahi dynasty (1748) gave them the chance.

Asif Jahis

Nizam-ul-Mulk was originally known as Mir Khamruddin. He was of Turkish descent. His grand-father and father served Shah Jehan and his successor, Aurangazeb. At a young age of about twenty, Khamruddin impressed Aurangazeb with his erudition, valour and tactfulness and was appointed by him as the officer in charge of the Carnatic region with the title, Chin Kulich Khan. During the reign of Bahadur Shah, successor to Aurangazeb, Khan was appointed first as subedar of Oudh and later as 'fouzdar' of Lucknow.

After the death of Bahadur Shah in 1712, there was a tussle among his heirs to capture the throne. Two influential courtiers, the Syed brothers - Barha - Hasan Ali and Hussein Ali - emerged powerful as king-makers. On their advice, Farrukh Siyar, who ultimately succeeded to the throne, placed Kulich Khan in charge of the Deccan subahs bestowing on him the title, Nizam-ul-Mulk Fathe Jung (1713). But in 1717, one of the Syed brothers, Hussein Ali wanted the position for himself and got Nizam-ul-Mulk transferred as Fauzdar of Moradabad in north India. Farrukh Siyar, who dearly wished to counter the influence of the Syed brothers, called Nizam-ul-Mulk to the capital in the following year. The Syed brothers got wind of Siyar's designs, managed to blind and imprison the emperor and replaced him with Rafi-ul-Durajat, his cousin, on the throne. Even then they were afraid of Nizam-ul-Mulk and so offered him the governorship of Malwa (1719).

After reaching Malwa, Nizam-ul-Mulk organised his resources with a view to assert himself against the Syed brothers. The brothers, continuing their nefarious activities, changed the rulers too often and in 1719 they enthroned Raushan Akhtar, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, with the title of Muhammad Shah. They advised him to recall Nizam-ul-Mulk to the capital so as to keep him under vigil. Nizam-ul-Mulk, however, ignored the *firman* and embarked on his long-cherished design of conquering Deccan for himself (May, 1720). The Syed brothers sent a strong Mughal force against him but he gained a decisive victory over it in the battle, fought at a place near Khandwa (19th June, 1720). Hussein left his family at Aurangabad, while he himself returned to the capital. In the interest of the safety of his family, he had to be soft in his dealings with Nizam-ul-Mulk. On the advice of the brothers, the emperor offered governership of the entire Deccan to Nizam-ul-Mulk, however, mildly admonishing him for leaving Malwa without permission. Nizam-ul-Mulk thanked the emperor and explained that his moving out of Malwa was necessitated by the 'Maratha menace'. He made arrangements for the safe return of the family of Hussein Ali to Delhi.

While Nizam-ul-Mulk was settling down in Deccan, the opponents of the Syed brothers gained an upper hand and put them to death. Muhammad Shah summoned Nizam-ul-Mulk to the capital and entrusted him with the duties of a vizier. Nizam-ul-Mulk reached Delhi in January, 1772 and stayed there for two years. He found the situation trying and with the permission of the emperor returned to Deccan.

After he left the court, his opponents managed to get a *firman* issued by the emperor appointing Nizam-ul-Mulk's deputy, Mubariz Khan, as governor of Deccan. So, when Nizam-ul-Mulk returned to Deccan, he had to face resistance from Khan. In the ensuing battle at Shakerkhedla (near Malkhad) on the 11th of October, 1724, he defeated and killed Mubariz Khan. This success marked the establishment of the hereditary rule of the Nizams over the Deccan – 'a spacious kingdom, well-cultivated, rich in mines of diamond, crystal, etc., a money-yielding country', as Aurangazeb had described it in 1654. The emperor at Delhi was left with no option but to confirm the Nizam in the vice-royalty of Deccan (1725).

The emperor had to requisition the services of Nizam-ul-Mulk again in 1737 when Marathas swooped down on Delhi and created a sensation, plundering the city and killing some Mughal nobles. Nizam-ul-Mulk handed over the administration of his own territory to his son, Nasir Jung before he left. The emperor received Nizam-ul-Mulk with unprecedented and lavish honours and bestowed on him the title of Asif Jah (equal in dignity to Asif, the minister of Solomon, an ancient ruler of west Asia). The dynasty thus came to be known as Asif Jahi dynasty.

Nizam-ul-Mulk could not save the emperor from the Maratha onslaughts. He had to accept a treaty on humiliating terms and get it ratified by the emperor. While Nizam-ul-Mulk was still in the capital, Nadir Shah, a Persian invader attacked and pillaged the city (March 22, 1739). Nizam-ul-Mulk realised that there was not much that he could do there and with the permission of the emperor returned to Deccan. By then his own son, Nasir Jung, declared himself as an independent ruler. Nizam-ul-Mulk had to fight with him. In a severe battle on the plains between Khuldabad and Daulatabad, Nizam-ul-Mulk defeated and took Nasir Jung a captive. However, he pardoned his son and restored him to favour six months later.

Nizam-ul-Mulk, Asif Jah I, then settled down in Deccan with Hyderabad as his capital. He adopted a rather friendly attitude towards the peshwa in order to be free from the attacks of the Marathas. He maintained good relations with the English and French companies who had by that time consolidated their positions as political powers. On the whole, he succeeded in restoring and maintaining peace and order. Though, for all practical purposes, he was quite independent, he did not proclaim independence but continued to consider himself a viceroy of the Mughal emperor. He died at the age of 79 in 1748. His death was followed by a struggle for succession.

Nasir Jung proclaimed himself the Nizam and took command of the treasury and the troops. Though none of his brothers objected to this, his sister's son Muzaffar came forward to claim the throne stating that he was designated as successor by his grandfather. Muzaffar also obtained a *firman* from the Mughal court recognising his title and sought the assitance of Dupleix, the Governor of the French Company, to enforce his claim. With the blessings of Dupleix, he proclaimed himself as Nizam of the Deccan from Arcot (now in Tamil Nadu). He gratefully gave away Masulipatam and the adjoining Divi region to the French in return for their support. Meanwhile, the English Company came forward to support Nasir Jung, who marched against his nephew. When a battle seemed inevitable, Muzaffar delivered himself into the hands of his uncle. Dupleix met the crisis with tact. He created dissensions in the camp of Nasir Jung through his contacts with the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kurnool and led a sudden attack on him. Nasir Jung was killed in the confusion. Dupleix secured the release of Muzaffar and proclaimed him as Nizam. In return, Muzaffar made Dupleix governor of the territory south of the Krishna.

Accompained by Bussy, one of the ablest officers of the French company, Muzaffar set out to reach Hyderabad. The Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kurnool, who felt let down by him and by Dupleix, conspired and got Muzaffar murdered on the way (Feb 14, 1751). Muzaffar's son was an infant at the time. The revenue minister of the late Nizam, Srikakulam Ramadas, alias Rajah Raghunaṭh, bribed Bussy to get Salabat Jung, the third son of Nizam-ul-Mulk declared as the Nizam. Bussy brought the new ruler to Hyderabad and, nursing a good relationship with him, strengthened the French influence and power in the capital, Hyderabad.

The *de facto* ruler of the Marathas, Peshwa Baji Rao, refused to recognize Salabat Jung and declared war against him. Bussy managed to mollify him by arranging a treaty with him in accordance with which the Nizam had to cede the western half of Berar to the Marathas. Bussy's influence over Salabat Jung was resented by a large section of the nobles in the court, led by a general, Rukhn-ud-Daulah. When Bussy fell ill later and retired to Masulipatam, they attempted to take advantage of his absence and dislodge the French from Hyderabad. In this they sought the help of the English company. But, before any harm could be done, Bussy returned and put down the rebellion.

By that time Salabat Jung found himself in financial straits. He could not pay the agreed amount towards the maintenance of the French soldiers. So, to make good the arrears and also to cover the future expenses, he ceded the Northern Circars - from Srikakulam down to Kondapalli (Mustafanagar) - to the French. Bussy received it as a personal *jāgir* first but, later handed it over to the French Company (1754).

The 'Seven Years War' that broke between the English and the French in Europe had its ramifications in India also. Bussy captured some of the English factories on the Andhra coast. He was, however, summoned to Pondicherry in 1758 by Lally, who succeded Dupleix as governor of the French company. Soon after, Robert Clive, who headed the English company, sent an army from Calcutta to the Northern Circars under the command of Fordes to dislodge the French from the region. The English forces defeated the French army at Kondur, near Rajahmundry (December, 1758). In April, 1759, Fordes stormed Masulipatam. In helplessness, Salabat Jung concluded a treaty with the English ceding the four circars north of the Krishna to them. Further, he had, to promise to have no relationship with the French. In spite of the treaty, the English could not take Salabat Jung for granted. They managed to get a firman from the erstwhile Mughal emperor, Shah Alam, awarding the Subedari of Deccan to Mir Nizam Ali Khan, brother of Salabat Jung. Nizam Ali Khan, utilising the authority he was thus vested with, imprisoned Salabat Jung and declared himself as the Subedar of Deccan assuming the title of Asif Jah II.

Nizam Ali Khan maintained good relations with the East India Company with which he entered into a treaty (1766) for mutual military assitance in times of need. The agreement also provided for the payment of an annual amount of nine lakhs of rupees to be made by the Company in times of peace when the English army had no need to render any military help. The terms of the treaty were revised in 1768 to confirm on the Company the title of the northern circars along with the Guntur circar, with the proviso that the Guntur circar would be surrendered to the company only after the death of Basalat Jung, the Nizam's brother, who was then enjoying it. The amount was reduced on revision to rupees seven lakhs.

The Nizam, however, felt that the English were encroaching on his sovereignty and began to conspire with Hyder Ali of Mysore and the peshwa of the Marathas to form a triple alliance and drive away the English. When they learnt about his designs, the English marched against the Nizam who had to sue for peace agreeing to the presence of an English resident along with army, artillery and cavalry at Hyderabad (1779). Basalat Jung, who was enjoying the Guntur circar as fief, died in 1782. But for nearly six years the Nizam stalled surrendering it to the English as already agreed upon. He was finally made to surrender the circar in 1788. The treaty of 1779 was revised in 1798 to raise the resident's force to six battalions costing the Nizam a heavy amount of over 24 lakhs of rupees. The terms were revised again in 1800 to increase the English army in Hyderabad to eight battalions of sepoys and two regiments of cavalry. In lieu of the cost of maintenance of the force, the Nizam had to cede to the company an area comprising the districts of Rayalaseema and Bellary (now in Karnataka). With this the Nizam lost not only territory but reputation and power also; he was reduced to the status of one of the many princely states that had to recognise the British paramountcy.

The East India Company acquired the Nellore region comprising the present Nellore and Prakasam districts and a part of the Chittoor district from the Nawab of Arcot in 1781. The Nawab was ousted later. Together with the other parts of the territories of the Nawab, this area was merged with the then Madras Presidency of the Company in 1801. Thus, by the beginning of the 19th century, the Telugu land was divided into two major divisions : one that came to be popularly called Telangana under the feudal rule of the Nizam, accounting for approximately one-third of the entire land and the other, broadly designated as the Andhra, in British India.

Mir Nizam Ali Khan was succeeded by his son, Sikandar Jah (1803-1828), who assumed the title of Asif Jah III. The period of his rule was marked by a revolt against the English by the followers of an Islamic reformist movement, the Wahabi Tareekh. This movement, which spread at that time in many parts of India, had a good following in Hyderabad, mainly due to the efforts of Mubarizuddin, the son of Sikandar Jah. Coming to know of it, the resident sent his forces to surround the palace of the prince and bring him dead or alive. However, on the intervention of Chandulal, dewan of the state, the English spared the life of the prince and imprisoned him. The prince died in captivity a few months later.

Nasir-ud-Daulah another son of Sikandar Jah, succeeded him to the throne (1829-1856). He too suffered from the constant interference of the resident in the internal affairs of the state. It was during the reign of the next ruler, Afzal-ud-Daulah (1856-1869) that the first War of Independence under the leadership of Bahadur Shah and Nanasaheb shook the British rule in north India. Ripples of it were felt in the Nizam's dominions also. But the Nizam, on the advice of his Prime Minister, Salar Jung, helped the British to crush the rebellion and to liquidate its leaders.

Afzal-ud-Daulah passed away in 1869. His son, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, was then just three years old. So, a regency was formed to look after the administration consisting of Salar Jung, the dewan and Shamsul Umra, a statesman. They could run the administration smoothly, in spite of intervention of the resident in the affairs of the state. Mir Mahaboob Ali Khan took charge of the state as Asif Jah IV in 1884. During his rule which lasted until 1911, he maintained a close relationship with the British and earned a fair name as a popular ruler.

His son, Mir Usman Ali Khan succeeded him to the throne. Mir Usman Ali introduced some measures in the various fields of administration to usher in the state into modernity. But he lacked foresight and attempted to strengthen his autocratic rule by suppressing the democratic urges of his subjects. In tune with the spirit of the times and popular movements all over the state and in British India, the people wanted popular government in the state. Ultimately, Mir Usman Ali Khan, and with him the dynasty, were forced to bow out of the political stage of India in 1948.

Under the Company and the Crown

It naturally took some years for the East India Company to consolidate and stabilize its rule in the Telugu area, which came to be under its direct rule. In the initial stages, the Company had to counter strong resistance from the Zamindars and the Palegars, who were actually in possession of the territory.

The Zamindars were mainly to be found in the coastal districts stretching from Ganjam to Pulicat. Each one of them had his authority established in a territory of his own, which was termed as a *samsthânam* by local people and as an 'estate' by the Company.

Some of these Zamindars traced their descent from the generals that served under the ancient Hindu rulers or the Medieval Muslim rulers, while those of later origin started their careers as renters appointed by the central authority to collect land revenue. However, all of them enjoyed hereditary rights, and virtually functioned as local rulers. Each of them had to pay an annual fixed amount called 'peshkush' to the central authority, which never interfered in the internal administration, as long as the 'peshkush' was paid regularly. For the sake of maintaining law and order and to collect the land revenue, each of these Zamindars maintained an administrative machinery and police force. Some of the largest estates maintained private armies also. As far as the local administration was concerned, each of these Zamindars functioned as an absolute authority, with full executive and judicial powers. Many of these had maintained a partronising attitude towards the people - especially towards the vocal upper middle class -- the traders and the learned men. They had constructed tanks to facilitate irrigation of lands and encouraged artists, craftsmen and poets. So, many of the Zamindars were very popular in their territories.

The Company, while trying to create an administrative machinery to consolidate its position in the coastal region, soon realised that it would be foolish to demolish the well-entrenched sytem of Zamindars, which, for centuries acted as intermidiary between the people and the sovereign power. To add to this, the Company which was a traders' concern had no trained officers of its own to undertake the administration of such a vast territory. Therefore, it decided to use the existing system to its best advantage, entrusting the Zamindars only with the collection of land revenue and taking away from them the executive and judicial powers. The Zamindars resented this and rebelled. A show of force by the Company in such circumstances brought some of the petty Zamindars to agree to the conditions put forth by the Company but the more powerful of them were adamant. Of them the foremost was the Raja of Vizianagaram.

The Raja of Vizianagaram had a private army of his own and functioned as an independent ruler. He led his armies against the petty Zamindars in the neighbourhood and occupied their lands. Further, he imprisoned the defeated Zamindars in his fort. The Company, having found that conciliatory methods were of no avail, led its armies against him. In the battle that ensued at Padmanabham (1794), the army of the Raja was defeated. The Raja and many of his nobles lost their lives on the battlefield. The Company got all the imprisoned Zamindars released and restored their territories to them after ensuring that they would pay the peshkush regularly. Vizianagaram was also later handed over to the heir of the deceased Raja who agreed to abide by the conditions put forth by the Company. The private army of the Raja was disbanded.

The battle of Padmanabham served as a warning to the recalcitrant Zamindars. They showed their willingness to come to some kind of a compromise with the Company. With the experience it had gained in the administration of the revenue affairs in Bengal, the Company introduced the system of 'Permanent Settlement' (1802). By this method of 'fixity of rent and fixity of tenure' the interests of both the Zamindars and the Company were safeguarded. Though the rent or peshkush was considerably heavier than what each Zamindar paid earlier, he had at least the guarantee that it would not be enhanced again. The Company had the benefit of not maintaining a vast machinery to collect the revenue. The Zamindars agreed to renounce all executive and judicial powers in favour of the Company and to function as loyal citizens.

The conditions in Rayalaseema, when it was ceded to the Company in 1800 by the Nizam, were quite different. There were some eighty Palegars in that territory, each of them in possession of a group of villages. They were unevenly distributed among the districts. Out of the eighty Palegars, nearly fifty were to be found in Cuddapah district, twenty in Kurnool district and the others in the remaining districts. While each one of these Palegars professed loyalty to the central authority whether it was the Nizam or the Company, frequent internal feuds were not uncommon among them. The causes of such feuds mainly sprung from either the motive of self-preservation or of expansion of the territory. So, every one of these Palegars maintained an army of his own. To maintain such an army, the Palegar had to extort money from the farmers and traders by way of taxes and hence were unpopular.

The Palegars, thus, differed from the Zamindars of the circars: the latter, in spite of their drawbacks, maintained amicable relationship with the vocal sections of their people, while the Palegars extorted money from farmers and traders and enriched themselves.

The officers of the Company, who took over the administration of Rayalaseema, soon found the Palegars as an unwarranted and parasitic intermediary group between the government and the toiling peasants. So, the Company decided to abolish the Palegar system.

Thomas Munro, the first principal collector of the Ceded districts (Rayalaseema), was responsible for abolishing the Palegar system. After studying the entire system meticulously, he issued a proclamation that every Palegar who garrisoned a fort, maintained an army and levied extra taxes would be treated as a rebel. Many of the Palegars ignored the proclamation. Munro led his forces against them and suppressed them one by one. He jailed or pensioned off or drove them away from their possessions. Thus, by 1808, he was successful in suppressing all the Palegars and in establishing a new mode of collection of land revenue directly from the tiller of the soil. This system came to be known as the 'Ryotwari' system.

Nevertheless, some of the heirs of the dispossessed Palegars tried to regain their influence by organising sporadic rebellions against the government. Of such, the most noted was the one led by Uyyalawada Narasimhareddi in 1846. He took refuge in the Nallamala hills and harassed the government continuously. The revolt was finally suppressed and Narasimhareddi was captured and hanged at Koilkuntla. In spite of such sporadic troubles the Company was successful in restoring order and stabilising its foothold in the area by 1815. Even after the Company handed over the administration to the British crown in 1858, the administrative set-up did not undergo any perceptible change in the system of the collection of land revenue till the advent of Independence.

The administrative measures taken by the Company in the rest of the Telugu land also led to similar changes in the Hyderabad state of which Telangana formed a major constituent.

The famine of 1777 and the devastating floods in the succeeding year greatly impoverished the state of Hyderabad. Though the state could somehow manage the chaotic situation through the tactful and far-sighted efforts of the then ruler, Nizam Ali Khan (1761-1803), its economy was badly affected. During the reign of Sikandar Jah (1803-1829), the unwise policies followed by the ruler and his dewan led the state to the verge of bankruptcy. The next ruler Nasir-ud-Daulah (1829-1869) found himself neck-deep in debts and was harassed by the Arab and Rohilla bankers. In such a situation, the Company, through its Resident, intervened and saved the Nizam. Some of the Nizam's territories - Berar, Osmanabad and Raichur districts - were taken over by the Company in lieu of the financial help given to the Nizam to clear off the debts. Thereafter, the Nizam, on the advice of his efficient prime minister, Salar Jung, introduced many reforms in the field of administration, specially in the collection of revenue due from the rulers of the samsthanams, the Jagirdars and Paiga-holders, who were acting as intermediaries for a long time between the ruler and the people. But, as the Nizam had a high opinion of the faithfulness of these intermediaries, the feudal nature of the set-up was not disturbed and, as such, the farmers and the labourers did not benefit in any way through these measures. In carrying on these measures to their desired end, many officers of the Company rendered valuable assistance to the Nizam. Thus, the Nizam became a dependable friend of the Company and his support to the Company in the crucial period of the War of Independence (otherwise called Sepoy Mutiny, 1857) turned out to be a decisive factor in clinching the issue in favour of the Company's rule in India.

Freedom Struggle

The history of the Indian struggle for freedom is yet to be properly chronicled and awaits the indefatigable patience, research and penmanship of an able hand. However, as the available facts indicate, the role of the Andhras in the struggle is next to that of none and they had always been in the forefront along with the rest of the countrymen.

The first War of Independence, led by Bahadur Shah, the last ruler of the Mughal dynasty and Nana Saheb, the last peshwa, though national in character, was mostly conducted under the guidance of dispossessed feudal lords and discontented sepoys. As such, it could not evoke proper response from the ordinary people even in the north. In the south, the only mighty feudal lord, the Nizam, on the advice of his prime minister, found it safe to help the Company to the fullest extent. The system of 'Permanent Settlement' of 1802 had done away with the last vestiges of the Zamindars' private armies and the tactful policy of Munro had resulted in eliminating the Palegars in Rayalaseema. The ordinary people, harassed and distressed for a long time by the prevailing anarchical conditions, found in the new administration of the British, enough peace to carry on their professions. So the wave of the first War of Independence did in no way affect the state of affairs in the south, though some ripples were felt in the State of Hyderabad, in the shape of a raid by some soldiers against the Residency and a rebellion by the Gonds in the Adilabad district under the leadership of Ramji Gond.

The raid aginst the Residency was carried out by the Rohilla and Arab soldiers led by Turre Bazu Khan. But with the help rendered by the Nizam the Company's forces managed not only to kill many of the rebels but also to imprison Turre Bazu Khan, who, when he tried later to escape from the prison, was shot dead by the Company's soldiers.

The rebellion in Adilabad by the Gonds led by Ramji Gond - assisted by Rohilla sepoys of the Nizam stationed at Nirmal - was successful in the beginning to drive away the British soldiers from that part of the country. The rebels spread over the rest of the districts in the State and embarassed the Company's forces. However, in 1860, the Company brought reinforcements into the field and succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. Ramji Gond was captured and hanged later at Nirmal.

The rest of the 19th century passed away without any event of major importance, though occasional rebellions of the peasants here and there brought out their dissatisfaction to the forefront. The introduction of English education helped the formation of a strong educated middle class, which found security of life in the Government jobs. Agriculture became the mainstay of the people as the cottage industries, especially the cloth industry, dwindled due to the deliberate policy of the Government to encourage British industries and trade at the expense of the indigenous ones. However, construction of dams across the Godavari and the Krishna by 1852 and 1855 respectively, resulted in increasing agricultural production and helped, for a time, to cloud the real issues.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the emergence of the numerically strong, educated, confident but dissatisfied middle class, seeking equality with the white ruler. The dissatisfaction, as elsewhere, was voiced in the form of pamphleteering. The foreign government, ever vigilant in such things, sought to nip it in the bud and as a consequence of it represssive measures were introduced. Gadicherla Hari Sarvottama Rao (1883-1960) was the first victim of the move in Andhra. He was sentenced for his seditious article 'Cruel Foreign Tiger'. The young men of Andhra had their own share in the Vande Mataram and Home Rule movements also.

But, along with this agitation, a kind of constructive work was also carried on by some fore-sighted leaders such as Kopalle Hanumantha Rao (1880-1922). Long before Gandhiji thought of the constructive programme, Hanumantha Rao founded his 'Andhra Jateeya Kalasala' (National College) in Masulipatnam to train young men in techniques of modern production, as he thought that it was the surest way to win independence from an imperialist rule which cared more for its markets than anything else.

In 1920, when Gandhiji started his non-co-operation movement, it had an immediate response in Andhra. Under the leadership of eminent men like Konda Venkatappaiah (1866-1948), Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu (1872-1957), Bulusu Sambamurti (1886-1958) and Bhogaraju Pattabhi Seetaramaiah (1880-1959), the Andhra young men made many a sacrifice for the cause of the nation. Many practising lawyers gave up their lucrative practice and many a brilliant student forsook their studies to respond to the call of the Nation. The 'no-tax' campaign was eagerly taken up by the Andhra leaders and the Peda Nandipadu firka was selected for the intensification of the campaign. In spite of the severest repressive measures of the alien government and its henchmen, the campaign proceeded on gathering momentum, till Gandhiji called off the movement on account of the unexpected and deplorable Chouri Chowra incident.

When the movement was called off, it left the minds of many young men sore and the disappointment took a violent turn in one instance. A rebellion broke out in the agency areas of the Northern Circars under the leadership of Alluri Sitaramaraju (1897-1923). He was a simple and unostentatious young man given to studies of spiritual importance. He was keen on the welfare of the lowly and the innocent. He contributed his mite in the days of the non-co-operation movement and later settled down among the hill tribes of the Visakhapatnam district, spending his time in spiritual practices. The misdeeds of a British contractor, who took pleasure in under-paying the workers drawn from the hill tribes, brought him into a tussle with the police who supported the contractor. This led to encounters between the police and Sitaramaraju, who was supported by the hill tribes under the leadership of the Gamu brothers. Sitaramaraju raided many police stations and carried off guns and powder. The alien government then made use of all its resources to quell the rebellion. A company of the Assam rifles under the leadership of Saunders was sent there. The campaign lasted nearly for one year from December 1922 and, in the end, many of the followers of Raju, especially the Gamu brothers, were overpowered in an encounter. The rebellion petered off by October 1923. Raju surrendered himself, so it was said, and was shot dead without any trial.

In 1930 when Gandhiji started his salt-campaign, the broad east coast of Andhra became the venue of memorable deeds of many a young man and woman, who in spite of the severest blows of lathis, prepared salt and courted imprisonment. The tremendous awakening, which was an outcome of this movement, resulted in the rout of the parties other than the Congress in the elections of 1937.

The thirties saw the emergence of leftist organisations in Andhra which gave a fillip to the progressive trends. Meanwhile, in 1939, the British Government dragged India into World War II and the Congress ministries resigned.

From 1942, history moved with a quick and vigorous pace. The arrest of the leaders at Bombay on August 9, 1942, provoked the masses. The 'Do or Die' message of the National Congress inspired the people of Andhra, who under the leadership of young but devoted workers, brought the functioning of the Government to a standstill for a few days. Many young students and workers faced the bullets cheerfully, to swell the number of those unknown, unwept, and unsung heroes of India who died to make their country live.

Events moved on quickly and, in 1947, India achieved its independence. The Andhras all along their fight with the British authorities, thought that the exit of the Britishers would facilitate the early formation of the Telugu areas as a separate state. But the Constituent Assembly had to decide otherwise and this proved to be a bitter pill for the Andhras to swallow.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

The period of British rule in India forms a significant chapter in the history of the ancient land. Many aliens came to this land, conquered some parts of the territory, but were soon absorbed as natural citizens of the country. For the first time, the British (and the other European nationals) who conquered and ruled it for a considerable time remained aliens administering a colonial rule and ultimately had to return. The policy that underlined the various measures the British took in legislative, judicial and executive fields was only to tighten their grip over the country and to exploit it to the advantage of their own motherland.

However, the very measures they took had, curiously enough, initiated and promoted many positive factors leading to consolidation of the Indian society and their urge for freedom. The colonial rule, of course, left the country impoverished economically, but it unified the nation, which was rudely shocked and, therefore, prepared itself for a searching introspection. This resulted in ushering in a new order, which almost displaced the old one.

As a constituent of India, Andhra region also received its share of these negative and positive forces. Andhra was noted, for a long time since the period of the Satavahanas, for its cloth industry. In spite of several political upheavels, the ports of Andhra had been busy with incoming and outgoing ships of various countries. Even in the early years of the British rule, Andhra flourished as an exporter of fine varieties of cloth - chintz, palampores, etc. Handicrafts and metal crafts also formed a part of the exports along with cloth. Narasapur, in the present-day West Godavari district, was noted for its ship-building activity and some of the Europeans also were customers at the place. There used to be a great demand for indigo, an agricultural product, available only in Andhra and in a few other parts of the country. The over-all exports were far ahead of imports in value and the region earned a lot of foreign exchange, which enabled it to withstand the severity of famines that ravaged the country often.

But the Industrial Revolution which started in England in the latter half of the 18th century, gradually affected the cottage industries of Andhra as well as those in the rest of India. England then turned out to be a manufacturing country. By the aid of machines the English factories could manufacture finished articles at a lesser cost than those from the cottage industries. Further, the British being the rulers in the country, discouraged the artists and craftsmen by imposing heavy taxes. As a result of these measures the once flourishing cottage industries and handicrafts of Andhra languished and gradually vanished. The finished articles that came out of the factories in England were imported into Andhra and thus began the economic drain which gradually impoverished the country and enriched Great Britain. The synthetic method of preparation of indigo by the western scientists, affected the farmers very badly. The unemployed poor artisans in the villages became agricultural labourers thus swelling the ranks of those that depended on the land.

A greater harm was caused by the 'divide and rule' policy of the British. The communal virus thus injected into the political body of the country had vitiated the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims to such an extent as to force the Indians to agree for the division of India into two independent states. Though Andhras living in the coastal and Rayalseema districts managed to keep away from this communal divide, those living in the State of Hyderabad had to undergo a lot of suffering in 1946-47 in the wake of a fanatic struggle carried on by Razakars to carve out the Nizam's dominions as an independent Muslim-dominated state. However, the timely action by the Union Government of Free India saved the situation.

But, as mentioned earlier, some of the measures introduced by the alien rulers to safeguard their own interests proved very beneficial to Indians. The political and administrative unity brought in by the Britishers, helped the various linguistic groups to come together and take pride in being the citizens of a great country with common cultural traditions. The railroad, the telegraph, the telephone and the newspaper brought all those living in various corners of this vast country together and to understand each other. This system of communication also helped the transit of goods from one place to the other and was of immense help during the times of famine.

The Britishers, wanted to keep India as a producer of raw materials and as such harnessed the rivers by constructing dams. The dam on the Godavari at Dhouleswaram was constructed in 1852 and the one on the Krishna at Vijayawada in 1855. These naturally helped the farmers of the delta areas, though they could not solve the problem of poverty that tormented the people at large.

It must, however, be conceded that the foreigner's rule had resulted in a renaissance that yielded fruitful results in social and cultural fields. The introduction of English as a medium of teaching in schools is the main factor that contributed to this transformation, though it was mainly intended to train Indians for ministerial jobs. This new system of education, unlike the old traditional one, threw open the gates of the schools to all Indians irrespective of caste or creed. A certificate from such a school served as a passport for a job in the service of the government. The Christian missionaries from England and America also played a notable part in spreading the system.

The introduction of printing press in the state in or about 1810 helped to bring knowledge to the door-steps of the ordinary readers. As a result, educational activity in Andhra as well as in the rest of India, was influenced by European literatures, modern sciences and democratic ideas that sprung from the knowledge. This knowledge brought out many revolutionary changes in the religious and cultural fields.

This contact with European thought enabled many Hindu leaders to reinterpret Hinduism to strengthen it to withstand the threat from the proselytisation carried on by the Christian missionaries. The reaction to it resulted in the founding of the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj. At the same time, Europeans such as Anne Besant, captivated by the merits of the ancient Hindu and Buddhist thoughts, founded the Theosophical Society. All these gained some following in Andhra, especially among the educated classes.

Telugu literature also underwent a seachange under the influence of the English writings. The credit for pioneering such a change goes to Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu. He was also responsible for bringing in many social reforms, the main thrust of which was the upliftment of the women's status.

All these revolutinary changes in social and cultural fields found. their expression in the urge for freedom among people.

POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA
(1947-1990)

When India attained freedom on the 15th of August, 1947, Andhras hoped that their long-cherished desire to have a separate province of their own would be realised soon. Their optimism was based on the general election manifesto (1946) of the Indian National Congress which promised to redraw the map of India based on the language of the people of the region concerned. Leaders of Andhra renewed their efforts for the formation of separate Andhra Province and requested Vallabhbhai Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister of India, to create the province before the new constitution of the country was drafted. Prime Minister Nehru announced on the 27th of November, 1947, that his government accepted the principle of creating provinces on the basis of language. This led to a speculation that Andhra Province would be created by April 1948 under section 290 of the Government of India Act of 1935 as adapted by the Indian Provisional Constitutional Order dated the 14th of August, 1947. As a matter of fact, Andhra was mentioned as one of the Governor's provinces in the first schedule of the Draft Consti- tution.

If Andhra or any other region was to be mentioned in the schedule, steps would have to be taken immediately to make it a separate Governor's province before the draft constitution was finally passed.

However, the move to create Andhra province before the new constitution became operative did not fructify. This lukewarm attitude of the central leadership towards the linguistic provinces was resented. The frustration of the Andhras was clearly exploited by the non-Congress parties- especially the Communist Party of India. So Nehru, when he came to Visakhapatnam in March 1948 to launch the first Indian-built steamship 'Jala Usha', tried to assuage the feelings of the Andhras by declaring that a Commission would be appointed to examine the question of the creation of linguistic provinces.

The Dar Commission

In June 1948, the Government of India named a three-man commission consisting of S.K. Dar (Chairman), a retired judge of the Allahabad High Court, Dr. Panna Lal, I.C.S. (Retd.) and Jagat Narayan Lal, a member of the Constituent Assembly to report on 'the administrative, economic, financial and other consequences' on the creation of linguistic provinces. The Commission was also to report on the resultant administrative effects on the adjoining territories.

The composition of the members of the Commission and the terms of its reference were significant. None of the three members was from the southern or western India. From the terms of reference it was evident that language was not the sole criterion for the creation of the new provinces. So, Andhras were not surprised when the Commission, in its report of the 10th of December, 1948 declared:

> The formation of provinces on exclusively or even mainly linguistic considerations is not in the larger interests of the Indian nation and should not be taken in hand.

However, the Commission could gauge the feelings of the Andhras on the matter and made the following observation in its report:

> These linguistic provinces make a strong appeal to the imagination of our countrymen and there exists a large volume of public support in their favour. Indeed in the coastal districts of Andhra, the demand has become, in the words of its leading advocates, 'a passion and has ceased to be a matter of reason', and the heat and passion and controversy, which gathered round the work of this Commission and which we witnessed during the course of our work, are in themselves proof of the intensity of feeling which exists on this subject. The non-fulfilment of a demand of this nature may easily lead to a sense of frustration and there is a grave risk in turning it down and such a risk can only be justified in the interest of national emergency.

Another pertinent observation made by the Commission was regarding the Telugu areas of Berhampur and Parlakimidi of the Ganjam district and the Koraput district transferred to Orissa in 1936. The Commission noted that "the Telugus who have been transferred to Orissa are very unhappy".

The Dar Commission Report created such an adverse reaction in Andhra that the Congress leaders felt it prudent to assuage the ruffled feelings of the Telugus. An unofficial Committee, consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramaiah was constituted by the Congress to consider afresh the formation of linguistic provinces. The Committee was popularly known as the J.V.P. Committee.

The J.V.P. Report

The J.V.P. Committe in its report submitted to the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress in April 1949 recommended that the creation of the linguistic provinces be postponed by a few years. However, it suggested that Andhra province could be formed provided the Andhras gave up their claims to the city of Madras.

The J.V.P. report provoked violent reaction in Andhra as the Telugus were not prepared to forego their claims to the city of Madras. Pattabhi tried to explain away the *proviso* regarding the city of Madras by stating that its non-inclusion did not mean its inclusion in Tamil Nadu. No one was convinced by this explanation. There was no hope that it would be made into a Union Territory either.

The Congress Working Committee recommended to the Government of India to initiate steps for the formation of Andhra Province with undisputed areas. Thereupon the Government of India asked the Madras Government to appoint a partition committee as a prelude to the formation of Andhra Province. The Chief Minister of Madras, Kumaraswami Raja was the Chiarman of the Committee. Andhra was represented by Prakasam, Gopala Reddi, Kala Venkata Rao and Sanjiva Reddi. Non-Telugu areas were represented by Bhaktavatsalam, T.T. Krishnamachari and Madhava Menon.

Dissenting Note of Prakasam

The partition committee could not arrive at an agreed settlement. Prakasam disagreed with the views of other members and gave a dissenting note. He contended:

> Until the new capital and seat of Andhra High Court were made ready the Andhra Government and the Government and the Andhra High Court were entitled to stay on in Madras city and carry on all their work including that of legislature

The non-Telugu members did not accept the contention as they apprehended that the Andhras would not give up their claims to Madras city if they were allowed to locate their capital, High Court and Legislature in the city, even for a short period. The Government of India, which was not very keen on the creation of Andhra Province, took advantage of the dissenting note of Prakasam and shelved the issue. Thus, when the new Constitution of India came into force on the 26th of January 1950, it was clear that the creation of the Andhra State (in the new constitution the provinces were called 'States') was still away from reality. Andhras recalled the words of Pattabhi that "the British would grant us independence sooner than the Tamil ministers would give us a separate province." To express the resentment of the Andhras, Swami Sitaram (Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri) undertook a fast unto death. The fast by such a respected Gandhian created an explosive situation in Andhra. However, Vinoba Bhave defused the situation by appealing to the Swami to give up his fast so that the issue could be considered *de novo* in a peaceful atmosphere. The Swami gave up his 35 day fast on the 20th of September, 1951. Nothing came out of this fast except the increasing distrust of the people of Andhra towards their own leaders and the Government of India.

In the first General Elections of 1952, Andhras expressed their resentment towards the Congress leaders by defeating them at the polls. The stalwarts of Andhra Congress like Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, Bezwada Gopala Reddy and Kala Venkata Rao were trounced in the elections. Out of the 140 seats from Andhra in the Madras Legislative Assembly, the Congress could secure only 43, while the Communist Party of India bagged as many as 40 seats out of the 60 it constested. In the Madras Legislative Assembly itself the Congress could secure only 152. The non-congress members in the Legislature, numbering 164 formed themselves into a United Democratic Front (U.D.F.) and elected Prakasam as their leader. But the Governor nominated C. Rajagopalachari to the Legislative Council and invited him to form the ministry.

After Rajagopalachari became the Chief Minister of the Madras State, he tried to divert the water of the Krishna river by constructing what was known as Krishna-Pennar project for the development of the Tamil area. As it was feared that the project spelt ruin to Andhra, the people of the region started agitation against the project. The Government of India was forced to appoint an expert committee under the chairmanship of A.N. Khosla to study the technical details of the project. The Committee pronounced that the project 'in its present form should not be proceeded with' and suggested the construction of a project at Nandikonda (the site of the present Nagarjunasagar project). The report of the Khosla Committee vindicated the apprehensions of the Andhras regarding the unfriendly attitude of Rajagopalachari's government towards the Andhras. The desire of the Andhras to separate themselves from the composite Madras State and form their own State gained further momentum.

The Martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu

When the political situation in Andhra was in such a deplorable state, Potti Sriramulu, a self-effacing Gandhian, began his fast unto death on the 19th of October, 1952, at Madras. Though the fast created an unprecedented explosive situation throughout Andhra, the Congress leaders and the Government of India did not pay much attention to it. Even when the fast entered the 50th day, Nehru repeated in the Rajya Sabha an oft-heard statement that the Government of India would form the Andhra State provided there was an agreement among the parties concerned. On the 15th of December, 1952, Sriramulu attained martyrdom. The news of Sriramulu's death rocked Andhra into a violent and devastating agitation. The Government of India was taken aback at this popular upsurge. On the 19th of December, 1952, Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha that the Andhra State would be formed with the eleven undisputed Telugu districts, and three Telugu taluks of the Bellary district, but excluding Madras city.

Formation of Andhra State (October 1, 1953)

On the 1st of October, 1953, Andhra State came into existence. It consisted of the districts of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Chitoor, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and the Taluks of Rayadurg, Adoni and Alur of the Bellary district. To consider the question of the Bellary Taluk, a Commission under L.S. Mishra of the Hyderabad High Court was constituted. He recommended its inclusion in the Mysore State. The Governement of India accepted the recommendation.

Kurnool became the capital of the new State, under the terms of the Sri Bagh pact of 1937 between the leaders of the Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema. Prakasam became the first Chief Minister even though he was not a member of the Congress party. Sanjiva Reddy, the leader of the Congress party, became the Deputy Chief Minister. With the inauguration of the Andhra State by Nehru, the forty year old dream of the Telugu people to have a separate state of their own was partly fulfilled. They looked forward to the formation of Visalandhra (Greater Andhra) with Hyderabad city as the capital.

Police Action on Hyderabad State

Andhras were very much agitated over the developments in the State of Hyderabad during the years 1946-48. The Nizam sent his political adviser Walter Monckton to Delhi to discuss the future of the state of Hyderabad with the Cabinet Mission (appointed by the British government to discuss with the national leaders the question of Indian Independence). The Nizam hoped that as the 'Faithful Ally' of the British Crown, Hyderabad would be declared a 'third dominion' in the sub-continent along with India and Pakistan. On the 11th of June, 1947, the Nizam issued a *firman* annoucing that he would not send representatives to the Constituent Assembly of India, as he would become 'independent' on the 15th of August, 1947. To his dismay he found no mention of Hyderabad in the Indian Independence Bill introduced in the British Parliament on the 9th of July, 1947. But the Nizam insisted that Hyderabad should be a third dominion and tried to achieve his ambitious desire with the help of Kasim Razvi of the Ittehadul Muslimeen and its storm-troopers, the Razakars.

Meanwhile, the Hindus of the Hyderabad State who accounted for 93 percent of its population, launched the 'Join India' Movement with the cooperation of a few patriotic Muslims for the integration of the State with the rest of the country. The State Congress leaders, led by Swami Ramanand Tirtha, involved themselves whole-heartedly in the movement. As the State Congress was banned by the Nizam, its leaders conducted their activities from places like Vijayawada and Bombay, assisted by the Congress leaders.

The Communists on their part organised village defence squads *(daḷams)* to protect the villagers from the attacks of the Nizam police and Razakars. Razvi opposed the 'Join India' movement and announced that he would unfurl the Asafia flag on the Red Fort of Delhi and make the waves of the Bay of Bengal wash the feet of the Nizam. The Government of India tried to make the Nizam see reason and sign the Instrument of Accession with India. After tortuous negotiations, the Nizam finally agreed to enter into a 'Stand Still Agreement' with India for one year. This news incensed the Razakars. On the 27th of October, 1947, a huge crowd of about 25,000 surrounded the house of the Nawab of Chattari and other members of the Hyderabad delegation to Delhi and forced them to announce that they would not leave for Delhi. Finally, a delegation approved by Razvi, consisting of his hand-picked henchmen, signed a Stand Still Agreement with the Governement of India on the 29th of November, 1947.

After the signing of the agreement Razvi forced the Nizam to appoint Mir Laik Ali as the Prime Minister. As a result of these developments, the stock of Razvi rose very high among the Muslims.

The Nizam entered into the Stand Still Agreement only to gain time to procure military hardware. El Edroos, the Commander-in-Chief of Hyderabad army, visited Czechoslavakia and France to purchase military aircraft. Sydney Cotton of Australia was engaged to procure weapons from different parts of the world and smuggle them into Hyderabad. Attempts were made to purchase Goa from Portugal.

Saner elements among the Muslims of the State were worried about these developments. Shoebullah Khan, the young editor of an Urdu journal, *Imroze*, condemned the activities of the Razakars and issued a statement urging the Nizam to accede to India. Razvi countered the statement of Shoebullah Khan and warned that "the hand that rises against the Muslims should either drop down or would be cut off." Within two days of this warning, Shoebullah Khan was shot dead on the 21st of August, 1948, after his hands were cut. Meanwhile Laik Ali made a secret visit to Pakistan and met its Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan who advised him to refer the Hyderabad case to the Security Council. On the 10th of september, 1948, the Nizam sent a delegation to the U.N.O. headed by Moin Nawaz Jung.

Police Action : September 13-18, 1948

The Deputy Prime Minister of India, Vallabhbhai Patel, who was then in-charge of the Hyderabad affairs, decided to remove this 'cancer in the body' of India, if needed by a surgical operation. On the 13th of September 1948, 'Police Action' on Hyderabad commenced. The Indian Army entered the State from five directions. The military action, code-named 'Operation Polo', was a brilliant success. On the 17th of September, the Nizam's forces, under El Edroos surrendered and the Indian Army entered the Hyderabad city on the 18th of September. On September 23, the Nizam withdrew his complaint in the Security Council. Laik Ali and Kasim Razvi were arrested. J.N. Chowdary took over as Military Governor of Hyderabad and stayed in that position till the end of 1949. In January 1950, M.K. Vellodi, a Senior Civil Servant, was made the Chief Minister of the State and the Nizam was designated 'Raj Pramukh'. After the General Elections of 1952, the first popular ministry headed by B. Ramakrishna Rao took charge of the State.

Emergence of Andhra Pradesh

The creation of Andhra State in October 1953 strengthened the general demand for linguistic States. On the 22nd of December, 1953, Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha that the Government of India had decided to set up a States Re-organisation Commission (S.R.C.) to examine 'objectively and dispassionately' the question of the re-organisation of the States of the Indian Union. A three-man committee, with Sayed Fazl Ali as the Chairman and H.N. Kunzru and K.M. Panikkar as members was set up.

The appointment of the Commission was welcomed by the Andhras as they hoped that it would recommend the formation of Visalandhra, since the people of the Hyderabad State were unanimous in their demand for the trifurcation of their State. Further, Andhras hoped that the outlying Telugu areas in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and Tamil Nadu would be incorporated in the greater Andhra.

In the Telangana region of the Hyderabad State, public opinion was divided on the future of their area. The Communists, who were a power to be reckoned with in Telangana, supported the formation of Visalandhra with Hyderabad city as its capital. However, a vocal section in the State Congress wanted to maintain the identity of Telangana as a separate State.

The SRC visited Hyderabad in June-July 1954 and heard the views of the different organisations and individuals. It submitted its report on the 30th of September, 1955. The Commission recommended the trifurcation of the Hyderabad State since public opinion both within and outside the State, is overwhelmingly in its favour. Further, it stated:

> We are not impressed by the claim that during the last two hundred years, a specific Deccani culture has developed in the whole area and that their culture is a major contribution to the unity of India. The common culture of Hyderabad, like the unity of this State, is something that has been imposed from above.

While recommending the disintegration of the State, the Commission suggested the incorporation of the Kannada speaking districts of Raichur and Gulbarga in the Mysore State and the Marathi speaking Marathwada in the Bombay State.

The Commission was convinced of the advantages of Visalandhra and stated:

> The advantages of a large Andhra State including Telangana are that it will bring into existence a State of about 32 million with a considerable hinterland, with large water and power resources, adequate mineral wealth and valuable raw materials. This will also solve the vexing problem of finding a permanent capital for Andhra, for the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad are well suited to be the capital of Visalandhra.
>
> Another advantage of the formation of Visalandhra will be that the development of Krishna and Godavari Rivers will thereby be brought under unified control.
>
> The Economic benefits that would result by merging of Telangana with the existing Andhra State are not unimportant. Telangana has in years of scarcity a sizeable deficit in food supplies. The existing Andhra State, however, has normally a surplus which Telangana may be able to use. The existing State of Andhra likewise has no coal, but will be able to get its supplies from Singareni. Telangana will also be able to save a great deal of expenditure on general administration in case it is not established as a separate unit.

After accepting that "the advantages of the formation of Visalandhra are obvious" and that "nothing should be done to impede the realization of the goal", the Commission, however, favoured the formation of a separate Telangana on the condition that--

> It will be in the interest of Andhra as well as Telangana, for the present, if the Telengana area is constituted into a separate State, which may be known as the Hyderabad State, with the proviso that its unification with Andhra after the General elections, likely to be held in or about 1961, could be effected if by a two-thirds majority the legislature of the residuary Hyderabad State expresses itself in favour of unification.

The SRC Report recommending the formation of separate Telangana led to an intensive lobbying both by the advocates of Telangana and Visalandhra. The Communists reacted quickly and announced that they would resign their seats in the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly and contest elections on the issue. In the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly, 103 supported Visalandhra and only 29 wanted separate Telangana. 15 members remained 'neutral'.

The Congress High Command favoured Visalandhra and prevailed upon the leaders of the Andhra State and Telangana to sort out their differences, who, there upon, entered into a 'Gentlemen's Agreement'. One of the main provisions of the Agreement was the creation of a 'Regional Council' for Telangana for its all-round development. The enlarged State was named 'Andhra Pradesh'. It was inaugurated on the 1st of November, 1956 by Nehru. Sanjiva Reddy became its first Chief Minister.

Political Crises of 1969 and 1972

During the years 1969 and 1972 Andhra Pradesh was rocked by two political agitations popularly known as the Telangana and the Jai Andhra Movements respectively. Telangana agitation was started by the people of the region when they felt that the Andhra leaders had flouted the Gentlemen's Agreement which facilitated the formation of Andhra Pradesh.

The influx of the people from the coastal region into the city of Hyderabad created many social tensions. Slowly the discontent spread among the Telangana officials and the unemployed youth who felt that they were exploited by the people of the Andhra region. The discontent manifested itself when a student of Khammam went on a hunger-strike in January 1969 demanding the implementation of the safeguards for Telangana provided in the Gentlemen's Agreement. Slowly the agitation spread to Hyderabad. In the beginning, the movement demanded the implementation of the safeguards agreed upon earlier, but later it wanted the separation of Telangana from Andhra Pradesh.

The agitation took a new turn when the Congress legislators from Telangana supported the movement. Dr. Channa Reddy entered the fray and formed the Telangana Praja Samiti to lead the movement. But by November 1969 there was a split in the Praja Samiti when dissident Congress legislators realised that the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was not in favour of separate Telangana. The movement slowly petered out. In September 1971, Brahmananda Reddi, the then Chief Minister, resigned his position to make room for a leader from Telangana to become the Chief Minister. On the 25th of September, 1971, P.V. Narsimha Rao became the Chief Minister. The Telangana Praja Samiti was dissolved and its members rejoined the Congress.

During 1972, another agitation known as the Jai Andhra Movement was launched in the Andhra region. The agitation was a sequel to the Telangana agitation which demanded that only 'Mulkis' should be appointed to the posts in Telangana including the Hyderabad city. The 'Mulki' issue had a long history behind it. As early as in 1919, the Nizam of Hyderabad issued a firman laying down that only 'Mulkis' are eligible for public appointments in the State. 'Mulki' was defined as one who was born in the State of Hyderabad or resided there continously for fifteen years and had given an affidavit that he abandoned the idea of returning to his native place. Even after the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the Mulki rules continued to be in force in the Telangana region. As these rules stood in the way of the people of the Andhra region to compete for the posts, their validity was challenged in the High Court. A full bench of the High Court by a four-one majority held that the Mulki rules were not valid and operative after the formation of Andhra Pradesh.

But on an appeal by the State government, the Supreme Court declared on the 3rd of October, 1972 that the Mulki rules were valid and were in force. The judgement created a great political crisis in the State. The people of the Andhra region felt that they were reduced to the status of second class citizens in their own State capital. They felt that the only way to uphold their dignity was by severing their connection with Telangana and started a movement for the separation of Andhra region from Andhra Pradesh.

As the agitation continued, President's rule was imposed in the State on the 18th of January, 1973. Finally, a political settlement was arrived at under the aegis of the Central government. A 'Six-Point' formula was agreed upon by the leaders of the two regions to prevent any recurrence of such agitations in future. The Six-Point formula included (1) the abolition of Mulki rules and the Telangana regional Committee and (2) the establishment of a Central University at Hyderabad to augment educational facilities.

In the General elections held in February, 1978 for the A.P. Legislative Assembly, the Congress Party swept the polls by capturing 175 out of 294 seats. Dr. M. Channa Reddi became the sixth Chief Minister of A.P. on the 6th of March 1978. He announced that separate Telangana was no longer an issue. Owing to some factional squabbles in the party, Dr. Channa Reddy resigned in October, 1980 and was succeeded by Anjaiah, who remained in offce only for one year and four months. In February 1982, he was replaced by Bhavanam Venkatarama Reddi, who in turn was replaced by K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy in October 1982. Thus Andhra Pradesh was administered by four Chief Ministers in four years.

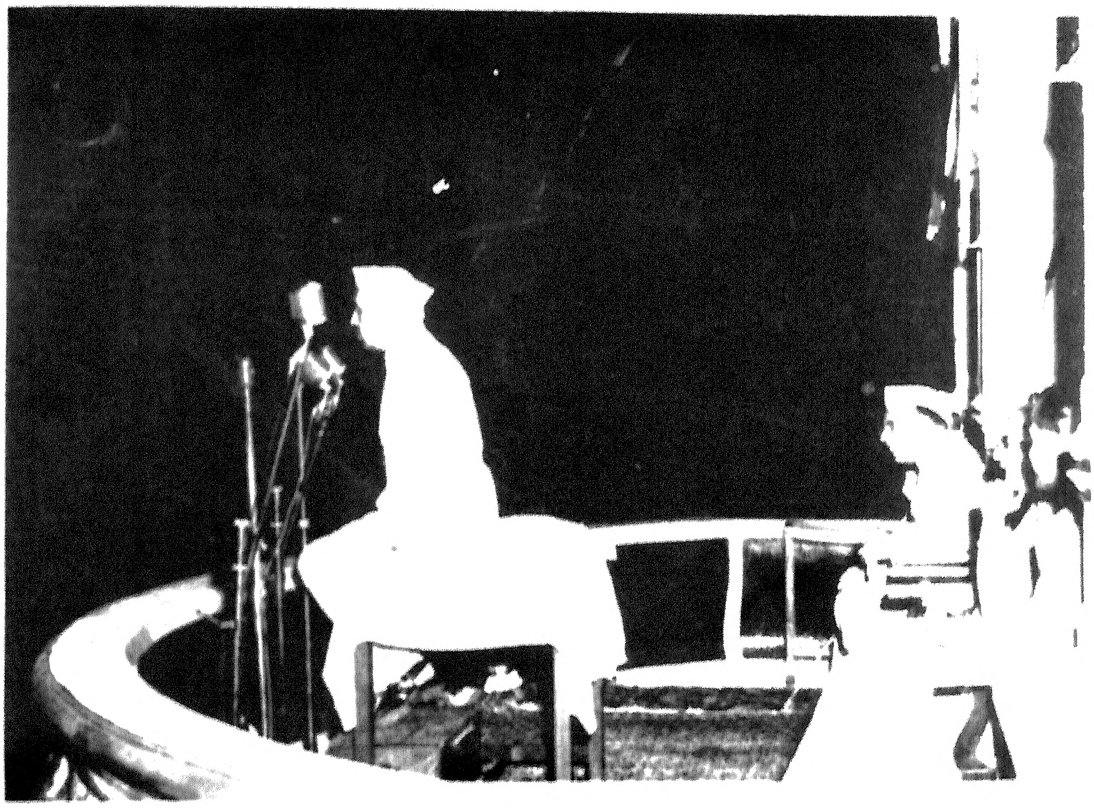
Emergence of 'Telugu Desam'

Frequent changes of the Chief Ministers by the Congress High Command created dissatisfaction among the people. Taking advantage of the popular discontent against the leaders of the Congress Party, N.T. Rama Rao, a leading figure of the Telugu film world, announced the formation of a regional party called the 'Telugu Desam'. The party became so popular that in the General Elections held to the A.P. Legislative Assembly on the 5th of January, 1983, it could win 202 seats in a house of 294. The Congress Party could secure only 60 seats. Rama Rao became the tenth Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh on the 9th of January 1983.

Rama Rao failed to maintain rapport with Nadendla Bhaskar Rao, his colleague in the Cabinet. The latter succeeded in getting the dismissal of Rama Rao's ministry on the 16th of August, 1984. The engineered dismissal of Rama Rao infuriated the public and led to a movement for the dismissal of the Governor Ram Lal and reinstatement of Rama Rao as the Chief Minister. On the 24th of August, 1984, Ram Lal resigned his position, and Rama Rao was re-instated on the 16th of September 1984 by the new Governor, Shankar Dayal Sharma. Rama Rao opted for mid-term elections. In the elections held on March 5, 1985 Rama Rao proved that he continued to enjoy the confidence of the people by winning 202 seats in a house of 294.

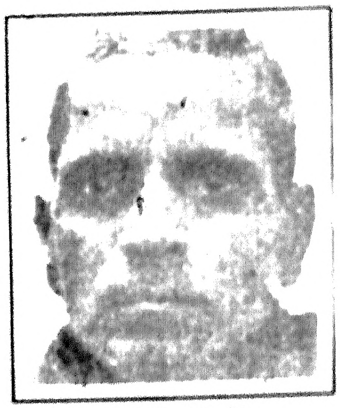
The Telugu people who were not quite pleased with some of the policies of the Telugu Desam Government, returned Congress in the general elections of 1989 with a good majority. During the following five years, three Chief Ministers - M.Channa Reddy, N.Janardana Reddy and K.Vijayabhaskara Reddy - held the reins of power. The discontentment of the Telugu public was reflected in pushing the Congress out and handing over the power again to the Telugu Desam Party in 1994.

The changing fortunes of the political parties at the hustings is, besides other things, a sure indication of the people's awareness of their rights and privileges and there mature judgement of the relative performance of the ruling parties.



A.P.Formation Day

EMINENT PERSONALITIES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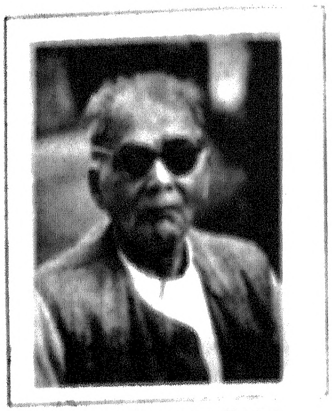
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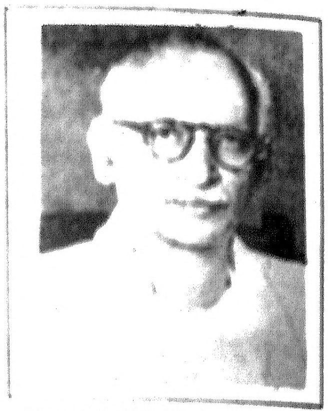
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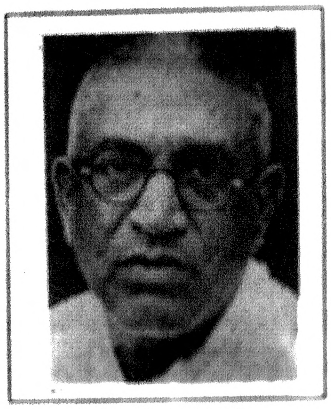
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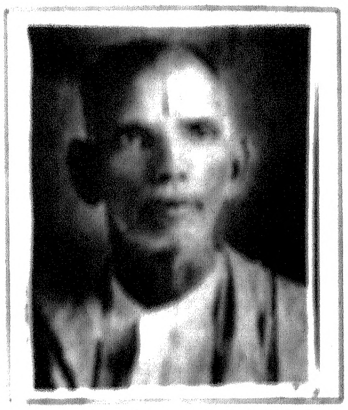
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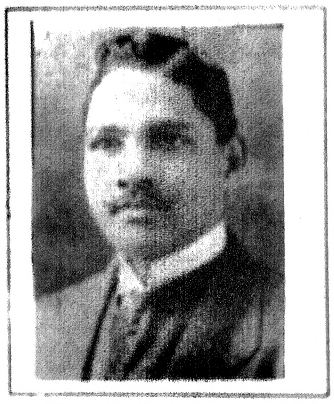
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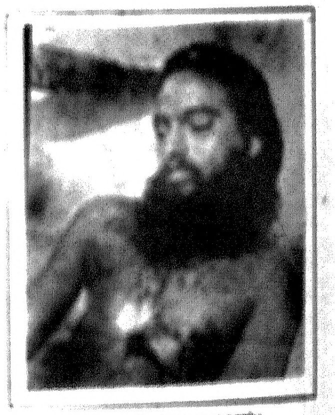
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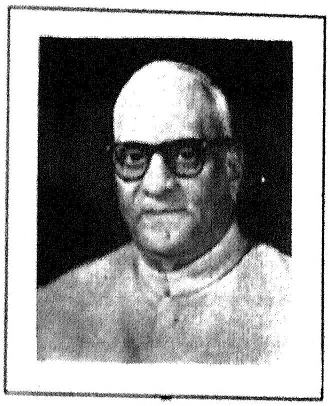
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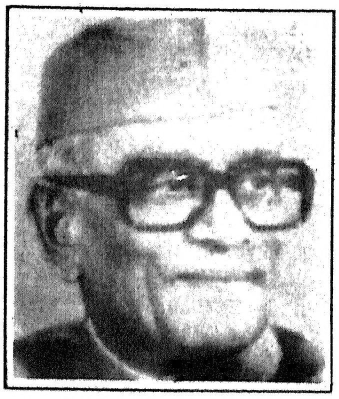
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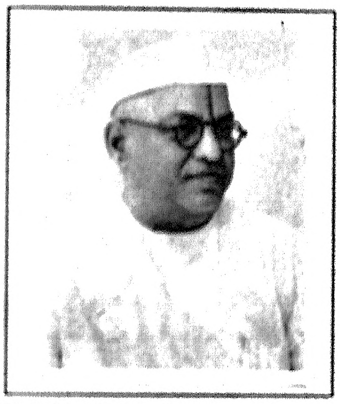
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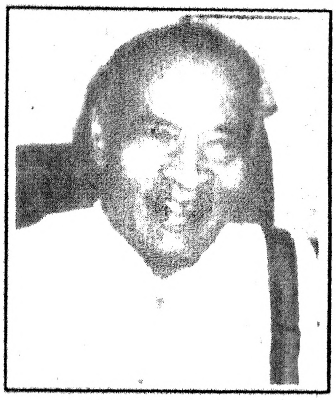
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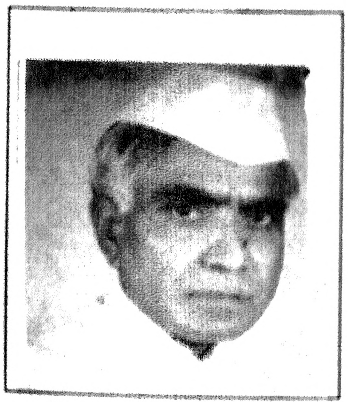
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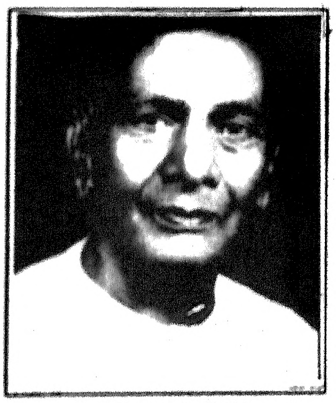
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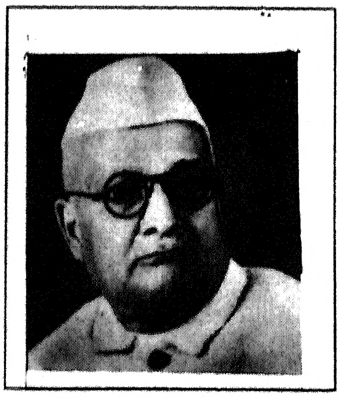
Madapati Hanumantha Rao

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

LANGUAGE

Introduction

The principal language of Andhra Pradesh, now designated as 'Telugu', was also referred to as 'Tenugu' in the past. 'Andhra' is a name given to it since the medieval times. Of the two names 'Telugu' and 'Tenugu', which one is an earlier form cannot be easily decided, though the latter first appeared in literature. Interchange of *'l'* and *'n'* is not uncommon in the language. It is to be noted that both the terms have had a nasal sound before the final consonant in literary forms - 'Telungu' and 'Tenungu'. It appears that this particle 'ng' carried a meaning 'land or place' as is evident from *'Ang'*, *'Vang'*, *'Kaḷing'* and *Vēng'*, designations of territories. Incidentally, this also lends support to the view held by some that the original speakers of the language came as migrants from somewhere in the north-east along the eastern sea-coast sometime in the hoary past. They appear to have halted in their march in *Vēng*, later called Vēngi, in the present coastal district of Andhra Pradesh, as south of Vēng the particle does not occur in place-names.

Attempts have been made to derive the meaning of these words, Telugu and Tenugu, but they only seem to be fanciful. As Grierson has rightly observed in his *Survey*, "a base *teli* occurs in Telugu: *teli*, bright; *teliyuṭa*, to perceive, etc. But it would not be safe to urge such an etymology". He also noted: "Telugu pandits commonly state Tenugu to be the proper form of the word, and explain this as the 'mellifluous language' from *tēne*, honey".

Admirers of Sanskrit, which was, for a very long time, considered as the 'mother of all languages' including Telugu, argued that 'Telugu' was a corruption of 'Trilinga' (Sanskrit: meaning three *lingas*). A general description of the land of Telugus was made in the medieval times as 'the land marked by three *lingas* of the three famous shrines of Daksharamam, Kaleswaram and Srisailam. (Similarly, there are some who derived 'Tenugu' from the Sanskrit *Trinaga* meaning the land marked by three mountains, i.e. the Mahendra, the Sri and the Sesha). To quote Grierson again, "this supposition is, however, just as improbable as the derivation of Tamil from Dravida. The old Aryan name for the Telugu country seems to be Andhra and the replacing of this term by Trilinga seems to be due to an adaptation by the Aryans of a Telugu word. Such a word could probably only be borrowed through the medium of a Prakrit dialect, and in the Prakrits we must suppose the form to have been *Telinga*. *Trinaga* also would have been a clever sanskritisation of *Tenugu*".

Those who favour 'Tenugu' as the older form point out to a possible Dravidian etymology. *Ten* in Dravidian languages means 'south'. Thus, 'Tenugu' means the 'language of the south'. Evidently such a reference should come from people living north of the territory. But the land of the Telugu people is the northern limit for Dravidian speakers.

C.P. Brown, a great scholar and researcher, rejected all the etymologies of the word hitherto brought forward and regarded the word as not derived from any known root.

'Andhra' (also Andha) was the word used for the central and western tracts of the present Andhra Pradesh in the olden days (Andhaka raṭṭha, Andhá patha, etc.). Ándhra, a derivative of Andhra, denoted the people. In medieval times, Telugu was designated as the 'Ándhra bhâṣa'. It may be noted that Bharata in his *Nâṭya Śâstra* referred probably to this language as a *vibhâṣa* by name Ándhri. 'Andhaka', derived from *'Andhra'*, was another 'denomination'. Buddhaghosha (4th c.) mentioned that the *Tripiṭakas* had been translated into Andhaka Language.

Even at the beginning of the 20th century, as Grierson described, Telugu was being spoken from Madras in the south to Bengal (which then included parts of the present Orissa). 'Kalinga' is understood today as synonymous with southern Orissa. In the ancient days this area along with the northern parts of Andhra Pradesh together was known as Trikalinga (or three Kalingas). Thus the Andhra sea-men were popular as 'Kalings'.

As early as the 7th c., Huen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim to India, described that the Andhras had a language of their own, written in an alphabet which did not much differ from those in Northern India. The well-known scholar-author, Kumarila Bhatta, mentioned Andhra-Dravida-*bhâṣâ*.

Westerners in their references to the language had used several 'denominations' such as:

Telugu, Talenga, Telugoo, Teloogoo

Badaga, Warugian

Gentoo, Gentu

The first set is based on 'Telugu' and the second on *Waḍugu*, meaning 'northern', a description given to the people and language by the people of the territory south to them. 'Gentu' (meaning the heathens) is the term by which the Europeans, specially the Portugese, designated the people. The term mainly applied to the Telugu people, as they were the first that came into contact with them. Modern linguists and philologists, who made an indepth study of the South Indian languages including Telugu, concluded that these languages constitute the Dravidian family of languages. This opinion gained general acceptance since Cauldwel's publication of his studies.

Evolution of the Language

TELUGU is the most widely spoken language of the Dravidian family which consists of 24 languages spanning the entire South-Asia, from Baluchistan to Sri Lanka. In terms of population, Telugu ranks second to Hindi among the Indian languages. According to the 1971 census, Telugu is spoken by 43.5 millions in Andhra Pradesh. Taking into account the Telugu speakers residing in the other states within India and also in the other parts of the world, one can easily say that Telugu is the first language of at least 60 million people.

The evolution of Telugu can be traced through centuries in terms of its form as well as its function. An account of the formal evolution of Telugu should show how Modern Telugu can be traced to its earliest beginnings through several stages of change. The functional evolution should deal with the varying roles in which the language has been used through centuries.

A Formal View

Pre-Telugu : The reconstructed parent of all the modern Dravidian languages, called Proto-Dravidian, split up into three sub-families some 5,000 years ago, viz., South Dravidian, Centra Dravidian, and North Dravidian. The Southern sub-family split up into two branches arounc 2000 to 1500 B.C. One of these branches known as South Dravidian I (SDr I) developed intc the modern Southern languages - Kannaḍa, Toḍa, Kōṭa, Koḍagu, Irula, Tamiḷ, and Malayāḷam The other branch known as South Dravidian II (SDr II) or South-Central Dravidian developeι into Telugu, Gōndi, Konḍa (or Kūbi), Kui, Kuvi, Pengo and Manḍa. There is evidence tι show that even by the 5th or 6th century B.C. Telugu emerged as an independent language no longer mutually intelligible with its sister languages. Although culturally Telugu is close to its southern neighbours - Tamil and Kannada - genetically, it is closer to its norther neighbours - Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo and Manda. There is evidence to show thа these languages freely borrowed vocabulary from Telugu even from the prehistoric perioc whereas borrowing between Telugu and Tamil-Kannada has been mostly during the histor period, i.e. post-5th century B.C. The main cleavage between the two southern branches ca be seen when we compare Telugu (SDr II) words like *wānṟu** 'he', *renḍu* 'two', *lēdu* 'nc *mrānu* 'tree', *prānta* 'old' with Tamil (SDr I) cognates *avan, iranṭu, illatu, maran, paẓa,* et Telugu and SDr II languages have personal pronouns like *nā-* 'my', *mā-*'our', whereas Tan and SDr I languages have *en-/nan-, em-/nam-,* correspondingly.

It is possible to identify broadly four stages in the history of the Telugu language: (200 B.C. - 500 A.D (2) 500-1100 A.D. (3) 1100-1400 A.D. (4) 1400-1900 A.D. During tl first phase we only come across Telugu place names and personal names in Prakrit aι Sanskrit inscriptions found in the Telugu country. From this we know that the people language was Telugu although the language of the rulers was different. The first comple Telugu inscription belongs to the Renati Cholas, found in Erragudipadu, Kamalapuram Talι Cuddapah (Kaḍapa) District about 575 A.D. It appears that literature also existed in Telu about the same time, becuase we find literary style in the inscriptions some three centuri even before Nannaya's (1020 A.D.) *Mahābhāratam.* By the time of Nannaya, the popu language had considerably diverged from the literary language as can be inferred from su forms as *istimi* 'we gave', *ēmbhay* 'fifty', *tombhay* 'ninety', as opposed to the correspondi literary forms of Nannaya, viz. *iccitimi, ē̃badi, tombadi.* Telugu was exposed to the influer of Prakrit as early as the 3rd century B.C. and that of Sanskrit much later.

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* To facilitate printing, the following orthographic conventions are used in transliteration : Dravidian ఱ and ళ are symbolized ṟ and ḷ respectively. ẓ stands for an old Telugu sound ఴ which no longer exists. It was written in t inscriptions and corresponds with Tamil ẓ in *paẓam* 'fruit'. ṁ is *anuswāra*.

500-1100 A.D. : The literary language confined to the poetic works flourished in the courts of kings and among scholars. Sound changes which occurred in the popular language are reflected in the literary language, although the two streams remained apart in grammar and vocabulary. Most of the sound changes which took place between the 7th and the 9th centuries got settled by the 11th/12th centuries. Early Telugu *ḷ* (ళ), *ṇ* (ణ) became *l, n* (ల, న), *ēḷan* > *ēlan, koṇi* > *koni; ẓ* developed into *r* and *ḍ* in different positions in a word, e.g. *pẓōlu* > *prōlu, ēẓu* > *ēḍu.* The masculine singular suffix *nru* (న్రు) became *ndu* (ండు), *wānru* > *wānḍu*. The use of *anuswāra ṁ* (represented by o) in the place of *ṅ ñ ṇ n m* (ఙ, ఞ, ణ, న, మ) was on the increase. After a long vowel, full nasal (o) tended to become obscure nasalizing the vowel, *wānḍu* > *wā̃ḍu; mbu* was being pronounced as *mu, pāmbu* > *pāmu.* The plural suffix *ḷu* (ళు) became *lu* (లు). In the case of noun and verb inflection there was not much difference between the literary language and the spoken language

1100-1400 A.D. : The literary language got stylized and rigid shutting itself off the influence of the contemporary spoken language. Kētana (13th century A.D.), a disciple of Tikkana, prohibited the use of spoken words in the poetic works and had quoted some spoken forms, *teccutāḍu* 'he will bring,' *wiṭīn* 'these also', *mammūn* 'us also', *pancākumu* 'don't divide,' *tōpincākumu* 'don't cause to push', etc. These examples provide valuable evidence on the form of the spoken language of that period as well as on the high-brow attitude of the literati even on the educated speech.

Many changes, phonetic and grammatical, continued to affect the spoken language as evidenced from the inscriptional language. *ẓ* which split up into *r* and *ḍ* was slowly on its way out in the written form; *ṟ* (ఱ) which started merging with *r* (ర) earlier created confusion among the poets as to how to maintain the distinction in writing. Word initial *ḍ* became *d,* e.g. *ḍaggara* > *daggara, ḍāgu* > *dāgu,* etc.; *iya* > *e, kanniya* > *kanne, kalliyamu* > *kallemu,* etc. The use of *anuswāra (ṁ)* extensively replaced the nasal consonants before other consonants, (i.e. ఙ్క *ṅka,* ఙ్గ *ṅga,* ఞ్చ *ñca,* ఞ్జ *ñja* > oక *ṁka,* oగ *ṁga,* oచ *ṁca,* oజ *ṁja*). *c, j* tended to be pronounced *ts, dz* before non-palatal vowels, *i.e. a, ā, u, ū, o, ō,* etc. Sanskrit (ఋ) *ṛ* was written *ri/ru, pitrusthānamu* (1112 A.D.). Words like *mrānu, trāvu* started losing the *r* consonant becoming *mānu, tāvu*, etc. *s* was pronounced *ś* when followed by *i ī e ē* as it is now, *cēśina* (1290 A.D.). Conjunctive *-un* was replaced by *ū* or *nnu/nni,* e.g. *ellappuḍūnu* (1003 A.D.) 'always,' *prati saṁwatsaramunnū* (1243 A.D.) 'every year.' *mu* at the end of neuter singular nouns became *ṁ*, e.g. *raktaṁ* (1187 A.D.). Plurals of these forms lose *ṁ* and lengthen the preceding vowel, e.g. *karaṇamulu* > *karaṇālu, kuncamulu* > *kuncālu.* Literary forms like *dēwuniki* have variants as *dēwuḍiki* in the inscriptions. Archaic case suffixes like *ponṭe* 'for', *andu, nan* 'in,' *meyin* 'with,' *cēsi* 'because of,' were getting lost. *walla* (< *walna*) 'because of,' *n-uṇḍi* 'from (place, time),' *kanṭe* 'than,' *lōpala* 'inside' were gaining greater currency.

The honorific suffix *-gāru* was extensively used in the educated speech although it failed to get into the poetic language.

okaṭi 'one' replaced *okaḍu* and *aydu* 'five' replaced earlier *ēnu*, progressively. The numerals 20, 30, 40, 50, 90 were represented in the inscriptions as *iravay, mupphay, nalabhay, ēmbhay, tombhay* as they are pronounced today; *-vuru* became *-guru*, resulting in forms like *mūguru/mugguru* 'three persons', *naluguru* 'four persons', *ay(du)guru* 'five persons', etc. Predicative verbal nouns like *iccinawāḍu* 'the one who gave' of the earlier age became *iccināḍu*. This change is reflected in Tikkana's *Mahābhāratam* usage already. Habitual-present forms like *naḍaceḍunu* 'he (will) behave', *naḍacedamu* 'we (will) behave' became *naḍacēnu, naḍacēmu*, etc. Verbs in *-inan* like *cēsinan* 'if/though one did', split into two forms paralleling its different meanings, *cēstēnu/cēstē* 'if one did', *cēsinā(nu)* 'even if one did'. The *-tee(n)* forms surfaced from the popular language as there is nothing corresponding to it in the poetic language. In ordinals *-awa* > *-ō*, e.g., *mūṇḍō naḍupu* (1186 A.D.) 'the third act', etc. Habitual verbs have *ē* instead of *eḍu*, e.g. *anē* for earlier *aneḍu*. Loanwords of Arabic and Persian origin like *trāsu, ḍōlu* abound owing to contact between Telugu and those languages which served as the official languages of the Muslim rulers.

1400-1900 A.D. : During this period many changes culminating in today's form of Telugu took place: *kr-, tr-, pr-*, etc. totally became *k-, t-, p-*, by losing *r*, e.g., *krotta* > *kotta, krinda* > *kinda*, etc. *īyaka* > *iyyaka* 'without giving, *cēyaka* > *ceyyaka* 'without doing', etc. *nāyanḍu* became *nēṇḍu./nīṇḍu*. Forms like *rāyaṇṇi, brāmhaṇṇi* resulted from internal sandhi from older *rāyaḍi + ni, brāmhaḍi + ni*. When *wāru* became a polite singular, *wāṇḍlu* came into vogue as the regular plural of *wāḍu* as it is today. Forms like *istimi* 'we gave' *cēstimi* 'we did', *samarpiṁstimi* 'we offered', increased. Predicative verbal nouns like *waccinā(ṇ) ḍu* became finite verbs replacing *waccenu*, etc.

Forms in *-tū* make their appearance in the inscriptional language, e.g. *pālistū* 'ruling', *cēstū* 'doing'. In the sense of 'must' in the 2nd person, forms like *ettēdi* '(one) must raise' became popular in the place of the poetic *ettunadi* etc. In the place of older *waccinan-, cēsinan*, one finds by the 16th and 17th centuries only forms like *waccinā, cēsinā*, etc. as they are in present-day Telugu.

Future-habitual forms like *pondutāru* 'they (will) get', *wastāru* 'they (will) come' which remained in popular usage for over six centuries made their first appearance in the 16th century inscriptions. From Ketana's (13th century A.D.) strictures against spoken language, we notice that such forms were in vogue even by his time. Reflexive *-koni* became *-ka, anubhavincu-ka* 'having enjoyed oneself' (1691 A.D.). A new negative of the past tense came into existence, e.g. *cēya lēdu* '(one) did not do'. The continuity of an action was signalled by *-tū* or *-tā*, e.g. *cēstū* (1600 A.D.), *bhakṣistā* (1636 A.D.). These two forms as they are now represented in coastal and Rayalaseema dialect occurred in written form as early as the 13th century. Initial *wa-* sounded like *o* and vice-versa as in *wadda/odda* 'at', *wappaginci/oppaginci* 'having given'. A new sound æ as in 'bank' was in use written by a pre-vocalic *y*, *myeera* (mæ ra) 'boundary' (1688 A.D.). Nasal vowels were lost but the scribes followed a new device to indicate this, viz. the following consonant is written double where the nasal was fully articulated; it is written single when the nasal was not pronounced, e.g. *sâgiṁcci* (= *sâginci*), *tōṁṭalu* (=*tōṭalu*). Numerals were exactly as they are pronounced throughout the state today. The use of complex verbs was on the increase as it is today, e.g. *welladarumu* 'to chase', *kanukkonu* 'find out', *tōsiwêyu* 'reject', *naḍipincukonu* 'to have (things) go as one wished'. There is a reduction in the use of past tense verbs with their progressive replacement by verbal predicates which became finite verbs e.g. *cèsenu* · *cèsinâḍu* 'he did', *sâgincenu* >> *sāgincināḍu* 'he conducted' etc. The case suffix -*nunci* 'from' came into existence beside -*nunḍi*. Modern forms like *cûtâm* 'let us see', *wedakudâmu* 'let us search', *câlâ* 'much', *ālāgu* 'that manner', *īlâgu* 'this manner', etc., abound in usage even in the poetic writings.

The prose language of the 19th century as can be seen from 'kaifiyats' shows the educated speech as base with ocasional influence of the literary language. We also notice the influence of the Urdu language on Telugu before the English education spread.

From the foregoing overview of the history of the Telugu language, one can see that what we now use as modern standard Telugu had its origins in the spoken variety right from the 10th century. The language was progressively enriched by contact with Sanskrit, Prakrit, Urdu and English from the beginning of its history.

A Functional View

Until the advent of the printing press and the school system of education, Telugu was broadly used in four areas : (1) poetry, (2) inscriptions, (3) folk literature, (4) common speech (social and perhaps official). The language of the inscriptions has always been based on the contemporary speech of the educated with occasional admixture of literary and rustic expressions. Folk literature - in the form of songs - drew mainly on the speech of the common people among whom it circulated - basically rural in its base. Both in its appeal and its form, the poetic language was confined to royal courts and the interested elite; care was taken to keep it insulated from the speech of even the scholars and poets who used it in other areas of communication. Because of this restriction on the medium, prose never emerged as a form of classical literature in Telugu. Even the sparse scientific writing on prosody, arithmetic, medicine and grammar was cast either in Telugu verse or in Sanskrit ślōkas. The emergence of popular literary forms like the śataka, devotional songs, and the yakṣa gâna necessitated extensive reliance on contemporary spoken language to extend their appeal and expressiveness. Early commentaries, historical accounts (like *Râyavâcakam*), and the few prose works that were written for instructional purposes in the first half of the 19th century were all written in educated speech which was distinct from the language of the literary dialect. In 1853, Cinnayasuri, a Telugu Pundit in the Presidency College, first experimented with a prose variety based on the classical poetic language in his book *Nīti candrika*. In 1855, he published *Bâla vyâkâraṇamu*, an excellent grammar of the poetic language - but was intended for school study and as a guide to 'correct writing'. These works had, to some extent, given support to traditional Pundits who upheld the *Kâvya bhâṣa* as primary and the spoken language as its degenerate variety. The influence of Cinnayasuri temporarily arrested the growth of creative prose by famous writers until Gurazada appeared on the scene and first produced his social play *Kanyâśulkam* in 1897 in a near-modern language. The controversy that raged between the two schools, classical and modern, subsided in 1919 with a victory for the classicists to perpetuate the use of the so-called *grânthika* (or the poetic dialect) as the text-book language and as the examination medium. However, teaching has all along been done only in the spoken variety of the teacher.

For about 90 years (1850-1940) Telugu prose had a stunted development, although scholars like Kandukuri Veeresalingam and Panuganṭi used a 'liberalized poetic variety' in their writings which was neither fully classical nor fully modern. But for Cinnayasuri and the subsequent controversy, perhaps better novels in Telugu would have come at about the same time as in Bengali or even earlier.

Since the forties, Telugu prose style got out of the clutches of the traditional Pundit. The emergence of mass media of communication - like the radio, the cinema, the language newspapers and new forms of writing under the impact of the nationalist movement - reinforced the importance of the spoken word and various literary forms blossomed in modern language. By and large, the prosperous Krishna-Godavari belt became the breeding ground of many writers and scholars and their spoken variety entered various prose forms and slowly spread to the other areas assimilating other dialects. The language used in all modern forms of literatures and newspapers now has a great degree of uniformity and acceptability which lends it the status of a standard language. Now the nationalized text-books and those prescribed for Telugu language degree by universities had been the only 'sanctuaries' of the poetic dialect.

In April 1964, a Seminar sponsored by the State Government was held on the campus of Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, under the Chairmanship of the late Sri Pingali Lakshmikantham to resolve the style controversy in school books. It was resolved at this seminar that only the modern language should be used for all subject (non-1st language) books written in Telugu and in all the 2nd language books. This resolution has been implemented in the case of subject text-books produced by the Telugu Akademi, although a few odd forms like *cūḍawale* (instead of *cūḍâli*) '(one) must see', *pustakamu* (instead of *pustakam*) occur in the name of the standardization of the language. The Andhra University Academic Council resolved in 1973 that modern Telugu should be allowed as the examination medium and modern literature should also be prescribed for study at the University level. In 1971 the Sri Venkateswara University permitted the use of modern Telugu for Ph.D. thesis in Telugu. In 1966, Telugu became the official language of the State and it was decided in 1974 that correspondence at the Taluk level would only be in Telugu. In 1969, Telugu as the medium of instruction was introduced on a large scale in higher education* .

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* Part of this essay is based on the book *Telugu Bhâṣâ caritra* (The History of the Telugu Language) which the writer has edited for then the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi.

DIALECTS

G.J. Grierson, who made a linguistic survey of India in the early part of the present century, defined the area within which Telugu was being spoken in these words:

> The Telugu country is bounded towards the east by the Bay of Bengal from about Barua in the Ganjam District in the north to near Madras in the South. From Barua the frontier line goes westwards through Ganjam to the Eastern Ghats, and then South-westwards, crosses the Sabari on the border of the Sunkam and Bijji Talukas in the Bastar State and thence runs along the range of the Bela Dila to the Indravati. It follows the river to its confluence with the Godavari, and then runs through Chanda, cutting off the southern part of that district, and farther eastwards, including the southern border of the district of Wun. It then turns southwards to the Godavari, at its confluence with the Manjira, and thence farther south, towards Bidar, where Telugu meets with Kanarese. The frontier line between the two forms of speech then runs almost due south through the dominions of the Nizam. The Telugu country further occupies the north-eastern edge of Bellary, the greater, eastern, part of Anantapur, and the eastern corner of Mysore. Through North Arcot and Chingleput the border line thence runs back to the sea.
>
> Telugu is bordered on the north by Oriyā and the Halabī Dialect, Gondī and Marāthi, on the West by Marāṭhi and Kanarese, and on the South by Tamil.

The area defined by Grierson is far larger than the present Andhra Pradesh.

Grierson also noted some dialects in Telugu, such as the one spoken in the Northern Circars. "In Chanda, for instance", he says, "the local Telugu is known under several denominations such as Komṭāu, Sālēwārī and Gōlarī. In reality, however, the difference in phonology and inflexional system is so unimportant that these local forms scarcely deserve the name of a dialect". He also noticed some caste dialects in the 'Kanarese' country and in Bombay like Bēraḍī and Dāsarī (Belgaum), Kāmāṭhi and Vaḍarī (Bombay) and concluded again that they did not differ much from the ordinary form of the language. "On the other hand", he observed, "the difference between the conversational language and the literary form is considerable".

During the 19th century, many Telugu families migrated to countries like Mauritius, South Africa, Burma, Malayasia and Sri Lanka mostly as farm labourers. In course of time, they settled down as citizens of the lands of their adoption. Owing to interaction with people of Indian origin speaking several other Indian languages, who, like themselves, migrated and settled down there and also with the linguistic groups of the land of adoption, the forms of their speech acquired distinct features. One thing that stands out is the form of speech of these overseas Andhras tends to be nearer to the bookish form than to the conversational form used in Andhra. No serious study has been made so far to comprehensively describe those forms.

Scholars recognize four areas of regional dialects within the state of Andhra Pradesh.

Eastern Zone	:	Kalinga; Districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam.
South Zone	:	Rayalaseema and Districts of Prakasam and Nellore.
Northern Zone	:	Telangana; the talukas in Rayalaseema abutting the Districts of Mahaboobnagar and Khammam.
Central Zone	:	Districts of East and West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur.

Till recently, the literary form had been held in high regard as the medium of education. Gidugu Ramamurti (1863-1940) and his followers campaigned for acceptance of the spoken form in the precincts of the educational institutions and as a living medium for contemporary literature. As a result, the spoken form gained respectability and has, by and large, replaced the bookish (*grānthika*) form as the modern standard language.

SCRIPT

Most of the scripts of Indian languages have developed from the ancient Brāhmī script. The Telugu script is one such. It is syllabic like the other such scripts.

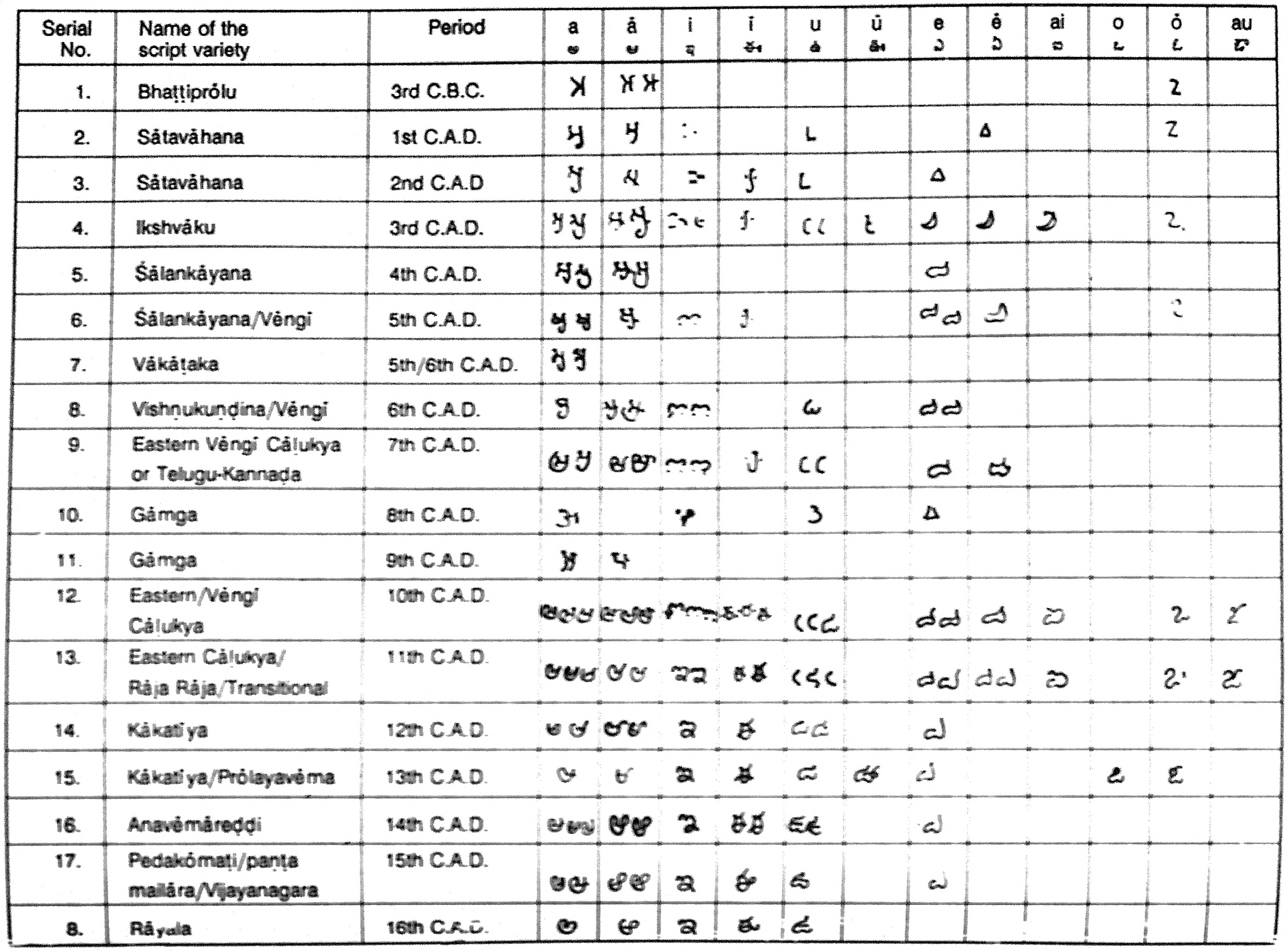
While issuing edicts, Asoka had used the Brahmi script with regional variations - specially northern and southern varieties. His edict in Brahmi with southern variation was found at Bhattiprolu in the Guntur district. So, the script came to be recognised as 'Bhattiprolu variety' besides the other names given to it such as Dravidi or Damili. It was from this variety that the present script of Telugu evolved over centuries.

Bhattiprolu script was probably in use in the territory on both the flanks of River Krishna from about 350 B.C. to about 200 B.C. From this was derived Telugu-Kannada script (called 'Vengi Chalukya' script by Burnell). There are three distinctive sub-types of it - the archaic variety (578-668), the middle variety (found in the copper-plate grants of the Eastern Chalukya kings and hence called Chalukyan script by Burnell c.650-c.950) and the transitional variety (c.1000-c.1300). It is generally believed that the Telugu and Kannada syllabaries got separated from the common script from 1300. But, the divergence appears from as early as 1030.

It is of interest to note that some of the inscriptions in Vengi Chalukya script, unlike in other sub-types, were engraved from bottom to top.

Scholars employed different names or appellations to the script of different periods. A chart showing chronological evolution of the Telugu script is appended. The names of dynasties or monarchs usually refer to the script of a given period.

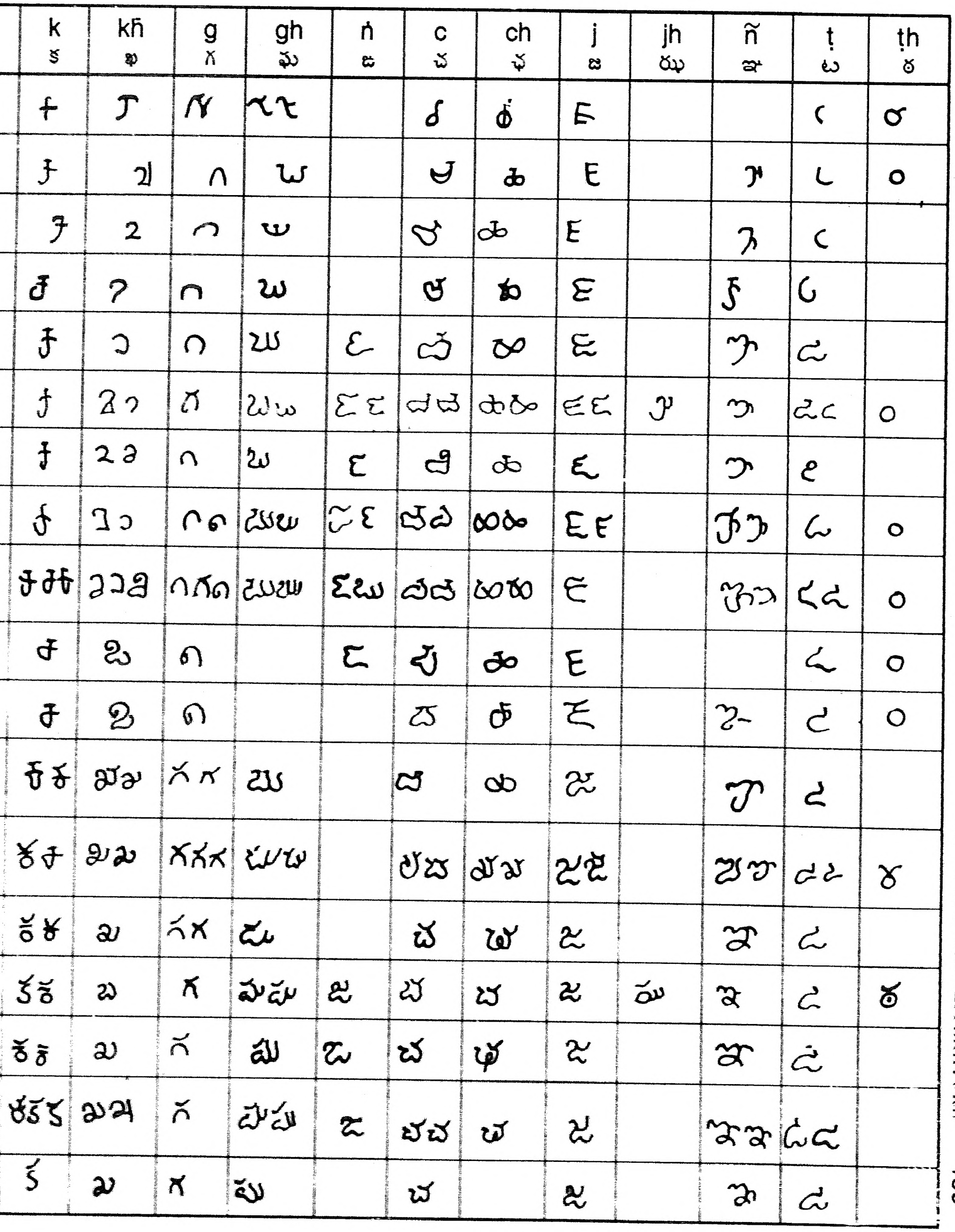
EVOLUTION OF THE TELUGU SCRIPT (VOWELS)



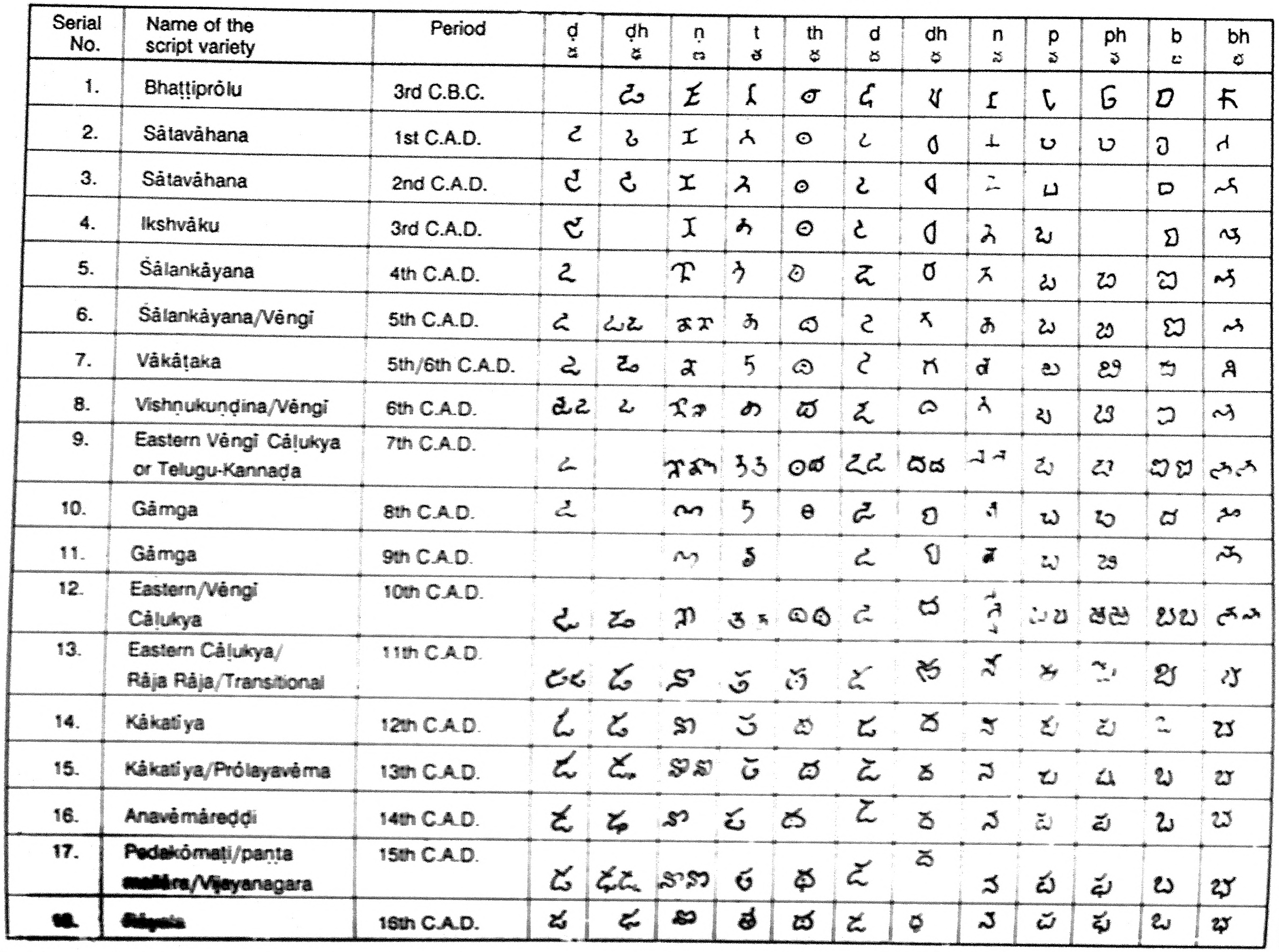
Serial No.	Name of the script variety	Period
1.	Bhaṭṭiprôlu	3rd C.B.C.
2.	Sâtavâhana	1st C.A.D.
3.	Sâtavâhana	2nd C.A.D
4.	Ikshvâku	3rd C.A.D.
5.	Śâlankâyana	4th C.A.D.
6.	Śâlankâyana/Vêngi	5th C.A.D.
7.	Vâkâṭaka	5th/6th C.A.D.
8.	Vishṇukuṇḍina/Vêngi	6th C.A.D.
9.	Eastern Vêngi Câḷukya or Telugu-Kannaḍa	7th C.A.D.
10.	Gâmga	8th C.A.D.
11.	Gâmga	9th C.A.D.
12.	Eastern/Vêngi Câḷukya	10th C.A.D.
13.	Eastern Câḷukya/ Râja Râja/Transitional	11th C.A.D.
14.	Kâkatîya	12th C.A.D.
15.	Kâkatîya/Prôlayavêma	13th C.A.D.
16.	Anavêmâreḍḍi	14th C.A.D.
17.	Pedakômaṭi/panṭa mailâra/Vijayanagara	15th C.A.D.
8.	Râyala	16th C.A.D.

EVOLUTION OF THE TELUGU SCRIPT (CONSONANTS-1)

Serial No.	Name of the script variety	Period
1.	Bhaṭṭiprōlu	3rd C.B.C.
2.	Sātavāhana	1st C.A.D.
3.	Sātavāhana	2nd C.A.D.
4.	Ikshvāku	3rd C.A.D.
5.	Śālankāyana	4th C.A.D.
6.	Śālankāyana/Vēngī	5th C.A.D.
7.	Vākāṭaka	5th/6th C.A.D.
8.	Vishṇukuṇḍina/Vēngī	6th C.A.D.
9.	Eastern Vēngī Cāḷukya or Telugu-Kannaḍa	7th C.A.D.
10.	Gāmga	8th C.A.D.
11.	Gāmga	9th C.A.D.
12.	Eastern/Vēngī Cāḷukya	10th C.A.D.
13.	Eastern Cāḷukya/ Rāja Rāja/Transitional	11th C.A.D.
14.	Kākatīya	12th C.A.D.
15.	Kākatīya/Prōlayavēma	13th C.A.D.
16.	Anavēmāreḍḍi	14th C.A.D.
17.	Pedakōmaṭi/panṭa mailāra/Vijayanagara	15th C.A.D.
18.	Rāyala	16th C.A.D.

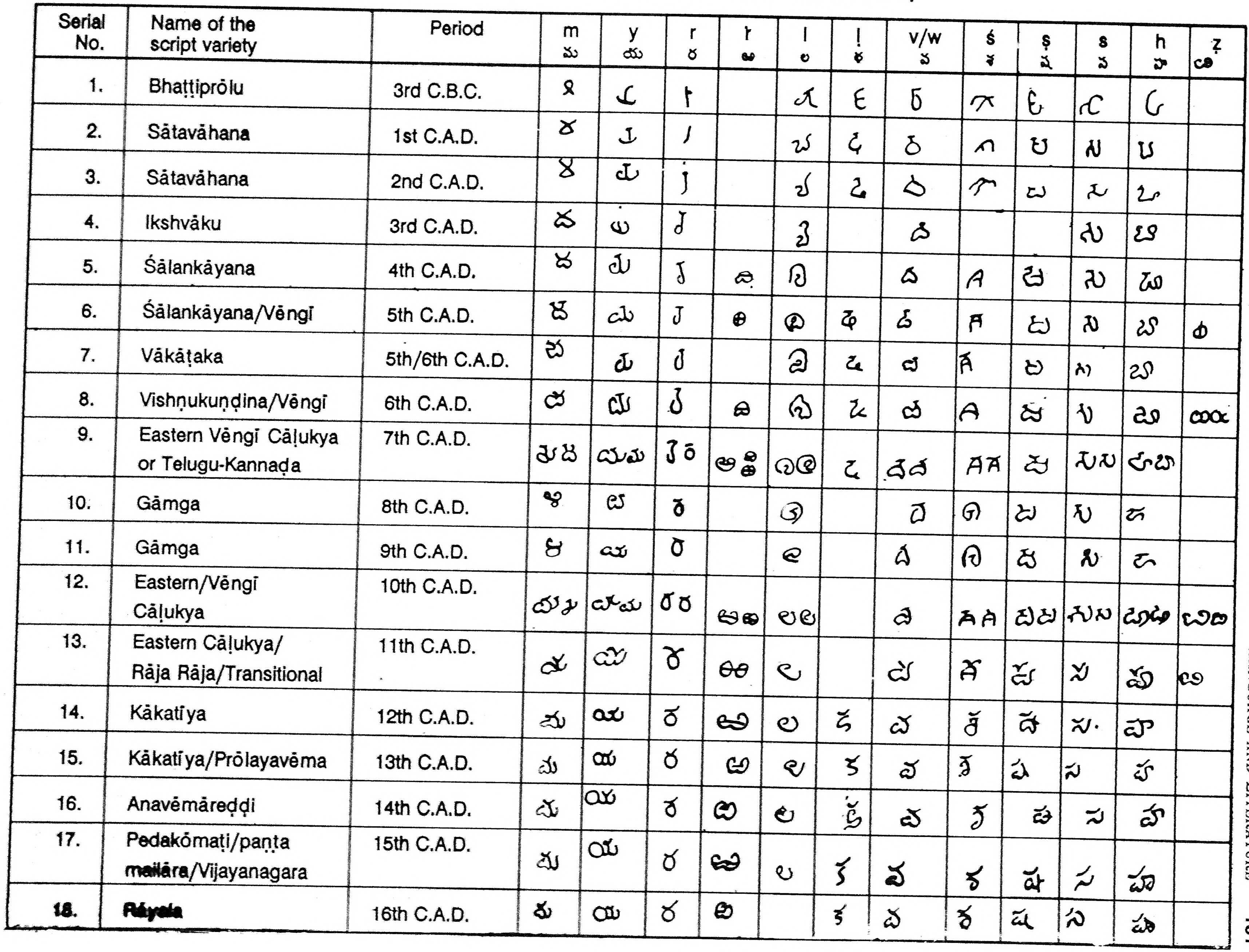

k క
kh ఖ
g గ
gh ఘ
ṅ ఙ
c చ
ch ఛ
j జ
jh ఝ
ñ ఞ
ṭ ట
ṭh ఠ

EVOLUTION OF THE TELUGU SCRIPT (CONSONANTS-2)


ḍ డ
ḍh ఢ
ṇ ణ
t త
th థ
d ద
dh ధ
n న
p ప
ph ఫ
b బ
bh భ

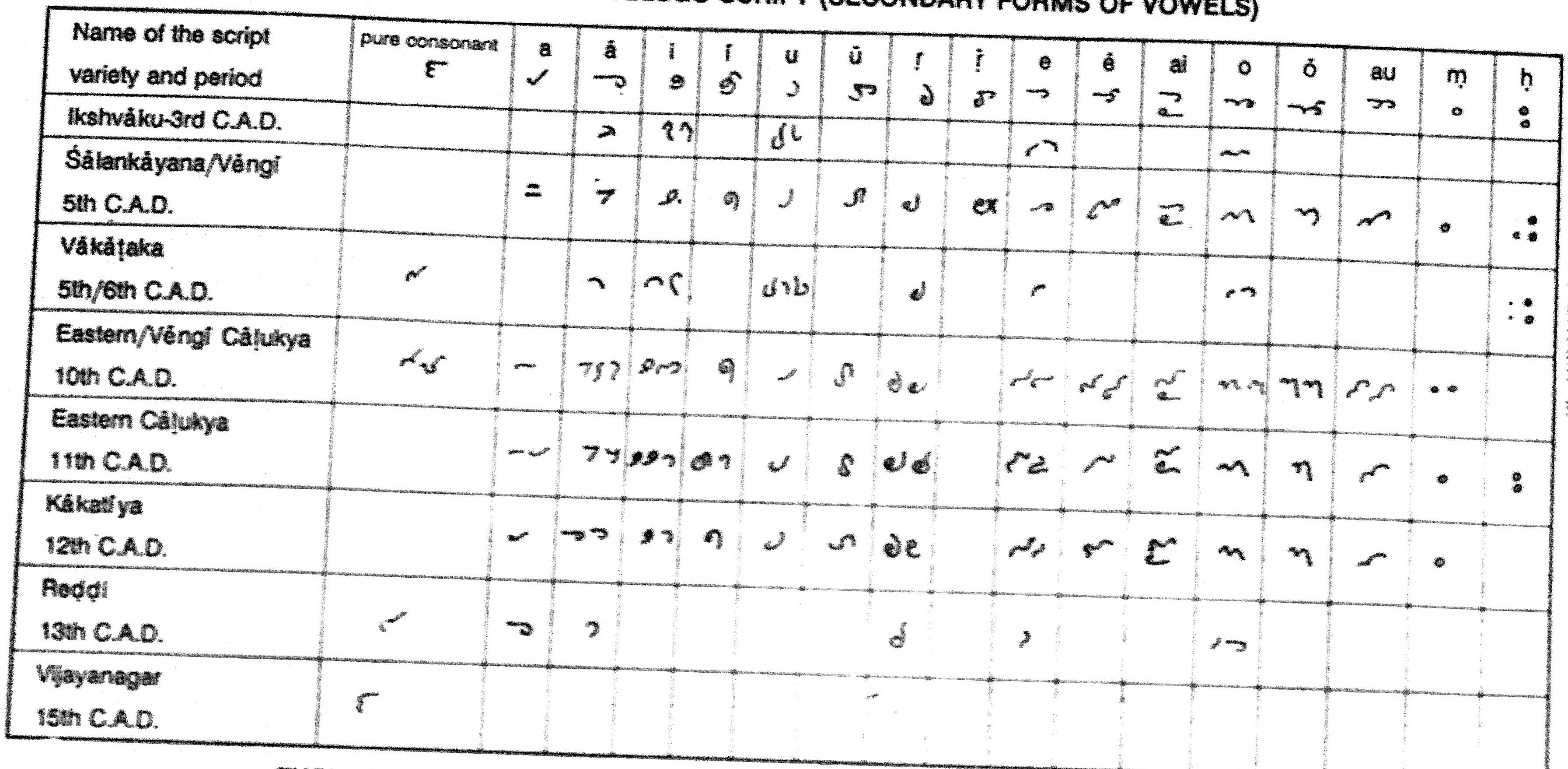
Serial No.	Name of the script variety	Period
1.	Bhaṭṭiprōlu	3rd C.B.C.
2.	Sātavāhana	1st C.A.D.
3.	Sātavāhana	2nd C.A.D.
4.	Ikshvāku	3rd C.A.D.
5.	Śālankāyana	4th C.A.D.
6.	Śālankāyana/Vēngī	5th C.A.D.
7.	Vākāṭaka	5th/6th C.A.D.
8.	Vishṇukuṇḍina/Vēngī	6th C.A.D.
9.	Eastern Vēngī Cāḷukya or Telugu-Kannaḍa	7th C.A.D.
10.	Gāmga	8th C.A.D.
11.	Gāmga	9th C.A.D.
12.	Eastern/Vēngī Cāḷukya	10th C.A.D.
13.	Eastern Cāḷukya/ Rāja Rāja/Transitional	11th C.A.D.
14.	Kākatīya	12th C.A.D.
15.	Kākatīya/Prōlayavēma	13th C.A.D.
16.	Anavēmāreḍḍi	14th C.A.D.
17.	Pedakōmaṭi/panṭa [illegible]ra/Vijayanagara	15th C.A.D.
[illegible]	[illegible]	16th C.A.D.

EVOLUTION OF THE TELUGU SCRIPT (CONSONANTS-3)

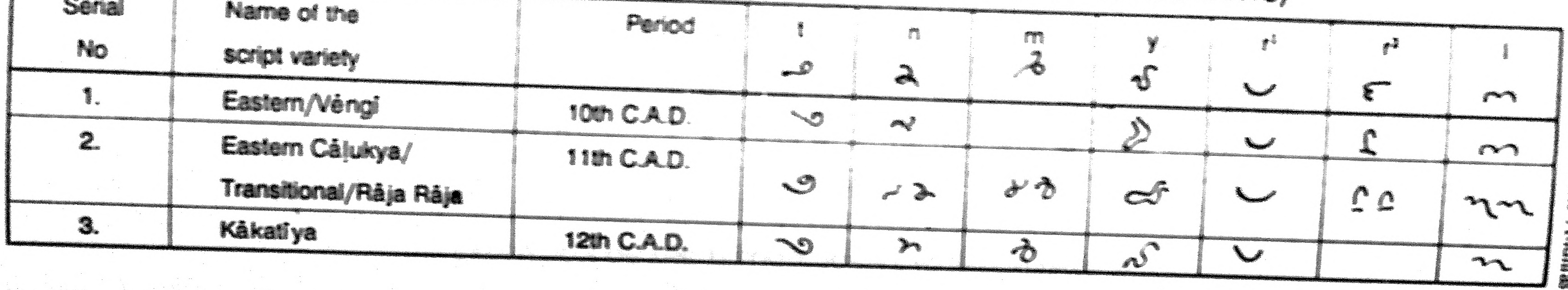

m
y
r
ṟ
l
ḷ
v/w
ś
ṣ
s
h
ḻ

Serial No.	Name of the script variety	Period
1.	Bhaṭṭiprōlu	3rd C.B.C.
2.	Sātavāhana	1st C.A.D.
3.	Sātavāhana	2nd C.A.D.
4.	Ikshvāku	3rd C.A.D.
5.	Śālankāyana	4th C.A.D.
6.	Śālankāyana/Vēngī	5th C.A.D.
7.	Vākāṭaka	5th/6th C.A.D.
8.	Vishṇukuṇḍina/Vēngī	6th C.A.D.
9.	Eastern Vēngī Cāḷukya or Telugu-Kannaḍa	7th C.A.D.
10.	Gāmga	8th C.A.D.
11.	Gāmga	9th C.A.D.
12.	Eastern/Vēngī Cāḷukya	10th C.A.D.
13.	Eastern Cāḷukya/ Rāja Rāja/Transitional	11th C.A.D.
14.	Kākatīya	12th C.A.D.
15.	Kākatīya/Prōlayavēma	13th C.A.D.
16.	Anavēmāreḍḍi	14th C.A.D.
17.	Pedakōmaṭi/panṭa mailāra/Vijayanagara	15th C.A.D.
18.	Rāyala	16th C.A.D.

EVOLUTION OF THE TELUGU SCRIPT (SECONDARY FORMS OF VOWELS)


Name of the script variety and period
pure consonant
a
ā
i
ī
u
ū
ṛ
ṝ
e
ē
ai
o
ō
au
ṃ
ḥ
Ikshvāku-3rd C.A.D.
Śālankāyana/Vēngī 5th C.A.D.
Vākāṭaka 5th/6th C.A.D.
Eastern/Vēngī Cāḷukya 10th C.A.D.
Eastern Cāḷukya 11th C.A.D.
Kākatīya 12th C.A.D.
Reḍḍi 13th C.A.D.
Vijayanagar 15th C.A.D.

EVOLUTION OF THE TELUGU SCRIPT (SECONDARY FORMS OF CONSONANTS)


Serial No
Name of the script variety
Period
t
n
m
y
r¹
r²
l
1.
Eastern/Vēngī
10th C.A.D.
2.
Eastern Cāḷukya/ Transitional/Rāja Rāja
11th C.A.D.
3.
Kākatīya
12th C.A.D.

LITERATURE

EARLY LITERATURE

Origin of rivers, of gods and of valiant heroes is not easy to trace, says the *Mahābhārata*. Origin of literature in a language is in no way different from it and, like that of a river, would have been contained in an imperceptible and humble source at some obscure point. It is not until much later in its course that a river or a literature draws attention.

It is customary to associate the dawn of literature in Telugu with the rendering of the great epic, the *Mahābhārata* of Vyasa, into Telugu in the middle of the 11th century. At the request of his patron king, Rajaraja, Nannaya Bhattu set out to transcreate the epic. He could only complete the first two *parvas*, *Ādi and Sabhā* and a part of the third, *Āraṇya*.

Nannaya's work is an exquisite piece of poetic excellence. It had set a model for successive generations of Telugu poets. He was cherished as the *ādi kavi* - the first poet, and his work as *ādi kāvya* - the first poetic work. Nannaya's *Mahābhāratamu* was highly regarded not only for its poetic excellence but also for the norms and traditions it laid down in matters of diction, grammar, prosody and the general refinement of the language. In his admiration for Nannaya, Kavi Rakshasa, a later poet, went to the extent of decreeing that no poet should go beyond what the former had laid down in his *Mahābhāratamu*.

However, could such a chiselled piece of literary work appear abruptly without the backing of a sufficiently long record of trials and travails? This question puzzled the modern researcher.

Prakrit had been the official language in the region ever since the pre-Christian era. Although the inscriptions of the early centuries contained some Telugu words, it was only from about the last quarter of the 6th century that complete inscriptions in the language of the land began appearing. Since the Chalukya kings took over in 851, Telugu verses in native metres began appearing in inscriptions. This, surely, is a reflection of the literary activity of the times.

Along with the Brahmanical faith, Jainism and Buddhism received a wide approval and admiration in the region in the early centuries. Both Jainism and Buddhism had adopted the local languages for spreading their tenets and for proselytization. It is recorded that the *Tripīṭakas* of the Buddhist lore had been translated into 'Damila' and 'Andhaka' by the 4th century. 'Andhaka' was interpreted as the language of the Andhapatha or the Andhra region. There could have been many more similar attempts. Unfortunately, no such Buddhist or Jain work had survived.

If no literary work earlier to Nannaya's *Mahābhāratamu* had survived, it could be due to any one or a combination of the following reasons. Firstly, it could be because the courses of individual faiths in the region, such as Jainism, Buddhism and Saivism, had not had a smooth run. There were contentions and fights among these for supremacy or royal patronage, causing fluctuations in their fortunes. Consequently, periods of neglect might have caused loss of literature attatched to a faith. Secondly, the rivalries between faiths and followers might have also resulted in wanton destruction. Finally, the brilliance of Nannaya's work may have pushed any surviving work into oblivion.

Even so, surmises have been made by researchers and writers of the history of Telugu literature regarding some poets that might have preceded Nannaya. Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi came across Nannichoda, a royal poet, author of an eminent poem in twelve cantos, *Kumāra Sambhavamu*, in the early part of this century. Ramakrishna Kavi, while publishing the book in 1910, claimed that the author lived about a hundred years earlier to Nannaya. However, after long and sharp debates, a consensus emerged and Nannichoda was placed in the early part of the 12th century, some five or six decades later to Nannaya. It is really surprising that such a work of intrinsic worth had been ostracized for many centuries.

Marga and Desi

In the *avatārika* (introductory section) of his book, Nannichoda made a statement about the beginning of poetry in Telugu. His statement assumes significance on account of his proximity to the event he recorded. He said:

> While, earlier, *mārga kavita* prevailed all over (*lōkambuna*), the Chalukya king and others caused *dēśi kavita* in Tenugu (an alternate form for 'Telugu') in the Andhra region

From the facts that are known to us, the statement apparently should refer to Rajaraja, the Chalukya king, who urged Nannaya to 'transcreate' the *Mahābhārata*. The question remains why Nannichoda made no mention of the poet who actually produced the *dēśi* poetry. In his *avatārika*, Nannichoda offered his prayers to several deities and his guru and then proceeded to pay tributes to the great Sanskrit poets like Valmiki, Vyasa and Kalidasa. He expressed his appreciation for the Chalukya king and the 'others' who caused *dēśi* poetry in Telugu in one of the stanzas in the *avatārika*. In the following stanza of the available text, he says that he had worshipped gods and his guru, and praised the ancient poets (like Valmiki and Vyasa) and the eminent *mārga* poets (like Kalidasa, Bharavi, Udbhata and Bana) and also the great *dēśi* poets. It may be assumed that the stanza or stanzas in which he paid tributes to *dēśi* poets may have been lost. If that should be true, we are deprived of very significant and vital information. Along with the name of Nannaya, names of some more poets of that time would have come down to us.

Nevertheless, we have one other name for consideration in this context, that of Bhima Kavi, who is credited with, among other works, *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyamu*, a *dwyarthi kāvya* (a poem simultaneously yielding two different interpretations - here the story of Rama and his brothers and also the story of Dharmaraja and his brothers). None of his works is available except some occasional stanzas linked with some alleged exploits in his life. It is not easy to fix his date with unquestionable accuracy. However, Srinatha, who dominated the literary scene in the 15th century, lists four earlier poets presumably in a chronological order, Bhimakavi's name preceding all others including that of Nannaya. Kasturi Ranga Kavi, author of a book on prosody, referred to Bhima Kavi as *ādima sukavi* (also meaning the first poet) whenever an occasion arose. It is thus probable that a veiw to consider Bhimakavi as the first poet in Telugu was once held. The general feeling, however, is that Bhimakavi could have been a younger contemporary of Nannaya. Even if Bhimakavi wrote earlier, since no work of his lasted, the present position of Nannaya stands unassailed.

Recent investigations revealed the association of a work on prosody, *Kavijanāśrayamu*, with the times of Pampa (around 940), one of the great poets of Kannada, and his brother. The work was greatly mutilated with many interpolations. It was ascribed to Bhima Kavi by some later writers incorrectly. Rechana was its author. It certainly preceded Nannaya's *Bhāratamu* by nearly eight or nine decades. This work on prosody again is an indication of literary activity before and around that time.

Nannaya, the Adi Kavi

Nannaya, as the first known poet, is venerated for his multi-faceted contribution to the Telugu language and literature. He was a *kula-brāhmaṇa* to the Chalukya king, Rajaraja. Such a position may have meant that he was a sort of a minister and counsellor in charge of the religious functions of the king. Nannaya was a pious, upright and virtuous man with erudition. He was a grammarian of note and had to his credit poetic works both in Sanskrit and Telugu.

His patron king Rajaraja was fond of the *Mahābhārata*. One of the reasons for his interest in the epic was that it was the story of the Pandavas of the lunar descent, also claimed by him. Rajaraja was acquainted with the epic 'in many languages and many forms'. He requested Nannaya to transcreate the epic in Telugu 'using his power of intellect in a way to convey the real purport of the epic as Sage Krishna Dwaipayana envisaged it'. This, in all probability, indicates Rajaraja's reaction to the liberties taken with the epic while bringing it out earlier in Kannada and Tamil.

Nannaya hesitated to accept the onerous responsibility. In his view, the *Mahābhārata* was a universal work and Vyasa was 'another Vishnu': he wrote it in such a way that it stood as the final word in several aspects - as a poem, as a code of ethics, as a treatise on meta-physics, as a compendium of epics and so on, interpreted according to the light of the reader who approached it. It was like an ocean with unfathomable depths. No one could venture to cross it, even the Lord of Knowledge.

Yet, it was the king's request. Moreover, he was such a noble king of unparallelled virtue; especially, one who was dispersing the 'mist of evils of the *Kali* Age'. Nannaya accepted the challenge in all humility, drawing inspiration from the royal command and the benign co-operation of the assembly of scholars. Narayana Bhattu, a classmate of his in younger days, was by then a renowned scholar and poet in eight languages. He stood by Nannaya in this lofty task like 'Lord Krishna who did so by Arjuna in the terrifying war of Mahabharata'.

This is the information provided by the *avatārika* of Nannaya's *Bhāratamu*. Nannaya did not discuss how poetry in general should be as many later poets did. He described himself in third person and in it he implied the norms he valued most.

> Nannaya Bhattu, a treasure house of various good sayings resplendent with brilliant and tasteful meaning (*nānāru-cirārtha sūkti nidhi*), set out to produce the *Mahābhārata Samhita* in Tenugu for the general well-being of the world, in such a way that discerning poets with insight appreciate the meaning or purport diligently and gracefully unfurled by the narration of episodes (*prasanna kathākalitārtha yukti*), while others admire the undying beauty of the (sound of) letters (*akṣara ramyata*).

These three aspects of his poetry have been studied by scholars in detail. The expressions Nannaya used yield more than one interpretation; still, it can be broadly taken that Nannaya had referred to the two basic ingredients of a poem - meaning and sound - between which he apparently attached greater significance to meaning.

Nannaya is greatly admired for the smooth flow of his stanzas and sonority of his diction. Alliteration, usage of long vowels, sibilants and nasals and preference to gemination in clusters of consonants are some of the devices through which he achieved sonority. The following stanza in which Udanka adores and entreats *Ȧdi Śesha*, bears proof of this.

Bahu vana pādapābdhi kula parvata pūrṇa saras sarasvatī
sahita mahā mahī bhara majasra sahasra phaṇāḷi dālci dus-
saha tara mūrtikin jaladhi śāyiki bāyaka śayya yaina vay-
yahipati dushkṛtantaku ḍanantuḍu māku brasannu ḍayyeḍin.

Nannaya had blended the Sanskrit and the Telugu words harmoniously to enrich the resonant quality of his poem.

The part which Nannaya dealt with contained a number of anecdotes not directly connected with the central action of the *Mahābhārata* story. Some of them are related to the forefathers of the Pandavas and other casual characters, while some others illustrate a principle or a norm or provide a contextual backdrop. Nannaya adopted several techniques to narrate them. The narration is always smooth and crisp. The anecdotes are treated with an uncommon brevity. Yet, nowhere did he sacrifice the significance of the anecdotes. He was very selective in his choice of words and expressions which he impregnated with hidden depths of meaning. It was left to the 'discerning poets' of eminence, as he himself had envisaged in the *avatārika*, to appreciate the graceful manifestation of those episodes.

The episode of Sisupala is one of the finest examples of Nannaya's consummate artistry. The Sanskrit epic narrates the event as a chronicle does. It does not attempt to exploit the theme to bestow an aesthetic experience on its readers. Nannaya's intent was to make a *kāvya* out of an *itihāsa*. He was out to highlight the human drama and convey Sage Vyasa's purport more effectively.

Sisupala's rivalry was with Krishna. But, he rose against the Pandavas since they chose to offer the highest honour to Krishna at the *Rājasūya* sacrifice. It was Bhishma who suggested the name of Krishna for worship. So, he was sour with Bhishma. Sisupala voiced his protest - not when Krishna's name was proposed but only after he was worshipped. His intention was to disgrace Krishna. Sisupala pointed out the more deserving people, according to him, present there and expressed his disapproval to the selection of Krishna for the honour. Sisupala's list in the original is very elaborate. Nannaya cut it down. Sisupala in the Telugu version says to Bhishma : "If you cannot help eulogizing some one or the other, why not praise Karna, (and) Salya?" 'Karna Salya' implies 'what pricks the ear like a pike' and so unwelcome.

Sisupala's rudeness was unbearable and Bhima rose up to deal with him. Bhishma pacified him and told him how Sisupala's death was to be only in the hands of Krishna. Krishna, then, related that he had given his word to Sisupala's mother and that he would ignore a hundred offences of Sisupala. He proceeded to list out the major offences, keeping to the end the fact that Sisupala stole the wife of Babhru and made her his own wife.

As Krishna anticipated, Sisupala reacted to it and in a querulous tone asked him: "Are you not ashamed to say that, while you have yourself abducted the girl promised to me?"

The key point on which Sisupala developed hostility towards Krishna had come out. Krishna did not speak any further. Nannaya concludes the episode saying that the disc of Krishna appeared and cut off Sisupala's head as the assembly of kings looked on bewildered. By omitting unnecessary details and ordering the essentials to logically heighten the impact, Nannaya turned out an impressive story from the material the original gave him.

There are also occasions when he added new significance and depth to the original narration. A fine example of this is also available in the same episode.

Sisupala's protest and others' resentment generated heat in the assembly gathered at the sacrifice. Armies belonging to both sides were alerted and it appeared that the situation might go out of hand any moment. Naturally, Dharmaraja was perturbed; he rushed to Bhishma and asked him to somehow pacify the belligerent parties. The Telugu *Mahābhāratamu* put into Dharmaraja's words a simile not found in the original. The armies, as described by him, were like oceans at the time of the annhilation of the universe (*dāruṇa kṣaya kāla sāgaramu laṭlu*).

Bhishma assured him that nothing would or could go wrong. "Who can cause any interruption to your sacrifice while the lord of sacrifice, the performer and one who receives and bestows the good result of the sacrifice, one of unassailable valour, one who has vanquished *daityas*, Narayana, is protecting it?"

Krishna's concern for the sacrifice and the fact that he vanquished even *daityas* should generally be enough to assure Dharmaja. But, in estimating the seriousness of the situation, Dharmaja compared the belligerent armies to the surging oceans during *kṣaya kāla*. And Nannaya made Bhishma meet that point too in referring to Krishna as Narayana. Lord Vishnu lies on water (*nāram*) and so is known as Narayana. When the entire creation is wiped off at the *kṣaya kāla*, He floats on the deluge on a banyan leaf assuming the form of a baby. Bhishma, thus implied, that the situation, which was disturbing Dharmaja, was in fact favourable to Krishna. Such is Nannaya's diction, chosen carefully to suggest the depth of the meaning.

Nannaya laid down norms for absorbing Sanskritic elements in lexical items, compound formation, prosody and poetics. He also refined the native element. In short, he laid strong foundations for poetry in Telugu. The word he used in describing his narrative technique, *prasanna*, is significant. This word has a religious connotation and implies the grace of the god bestowed upon a devotee according to the extent of his sincere devotion. Thus the devotee's realisation of the divine grace is in proportion to the extent of his devotion. Nannaya seems to have extended the same analogy to the proper appreciation of his poem. Thus, it is for the reader to realize and to reach the extent of *prasannata*. Nannaya's poetry can be realised only when a reader approaches it with necessry devotion. No surprise, therefore, if his so exquiste a work had pushed earlier or contemporary poetry into insignificance.

A few more works are ascribed .o Nannaya but they cannot be accepted as his. Similarly there are popular stories linking him as a contemporary of poets like Adharvana. They too lack credibility. Disputes apart, Pavuluri Mallana is the next known author. Mallana lived in the early part of the 12th century. His *Sâra Samgraha Gaṇitamu*, a work on mathematics in verse, is based on the *Gaṇita sâra samgraham* of Mahaviracharya, a Jain scholar of the 9th century. It is noteworthy that along with literature of high order, scientific literature also had drawn the attention of writers at such an early stage.

Nannichoda and the Desi Concept

In literature, the next important figure was the royal poet, Nannichoda. As already said, no one mentioned him or his work until his poem *Kumâra Sambhavamu* was published in 1910. Heated debates emerged to unravel the mystery surrounding him. Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi claimed that his date was around 940, while others pushed him into the 13th century. Recently, it was even claimed that no such poet ever existed, and that the poet and his poem were Manavalli's own creation.

However, he will be considered here as a poet of the mid 12th century, as is generally accepted. Nannichoda's *Kumâra Sambhavamu* is an interesting work from several aspects. Nannichoda recorded his thoughts on and concepts of poetry and its qualities in the *avatârika* of his work. The words he used in the context, like *mârga, dêśi, vastu kavita, jânu tenugu, gūḍha vastu maya kâvyamu* had generated debates about their purport, but still remain open for further deliberation.

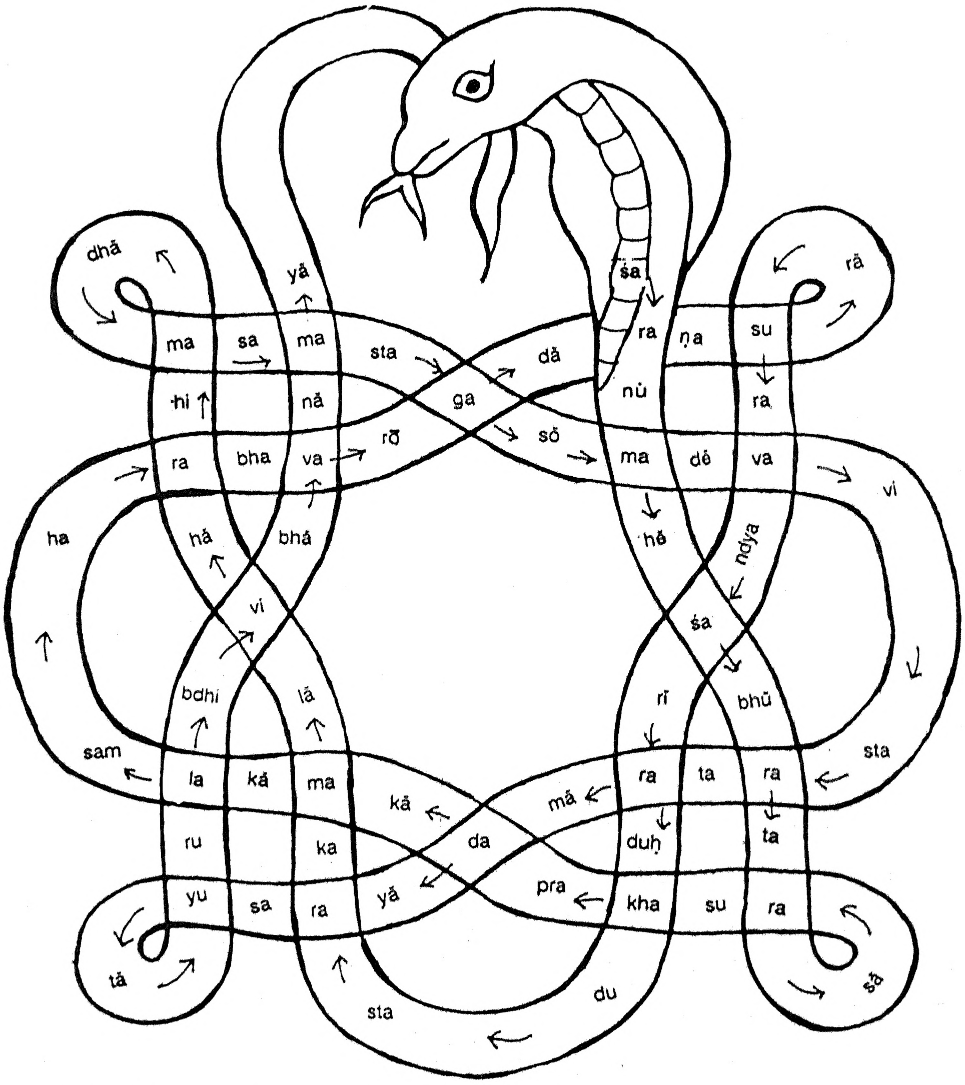
From the context in which he first employed the words *mârga* and *dêśi* (quoted earlier) *dĕśi* stands for poetry in the regional languages as opposed to *mârga*, poetry in the 'universal' (or extra-regional) language, Sanskrit. But, later on, Nannichoda suggested that both *dêśi* and *mãrga* should be *dêśi*-ised (*dêśi mârgambulu deśīyamuluga*). This perhaps led to the separation of a class of writers within the *dêśi* (Telugu) poetry; those who were nearer to the Sanskritic tradition also came to be regarded as *mârga* poets later. It may be posited that Nannichoda was happy that *dêśi* poetry was launched by Rajaraja and Nannaya but still held that the latter had not *dêśi*-ised the Sanskritic element to satisfaction. And so, he set out to achieve it.

Nannichoda's dictum thus led the later poets (who came to be identified as Saiva poets) to declare that they preferred *jânu tenugu*, as Sanskrit was not within the reach of the common people. Though a clear interpretation of *jânu tenugu* is still elusive, it may be taken as to mean a clearly comprehensible form of the language understood by people at large. This expression seems to have prompted a further idea, at a much later stage, of 'purity' of language resulting in *acca Tenugu* poetry, an experiment not well received.

Nannichoda's *vastu kavita* and *gūḍha vastu kavita* are much more confusing. He compared a good poem with a painting, a diamond, an elephant and the arrow of a marksman. He elaborately dealt with several structural elements that constitute a poem such as description of eighteen *(aṣṭâdaśa)* items (a grove of trees, sport in water, rise of the Sun and the Moon, city, seasons, etc). He also said that a poem should be perfect in all the ten *prâṇas*, nine *rasas*, and thirty six *alan- kâras*.

Nannichoda not only embellished his narrative with apt use of several figures of speech related both to the meaning and sound but also introduced some samples of *garbha kavita* and *citra kavita*. In *garbha kavita*, a metrical stanza is composed so as to contain in itself one or more other stanzas either in the same metre or another. *Citra Kavita* comprises a variety of feats. One such feat that Nannichoda performed was repeating the first two lines, of a stanza as the next two lines also of a four-line stanza, with altogether a different purport achieved through *ślēṣa* (pun). He also made use of *bandha kavita*, which consists of repeating certain syllables in fixed positions so as to fit in a pictorial representation such as a serpent, wheel, etc.

NĀGABANDHAM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śaraṇu! mahēśa! bhūritarasāra! sukhaprada! kāmakālasam
hara! bhavarōgadāraṇa! surāsuravandya śarīraduḥkhadu
starakamalāvihāra! himadhāmasamastaga! sōmadēva! vi
staritaramādayārasayutā! yurulabdhi vibhāvanāmayā . (C-10. Poem-84)

Even in such gimmicks, Nannichoda displayed an amazing poetic skill and as such, they do not mar the readers' enjoyment of the poem.

Nannichoda's approach to the writing of poetry was a departure from that of Nannaya. *Bhāratamu* was an epic running into eighteen books - a very long poem. Nannichoda preferred to take up a well-knit story with many episodes but closely related. Nannaya enriched the epic with his innate gift of poetic vision. On the other hand, Nannichoda was attempting to embellish his subject with all the prescribed features of poesy. *Vastu kavita* may be viewed in the light of the difference in their approaches.

Nannichoda initiated several traditions which stayed in fashion during the centuries that followed until the modern times. His style of treating a subject came to be known in later centuries as *prabandha* style. As Nannichoda and his poem were shrouded in obscurity, Errana (14th century) was accredited as the originator of the prabandha style and so, was called *Prabandha Paramēśwara*.

Nannichoda shows a great ability and skill in presenting an incident or a character. Manmatha was commissioned to draw Siva out of his penance and make him take notice of Parvati. Rati tries to dissuade her husband from his adventurism. While arguing she says: 'Even as I, a weak woman, lift up my eyes in discord, you tremble; then how do you propose to face the fire of the fierce eye of Ugra (the ferocious - Siva)?' She tries to convince him with her own feminine assessment: 'As all the ladies of the heaven have taken a fancy for you, the jealous Indra came out with this design to eliminate you, for which you easily fell'. In reply Manmatha tells her: 'Despite any number of great powers and virtues a living being softens under the power of sex, like a moon-stone melting at the touch of a moon-beam. When even strong men who can crush an elephant with the pressure of their embrace, hold women in a tight fold, you have seen how the delicate beings plead for tighter clasp. Can't you still realise the enormous effect of sex?'

Before attacking Siva, Manmatha asked his friend Vasanta (spring) to cover the forest where Siva sat in penance. Under the influence of the spring, the flowering plants and trees bloomed. Nannichoda describes: 'The *Ponna* trees bloomed; even before the *Ponnas* bloomed, bloomed the *Koṇḍa gōgus*; before those *Ponnas* and *Gōgus* flowered, flowered the *Būruvus*; earlier to the blossoming of the *Ponnas, Gōgus* and the *Būruvus*, came to full blossom the *Mōdugus* all over the area'.

Though Nannichoda produced a rich fare, he could not achieve a balanced, over-all symmetry, a short-coming he shared with another royal poet, Krishnadeva Raya, of the 16th century. The tranquility that marks the work of his predecessor, Nannaya, is not found in Nannichoda's work. This is partly because of the poet's own emotional concern for the sentiment of bhakti towards Siva.

Kumāra Sambhavamu reveals the author's acquaintance with both Kannada and Tamil literary and social traditions. Nannaya wrote from Vengi *nāḍu*, the area around the river Godavari and Nannichoda from Paka *nāḍu* around the river Penna. This explains Nannichoda's diction which included Tamil and Kannada words and expressions. He also followed the Tamil tradition in writing about the birth of Lord Ganesa When Sati, consort of Siva, was fascinated by the erotic play of elephants, both Siva and Sati took the form of elephants. Elephant-faced Ganesa was born to them.

Nannichoda was an ardent devotee of Siva. He followed the tradition of seeking the god in his guru. Jangama Mallikarjuna, his guru, was described by him as a scholar and sage; nay, very Siva himself. Nannichoda dedicated his work to him. Yet, he cannot be classified as a Vira Saiva. The Saivaite movement was yet to intensify into Vira Saivism.

Saiva Poets : the Desi Movement

Between 1050 and 1180, three great Saiva devotee-scholars - Sripati (c.1060-1135), Manchena (c.1100-1180) and Mallikarjuna (c.1100-1180) - flourished and created a firm base for Saivism in the Andhra region. A number of anecdotes regarding the miracles they were said to have performed are recorded in the Saivaite literature. Nannichoda was a contemporary of all these great preceptors.

Mallikarjuna Pandita, who was popular as Panditaradhya, was an author of repute in Sanskrit as well as Telugu. His *Śiva Tattva Sāramu* illustrates the tenets of Saivism, propounded with devotional emotion. The available text has nearly five hundred unitary stanzas in a native metre, *kandamu*. This marked the beginning of *Śataka* literature in Telugu, which gained immense popularity in course of time.

Mallikarjuna was a great scholar. In postulating the tenets of his coveted faith, he advanced strong and forceful arguments dismissing other faiths. This was an intellectual and scholastic feat. It is surprising as to how he had skillfully manipulated the native metre in bodily inserting long quotations from the Vedic lore.

Vasumati citramu jita cit-
ta sambhava 'na karmaṇā na tapasā na japair-
na samādhi bhir' avyaya nī
asadṛśa bhaktikini priyuḍa nagudu īśānā!

Panditaradhya in Andhra and Basaveswara in Karnataka were contemporaries. They led two schools of Saivism - *Ārādhya Śaivism* and *Vīra Śaivism* respectively. Both the schools preach ardent devotion to Siva as the supreme. A devotee shall, on initiation, wear the *linga* symbol guarding it, throughout, with his life. Siva is static and the devotee the walking *(cara)* Siva or *Jangama*. A devotee should not be questioned and whatever he does is right. Both the schools share many more tenets of code. However, the basic difference is that *Vīra Śaivism* did not accept the Vedic rites and the caste divisions in society, whereas *Ārādhya Śaivism* did not disregard the caste system or the Vedic rites. Panditaradhya had a great regard for Basaveswara but still, he expressed his differences with the latter: "I cannot dissociate with brahminhood, nor can I desist from my attachment with *bhakti*".

Somanatha

The biographies of both these great souls were written by Palkuriki Somanatha in native *dwipada* (couplet) metre. Somanatha's time had been a point of controversy. He was a phenomenon by himself. He was an ardent and zealous follower of Saivism, a devotee and a scholar. Poetic skills were innate to him. He dedicated all his capabilities to create a comprehensive literary base for his faith with a missionary zeal - producing such a variety of genres like *Purâṇam, Caritra, Bhâṣyam, Vêda sâram,* etc. Somanatha wrote in Telugu, Sanskrit and Kannada.

Somanatha, as a Telugu poet, is chiefly remembered for his *Basava Purâṇamu* (Life of Basaveswara) and *Paṇḍitârâdhya Caritramu* (Life of Mallikarjuna Pandita). His selection of subjects was in itself a departure from the on-going tradition of choosing a Sanskrit poem as the base. Whereas earlier poets had opted for a variety of metres (both Sanskritic and native) for narration, Somanatha decided on a single native metre, *dwipada*. He revolted against using Sanskrit diction and expressions on the plea that that language was not native and universally comprehensible. He preferred the use of intelligible Telugu, as his aim was to reach the masses. Like the Sanskrit *Râmâyaṇa*, he wanted his works to be sung. Justifying his use of *dwipada*, he cautioned his readers not to look down on his works as mere 'Telugu ones' but to regard them as on par with the Vedas.

Somanatha outlined his concept of a poem on the lines of Nannichoda adding more details. Nannichoda ruled that both *mârga* and *dêśi* had to be *dêśi*-ised. Somanatha furthered that attempt. Of all the virtues of a poem, he placed the highest value on brevity - *(alpâkṣaramulan analpârtha racana)*. Yet, he could not stand up to that ideal in his own works. It was because, in the first place, Somanatha was highly emotional by temperament and he was hoping to share it with his readers. Secondly, he had an uncanny eye for detail and a passion for dramatic presentation. Thirdly, as he was aiming to reach the people at large and not connoisseurs only, Somanatha adopted and blended into the texture of his poem some prominent elements of folklore of which repetition is one.

Somanatha also authored *Vṛṣâdhipa Śatakamu* in which the unitary stanzas end in the refrain: *basavă, basavă, basavă, vṛṣâdhipâ*. The triple repetition of Basava's name indicates the intensity of his emotion. In *Basava Purâṇamu*, Somanatha forgot himself whenever a reference to Basava cropped up and he became voluble.

> Is Basava a mere devotee?
> The very Lord appeared in the form
> As Basava took birth on the earth
> Can it be said he is a mortal?
> If Siva, there, is formless
> Basava, here, moves in a form.
> When Siva himself takes a form
> Basava becomes a *Śaraṇa*
> Indistinguishable from Him.

When Siva gets distinguished as a *Śaraṇa*
Basava serves him as a devotee.

If the Lord himself appears as a devotee
Basava becomes his servant.

Lord knows Basava and
Basava knows the Lord.

One may attain in succession
Sālokya, sāmīpya and *sārūpya*
And finally the *sāyujya* state;
But can he ever become Lord Basava?

In *Basava Purāṇamu*, Somanatha compiled anecdotes about numerous devotees of the by-gone age and also of Basaveswara's times. Each one was a type by himself or herself - men and women, young and old, learned and illiterate. Somanatha had brought out their divine love for Siva in all its subtlety. For example, there was Bezza Mahadevi, who felt sad that Siva had no mother and volunteered to take that place. Somanatha could not restrain himself from furnishing a detailed account of her anguish. She says to herself:

Strange that Siva had all but a mother!
Without a mother, how could he be born!
Alas! perhaps she was dead and gone.
Was I not put to a great distress
On account of the loss of my dear mother?
Would his mother, if alive,
Allow him to become an ascetic?
Would his mother, if alive
Allow him to drink poison?
Would his mother, if alive
Allow him to wear hides?
Would a mother ever permit him
To wear serpents as ornaments?
Would a mother ever permit him
To cover his body with ashes?
Would a mother let her son beg?
Would a mother let her son live in a grave-yard?
He came to all this because he was motherless.
A mother would have breast-fed and served
Milk and butter, watching his appetite.
When he grew so high without a mother
Would he not have grown greater
If he had his mother?
She would have cared for him
Through marriage, festival and festivities.
Though a male child, he still needs a mother.
Well, I shall be his mother and care for him.

Thus Somanatha attempted to elaborate the feelings of his characters in full and dramatise the episodes. Though he knew the virtue of suggestive style, he resorted to the explicative. In descriptions too, he followed a similar method. Describing a morning, he brought in the crowing of a cock. As he described :

> The early cock opened its eyes
> Stood up to full expanse,
> It fluttered its wings to the ground
> And stretched itself extending on legs,
> It stretched its neck and with its beak
> Adjusted the feathers on either side,
> Expanding its stomach and extending its neck
> It looked up to the skies and crowed *kokkoroko*

Longer folk narrative songs contain several devices such as repetition of a burden or of a refrain and repetition of syntactic patterns and snatches of lines. Meticulous details of ordinary life also assume importance in graphic picturisation. Certain times, an item is described in several different ways for reinforcement. Somanatha's works abound in such devices.

As already stated, Palkuriki Somanatha's time had not been conclusively determined so as to trace the literary trends of the period. One can find some common approaches between Somanatha and Tikkana (c.1210-80), the poet who resumed the unfinished project of Nannaya. Skill of dramatisation of incidents, use of current native diction, expressions and syntactic patterns and unveiling of human emotions in full are common to both of them. Conclusive evidence of the chronological sequence of these two poets will probably make one of them indebted to the other.

Tikkana : an Approach of Synthesis

Nannaya's project of rendering the *Mahâbhârata* into Telugu remained unfinished for nearly two centuries until Tikkana took it up. The task required erudition, poetic ability, knowledge of philosophical subjects, and above all, confidence. It was also delayed because the approach to literature had undergone a radical change in the intervening period. Tikkana undertook the work by his own volition.

Tikkana's was a unique personality, a rare combination of extraordinary abilities. Coming from an ancient family of renowned scholars, he inherited in full the learning and traditions of the past. His grandfather Mantri (minister) Bhaskara was an erudite scholar, poet and administrator. His father, Kommana, was a great scholar of Vedic lore *(Sânga vêdi)* and a commander of the armies too. Tikkana himself, as the minister of Manumasiddhi, a Choda king of the region around the present Nellore, had the opportunity of studying human nature in all its aspects and of putting his knowledge of statesmanship to practical use. When his king lost his kingdom in the battle field, Tikkana got him reinstated with the help of the Kakatiya emperor, Ganapatideva, whom he impressed with his scholarship.

It was Tikkana's ideal of service to the people that impelled him to take up the translation of the *Mahābhārata*. His aim was to spread the wisdom of the epic among the Telugus and thus make them joyous *(āndhrāvaḷi mōdamum boraya)*. Tikkana's *mōdam* is not much farther away from Nannaya's *jagaddhitam* (general well-being), the former being a derivative feature of the latter. In rendering the Sanskrit epic into Telugu, Tikkana followed Nannaya's formula of editing the original in order to make a *kāvya* out of an *itihāsa*.

Before taking up the *Mahābhāratamu*, Tikkana wrote *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇamu* in verse, avoiding prose altogether as against the *campū* style of using both verse and prose. Why he selected the *Uttara Rāmāyaṇam* story leaving the *Pūrva Rāmāyaṇam* is not clear. 'The story of Rama, a *dhīrōdātta nāyaka*, is interesting whichever part of it is chosen' was his statement. He made it a *kāvya-prabandha* in the foot-prints of great poets like Kalidasa. In it, he furnished his views on writing poetry.

Tikkana did not attempt to define a poem in technical words as Nannichoda did. He was more interested in the features of language and narration. He was particular about words being purposeful to carry the intended meaning as breeze carrying fragrance. The diction and expressions, even though borrowed from Sanskrit, should suit the genius of the native language. He cautioned that archaic words should not be used.

While composing *Uttara Rāmāyaṇamu*, he introduced himself as proficient in *śilpa* (technique) which involved a thorough understanding of the nuances in both Sanskrit and Telugu poetic works.

Tikkana rendered the *Mahābhārata* into Telugu in his later age. He had a very great regard for Vyasa and his work: Vyasa's poetic fervour merited praise from scholars. He was a sage respected by sages. He wrote the *Mahābhārata*, a Veda committed to transcription, to bring in *dharmādwaita sthiti* and with commitment to the general welfare of the world. His *Mahābhārata* is an authority that helps to settle contradictions when they arise among the Vedas, *Smṛtis* and numerous Puranas.

Lord Hariharanatha, to whom Tikkana dedicated his *Mahābhārata*, appeared to him in a dream and told him : '*Mahābhārata*, the fifth Veda composed by Vyasa, deserves the highest regard. Keeping in view its greatness, transcreate it in Telugu with wholesome devotion. The task is the ripened fruit of the tree of *puruṣārtha*'. Tikkana entreated the Lord to bestow on him freedom from the cycle of births and deaths. And the Lord told him: 'I give to you the light that will enable you to find the way of escaping from birth, death and other impurities.' This account found in his *avatārika* clearly shows Tikkana's regard for *Mahābhārata* and the spiritual mood in which he set out to transcreate it.

In taking up the *Mahābhārata*, Tikkana had in his mind the ideal of Vyasa, whom he enshrined as the ideal preceptor, educator and reformer. When he set about the task, social conditions also necessitated his effort. Vira Saivism, Vaishnavism and Dwaitism were creating confusion and disharmony among people. Sanity became the first casualty under over-jealous sectarianism and the society was being torn asunder in different directions.

The battle of Palnadu (c.1175) between brothers for the possession of a region, very much resembling the Bharata war, was in essence an outcome of the intolerance between the Saivaite and Vaishnavite factions. The battle left many sour wounds on the land and the people.

So Tikkana revived and rejuvenated the concept of Harihara, the oneness of Siva and Vishnu. It was an ancient concept but Tikkana gave it a new orientation of *abhinnata* (inseparability) and *sampūrṇata* (complementariness).

> *Kim asti mālā kimu kaustubham vā*
> *Pariṣkriyāyām bahu manyasē twam ?*
> *Kim kālakūṭaḥ kimu vā yaśōda stanyam*
> *Tava swādu vada prabhō mē.*
>
> 'Tell me O Lord, which is your preference,
> The garland of bones or *kaustubha*, the divine jewel?
> Which did you find more tasty,
> Hālāhala poison or the breast milk of Yasoda?'

Tikkana thus made Harihara the symbol of the *dharmādwaita sthiti* he visualised.

Tikkana promoted a similar unifying and balanced approach in his poetry also. He was recognised as *Ubhaya Kavi-mitra*, a friend of both Sanskrit and Telugu poets (or, *mārga* and *dēśi* poets). He demonstrated in his *Mahābhāratamu* how elements of both the languages could be blended to produce the best results. Tikkana also deserves the gratitude of the Telugu people for keeping alive the powerful diction, idiom and syntactic expression of the living language of the time incorporating them into his poetic work.

Though Nannaya's style was chiefly narrative, he also made use of descriptive and dramatic styles as occasion demanded. Tikkana perfected the dramatic style. This he did through infusing the utterances of his characters with deep emotional and near-to-life conversational tones. He also took care to paint the features and movements of his characters in action.

The service rendered by Tikkana to the language and the socio-cultural life of the Telugu land is of the greatest value. But for him, perhaps, the entire Telugu vocabulary, idiom and the characteristic syntax would have been lost. He succeeded in elevating the language as a medium for the profoundest poetical and philosophical thought.

Narratives : A New Tradition

The names and works of some other poets of the period have come down to us. Ketana adapted Dandi's prose work *Daśakumāra Caritram* as a *campū kāvya* in Telugu, for which he earned the title 'Abhinava Dandi'. This was the first attempt to render directly into Telugu any Sanskrit text. This he dedicated to Tikkana. Apart from closely following Tikkana in his poetic norms, he gave a detailed and glorious pen-picture of Tikkana in his dedicatory verses. Ketana's *Āndhra Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇamu* is the earliest grammar in Telugu, codified in 180 stanzas. He also produced the first *dharma śāstra* in Telugu, *Vigjnānēśwarīyamu*. It was a Telugu rendering of the commentary by Vigjnaneswara, *Mitākṣari*, on the *Yāgjnyavalkya Smṛti.*

Mārkanḍēya Purāṇamu was brought out into Telugu around 1320 by Marana, who appears to be a direct disciple of Tikkana. His work paved the way for a number of independent poetic works, later, with themes drawn from it. For example, Gaurana, Sankara Kavi and Vira Sarabha Kavi took up the story of Hariscandra from this Purana, while that of Kuvalayaswa was chosen by China Narayana Nayaka. The most popular of the Prabandhas, *Manu Caritramu* (short for *Swārōciṣa Manu Sambhavamu*) of Allasani Peddana also is based on an episode from this Purana. Marana dedicated his work to Gannaya, a military commander of the Kakatiya kings. Manchana composed a prabandha in four cantos entitled *Kēyūrabāhu Caritramu* and dedicated it to Nanduri Gundaya, a minister of a Velanati Choda king.

Thus, a tradition of writing narratives (with a central story drawn from a Purana) has come into vogue. Such narrative poems also incorporated several tales, short stories and fables casually connected with the main story. While *Daśakumāra Caritramu* contained tales of adventure, *Kēyūrabāhu Caritramu* abounded in moral stories.

Yathavakkula Annamayya was a devotee-poet who composed what he called a *stōtramu* (eulogy), popularly known as *Sarvēśwara Śatakamu* (1242). It extols the grace of Siva. A legend says that Annamayya sat near a stream and dropped each of the palm leaves on which he recorded a stanza into its course. He vowed that a leaf which ran against the current alone would be accepted by him as a part of the work. And if a leaf failed to do so, he would set out to behead himself. When a particular leaf failed to go up the stream he got ready to behead himself. A cowherd came running to him and offered a leaf that he found running up-stream. Annamayya found on it an alternate verse! However, the original verse which was also retained, contained a beautiful idea:

> Flowers on trees change into fruit of the respective types
> But O, Siva! when the same flowers are offered at your feet
> A surprise! they beget horses, precious stones and camphor
> And besides, jewelry and jewel - like damsels, my Lord!

Probably this poem was rejected as it smacked of mundane largess and the replacing verse corrected the tendency, just to say: 'One, who places a flower at your feet but once, would escape from the need to have a rebirth. Is it then surprising that one who worships you regularly would eventually merge with you?'

Early Ramayanas

Two versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* appeared around this period. Both of them were bogged down in controversy about their authorship. Gona Buddha Reddi (*Pūrva Rāmāyaṇamu*; latter half of the 13th c.) and his sons Kacha Bhupati and Vitthala Raju (*Uttara Rāmāyaṇamu*; late 13th c. or early 14th c.) composed the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *dwipada* metre. This *Rāmāyaṇa* is popularly referred to as *Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*. The authors might have been inspired by Palkuriki Somanatha, who had popularised the *dwipada* metre through his works and by the fact that the selection of the metre in turn popularised the stories of the Saiva devotees.

It is customary to refer to a particular *Rāmāyaṇa* version by the name of its author. How came that the name of a 'Ranganatha' was associated with this? Several later-day poets and scholars had cited one Ranganatha as the author of this work against the internal evidence in favour of Buddha Reddi and his sons. Usually, poets pay tributes to earlier poets in the *avatārikas* of their works. It is significant that Buddha Reddi and his sons were not mentioned by later poets, whereas Ranganatha's name figured in such references.

There was a Chakrapani Ranganatha around that time. He was a Vaishnavite and is believed to be a contemporary of Palkuriki Somanatha. He was later converted into Saivism. Another Ranganatha, probably a different one from Cakrapani Ranganatha, was mentioned by some poets belonging to the 14th century and later. Even the modern scholars are divided in their opinion as to who the real author of this version of *Rāmāyaṇa* was.

Whoever be the author, *Ranganātha Ramāyaṇamu* became very popular, specially in the Rayalaseema area. There is reason to believe that the stories of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were known widely even before they were treated by poets in the regional language. In the case of the *Mahābhārata*, Nannaya had used terms like 'Kavvadi' (for Arjuna) and 'Vadamudi' (for Bhima), which cannot be explained except that they were already in vogue, probably in the folk tradition. Similarly, *Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇamu* had recorded a few episodes not found in the original. For example, Manthara resorts to create obstacles to the crowning ceremony of Rama because 'Rama in his childhood injured her in the leg while practising archery'. Lakshmana was commissioned to give protection to Sita, when Rama had left after the golden deer. Believing that Rama was in trouble, Sita urged Lakshmana to find him out and help him. Lakshmana before he left, 'drew seven lines circumscribing the cottage and pronounced that the head of any one who ventured to cross them and tried to come in would break into pieces'. There are numerous items introduced in the *Yuddha Kāṇḍa* as well which are not to be found in the original. *Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇamu* depicted Rama as a godly person against Valmiki's depiction of him as an ideal man.

Another *Rāmāyaṇa* of the period (late 13th c.) was in *campū* style and was composed by several authors: Hulakki Bhaskara *(Āraṇya Kaṇḍa and Yuddha Kāṇḍa)*, his son, Mallikarjuna Bhattu (*Bāla, Kiṣkindhā* and *Sundara)* and Kumara Rudradeva *(Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍa)*. Bhaskara could not complete the *Yuddha Kāṇḍa* and so Ayyalarya completed it some four or five decades later. This total *campū* version came to be popularly called *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇamu* and is supposed to have derived its name from Hulakki Bhaskara, the seniormost of the authors. However, another view was advocated by some scholars that Bhaskara referred to here could have been Tikkana's grandfather, Mantri Bhaskara, whose poetic abilities were praised by his grandson. While some held the view that parts of Mantri Bhaskara's *Rāmāyaṇamu* were damaged and lost and hence Hulakki Bhaskara and others had to fill in the gaps, there were others who proposed that the original version was short and brief and that the later writers took it as the basis and expanded it.

Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇamu which has gained respectability as a well-done work, also contains some episodes not found in Valmiki's work just as *Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇamu* does, but is closer to the Sanskrit version than the other.

Completion of the Mahabharata Project

A poet of eminence who followed Tikkana was Errana also known as Erra Pregada (Pregada means a minister. A section of the Brahmins, who generally chose to enter public life as ministers and administrators and occasionally officers of army earned the epithets - *amātya, mantri, pregaḍa* etc., even though every one of them did not hold such posts). Errana was in the court of Prolaya Vemareddi, who ruled between 1324 and 1349.

In reviving the *Mahābhārata* project, Tikkana left out the remaining part of the *Āraṇya parva* that Nannaya himself did not complete. Why Tikkana did so remains a matter of conjecture. Errana completed the part but in the name of Nannaya. Although it formed only a small part of the *Mahābhāratamu* in its entirety, Errana is admired as the man who brought the project to its conclusion and is highly regarded as one of the trinity of poets *(kavi trayamu)*. The styles of Nannaya and Tikkana are remarkably individualistic. Errana, very diligently, bridged the two sections, displaying a fine transition from one style to the other. Besides, he adapted into Telugu the *Harivamśa*, which is considered an appendix to the *Mahābhārata* (a *khila purāṇa*) thus bringing the project to fruition. He also wrote *Nṛsimha Purāṇamu* and *Rāmāyaṇamu*. The latter work, however, was lost.

Errana's poetic style is descriptive and, on the whole, sober. As a devotee of Siva, he was known as 'Sambhudasa' and for his descriptive style he earned the title 'Prabandha Parameswara'. In *Harivamśamu*, Errana followed an established tradition of altering the original to one's own needs and tastes. He omitted the episodes of Hamsa and Dibhaka and of Prabhavati and Pradyumna. He also altered the order of narration of some other episodes. While he condensed some parts of the original, he added elaborate descriptions at some other places. Errana's *Nṛsimha Purāṇamu* is not in fact a purana. The name appears to have been favoured by others referring to it. Errana cited it as a 'Purana katha' entitled *Nṛsimhāvatāramu*. The sources for this work included 'such things as he heard from scholars' besides the story as contained in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇam*. There is a famous shrine of Nrisimha Swami at Ahobilam, the place where Lord Vishnu was supposed to have appeared in that incarnation. In his work, Errana treated the story of Prahlada and his unique devotion and at the end added an account of the significance of Ahobilam as a place of pilgrimage (a feature of a *sthala purāṇa*).

Nachana Somanatha was a younger contemporary of Errana and a poet of high order. His fame rests on a single work that had come down, *Uttara Harivamśamu*. There are reasons to doubt that he may have composed the former part of the *Harivamśamu* also.

Nachana Somanatha was a staunch admirer of Tikkana and was successful in capturing his style. Somanatha wanted the public to associate his work *Harivamśamu* as an appendix to the *Mahābhāratamu* of Tikkana. Somanatha described himself as *rasapôṣaṇa samvidhāna cakravarti* (an emperor in delineating the *rasa*) and *navîna guṇa sanâtha* (a master of novel features - of poesy).

Somanatha may have intended *samvidhâna* (arrangement and ordering) also as a distinct virtue. In the *Uttara Harivamśamu*, he narrated six select tales depicting Krishna's greatness and achievements such as his victory over and elimination of Narakasura, of Hamsa and Dibhaka and of Paundraka Vasudeva. Thus he set out a new course. Until then the practice was to adapt an original text from Sanskrit with suitable alterations. What Nachana Somanatha did was to select some episodes from the original source and to treat the particular episodes as units for adaptation. He may have used the word *samvidhâna* to signify this. This was a departure from the established practice. Later poets found this pattern useful. Srinatha, for example, composed his *Haravilâsamu* in this pattern. Many other poets later on picked up one or two episodes from the Sanskrit texts and made them into poetic works.

A Typical Work

Around the middle of the 14th century, there appeared a small but a typical work, *Sasyānandamu*, in 225 stanzas. It recorded information valuable for cultivators. It pointed out several tests to predict the rainfall, crop-yield etc., in the ensuing year. 'If astrologers like to know the probable rain-fall during the coming year,' a stanza says, 'let them, on the full moon day of the Pushya (lunar month), place a measure of cotton wool uncovered and exposed to the dew. If at the following dawn, the cotton wool (soaked in dew) yields on squeezing a thin stream, know that there would be no fear of drought during the rainy season. If it yields only a few drops, it will be a season with below-average rain. If the cotton wool is not properly soaked there would not be any rain'. (This was verified and found true.) This work is also interesting from the linguistic point of view. The author, Donayamatya, had also been credited with another work, *Sarvalōkâśrayamu*, now extinct.

Some other note-worthy poets of the period were: Madiki Singana, who authored *Padma Purāṇōttara Khaṇḍamu*, the tenth 'skandha' of the *Bhâgavatamu*, *Jnâna Vâsiṣṭa Râmâyaṇamu*, and *Sakala Nīti Sammatamu*, a compilation of poems from the works of several poets illustrating ethical norms and Vinnakota Peddana who produced *Kâvyâlankâra Cûḍâmaṇi*, a treatise in verse on aesthetics, grammar and prosody.

Srinatha, a Colossus

The 15th century saw the emergence of Srinatha, one of the greatest of the Telugu poets who was born towards the end of the preceding century. He was as erudite as Tikkana and created as much an impact on the society as Tikkana did in his times.

Speaking of Srinatha's profound scholarship, Duggana, a younger contemporary and a disciple, stated:

"Śrinatha wrote *Kāśī Khaṇḍamu, Naiṣdhamu*, etc., revealing his skill and knowledge of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Sauraseni and other languages, his thorough knowledge of the *Mahâbhâshya* of Patanjali, his deep scholarship of the Nyaya as dealt with by Akshapada, Kanada, Pakshila and others, his deep learning in the Srutis, Puranas, Agamas, Smritis and Samkhya and his delightful and continuous exposure to the vast literature of the earlier poets".

In addition, he was a 'born poet'. According to his own statement, Srinatha commenced writing at a tender age. However, *Maruttarāṭ Caritra* and *Śâlivâhana Saptaśati* which he composed as a teenager have not survived.

For over two decades Srinatha was in the court of Kondavidu as *Vidyâdhikâri* and was close to the ruler, Peda Komati Vema. In the prime of his youth, he translated Sri Harsha's *Naishadhīya Caritam* as *Śṛngāra Naiṣdhamu* into Telugu and dedicated it to Mamidi Singanamatya, minister in the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu. The Sanskrit original is one of the toughest works and poses problems in translation. Translation of a *Kâvya* is comparatively a more difficult job than translating or transcreating an *Itihâsa*. In the case of an *Itihâsa*, the original can be regarded as a source for material and thought, while in the case of a *Kâvya*, the aesthetic elegance and the poetic sensibilities of the original poet and his style also demand the attention of the translator. Thus, Srinatha set a new trend in poetic translation. Of course, he took some liberties to drop or set right the 'inappropriate' items and to improve upon, whereever possible. Srinatha stated his own ideal of a translation thus : it should be 'to the delight of the intellectuals, following the word, identifying the idea behind, keeping close to the objective, delineating the *rasa*, taking care of the *alankâra*, considering propriety, dropping the improprieties and in accordance with the original.' His pronouncement was accepted as a model by later poets.

Srinatha followed Nachana Somanatha in composing *Haravilâsamu* which contains five stories, all connected with Lord Siva. They are: the story of Siriyala, who offered the flesh of his only son in a feast to a Siva yogi (Siva in disguise); the episode of Gauri's marriage with the Lord, the episode of the Lord's spree in the Darukavana, the episode of Siva swallowing the 'halahala' poison and the story of 'Kiratarjuniyamu'.

After 20 years of glorious and comfortable life, Srinatha left Kondavidu and moved about in various parts of the country. During this period, he visited Palnadu. Many stray verses have come down in which he reacted to the hardships of the tour. Palnadu is a rocky area where water is scarce. 'A rich one can afford to wed sixteen thousand damsels. An alms-seeker as you are, why do you want two wives, O Siva? Leave Ganga, Parvati is enough for you!' he commented. He challenged Siva, who swallowed poison, to try and swallow one single morsel of cooked millet, the staple food of the area. Nevertheless, he was impressed with the historic story of the battle of Palnadu which resembled in many ways the epic war of the *Mahābhārata*. He narrated the story in gripping *dwipada* metre. It was immediately popular with the masses and generations of folk singers have been rendering it eversince.

His *Palnāṭi Vīra Caritra* reveals his socio-political awareness regarding war and peace, servitude and freedom. In it an emissary of Brahma Nayudu, sent to the opposing faction, stated the ideas in clear terms: 'War disrupts the lives of the individuals and the functioning of the state. Anarchy leads to disaster. Agriculture and similar professions suffer resulting in economic crisis. This leads to servitude which robs one of his honour and prestige. It makes him look silly as a bull with a nose ring which has no option but to obey every command'.

Around this time, he helped Vallabha Rayudu, perhaps a friend of the younger years, to translate a play from Sanskrit, *Prēmābhirāmam* under the title *Krīḍābhirāmamu*.

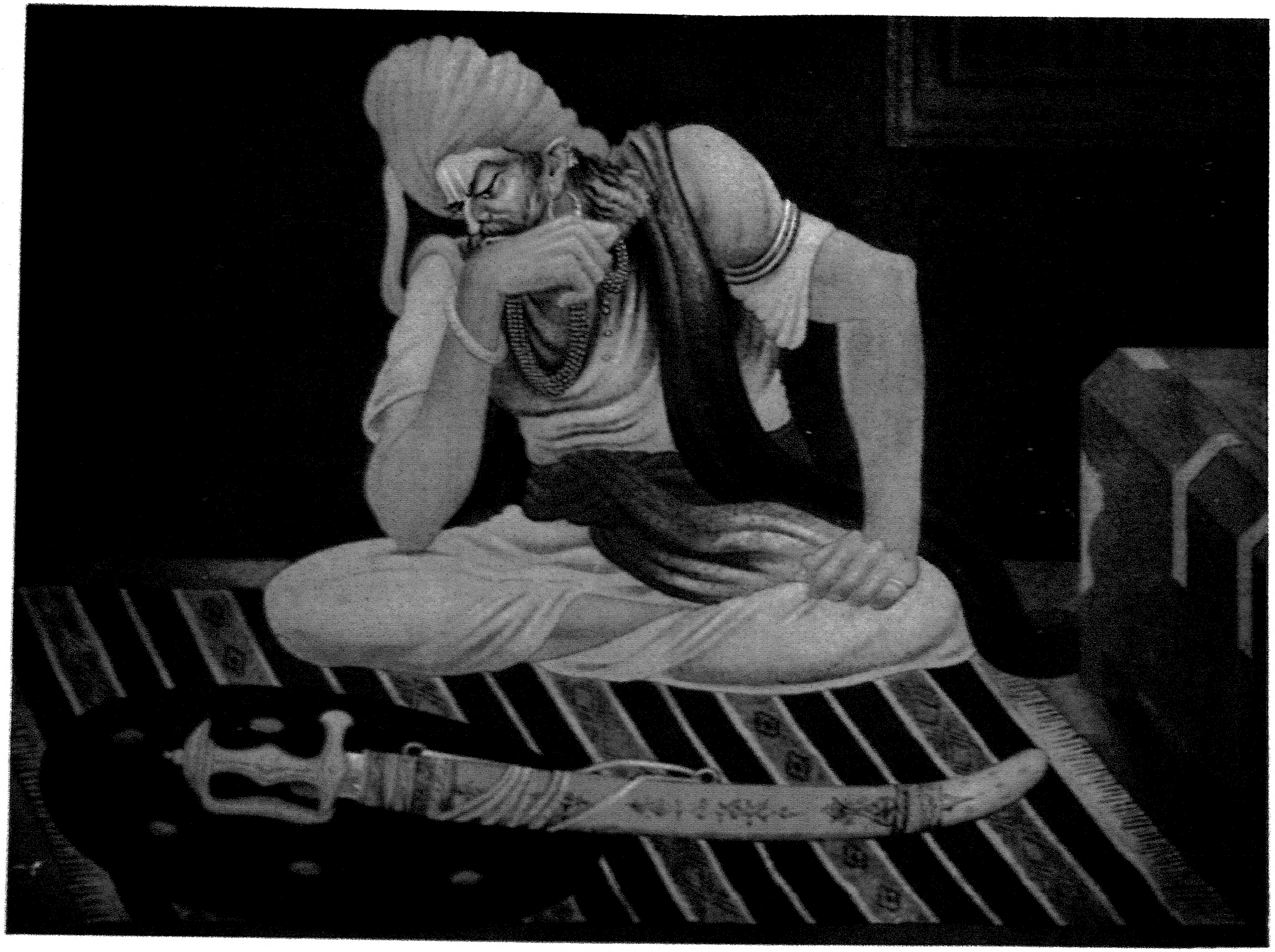
Srinatha visited Vidyanagaram ruled by Praudha Devaraya and there, defeated in argument an eminent scholar of the time, Dindima Bhattu. Devaraya bathed him in gold coins in recognition of his achievement *(Kanakābhiṣēkamu)*. Dindima Bhattu surrendered to him his title 'Kavi Sarvabhauma' (Emperor of poets). Srinatha also visited Rajachalam (Rachakonda) ruled by Sarvagjna Singa, himself an erudite scholar.

He later settled in the court of Virabhadra Reddi of Rajahmundry. His entry into the court would not have been smooth in view of the earlier differences between the Reddi kings of Kondavidu and Rajahmundry. Srinatha wrote *Bhīmakhaṇḍamu* describing the grace of Bhimeswara, the presiding deity of the Daksharama temple. He dedicated this work to Annaya, Virabhadra Reddi's minister. Later, at the request of the king of Rajahmundry, he wrote *Kāśīkhaṇḍamu*, extolling the greatness of Kasi. Srinatha drew his material for both these works mainly from the *Skānda Purāṇam*.

The chronology of the main events of Srinatha's life and his works are often debated. However, Srinatha took an active part in the power politics and conflicts of his time and wandered around the Telugu speaking area as fluctuations in his fortunes dictated. He was a staunch patriot and admirer of his land, language and people. In his *Bhīmakhaṇḍamu* he celebrated the Telugu land. It was in this work that he proposed and introduced an idea, far ahead of his times, that the land really belonged to the god and that the rulers enjoy ruling it under His pleasure.

Towards the end of his life, the kingdom of Rajahmundry fell and the land was overrun by the Odhra kings. Srinatha, who lived like a prince, had to eke out his livelihood elsewhere. Around this time he wrote a poem *Śivarātri Māhātmyamu* in 5 cantos. He took on lease some land for cultivation but suffered losses due to natural calamities. For the civil offence of not paying the agreed lease amount, he was subjected to harsh punishments. Srinatha recorded his experiences and feelings in two verses. He was made to stand facing the Sun in public with an iron chain around his neck. He was manacled. A heavy stone was placed on his shoulder. Even then he did not lose his usual dignity and self-esteem.

> Virareddi slept in Lord Visweswara of Kasi;
>   which noble king now gives me the precious clothes?
> Rayarahutta went away to meet the divine Rambha;
>   whom shall I ask now for musk?



Brahma Naidu

by Madhavapeddi Gokhale

Vissana mantri left for the heaven;
  with whom shall I now dine from golden plates?
The Mailaru king departed for the Kailasa mountain;
  who will now meet my daily allowance?

Bhaskara had much earlier gone to the divine presence;
Realising the difficulty of living in this *kali* age,
Srinatha sets out to reach the city of gods
As Brihaspati, the divine poet, experiences a chill in his heart.

Srinatha will be remembered as one who had blazed a new trail in Telugu literature. He was the first to bring into Telugu a Sanskrit *Kāvya* and for the purpose created a new style which combined erudition with aesthetic sensibility. Though there had been equally great poets earlier, they could only be seen in the background of their poetry. In the case of Srinatha, his personality dominated his poetic works, his way of expression being strikingly individualistic. He gave a new depth to the metrical structures and used them to yield greater appeal. True to the title he won, he lived like an emperor of poets and, in his bold voice, we hear a royal independence free from inhibitions of any type. In him, we find a practical man, a staunch devotee and an ardent lover of his land, people and language. He had a robust zest for life.

Potana : the Bhakti Movement

Bammera Potana (15th c.), probably a younger contemporary of Srinatha, is another of the great Telugu poets. Potana rendered a large part of the *Srīmadbhāgavata* into Telugu. He was as pious a devotee as was a great poet. He expressed his happiness that Nannaya, Tikkana and others have left *Bhāgavata* to his own share, thereby providing him with an opportunity to attain *mukti*. Potana's *Bhāgavata* gained immense popularity among all the classes and sections of people including the illiterate. The reason for its pouplarity is that Potana's verses display a rare musical quality combining sonority and rhythm. In fact, there used to be a tradition of singing them to the accompaniment of percussion instruments, like *kīrtans*. His amazing alliterations add to the musicality of his verses.

Bhūtala nāthuḍu rāmuḍu
Prī tuṇḍai peṇḍli yāḍe pṛthu guṇa maṇi sam-
Ghātan bhāgyōpētan
Sī tan mukha kānti vijita sita khadyōtan.

Melodious blending of Sanskrit and *dēśi* words can also be noticed here. It was pointed out that Nannaya's poetry was sonorous and musical. Yet, rhythm did not form a major part of it. Potana's poetry is dominated by rhythm. He used the same metres that others did, but he could bring into them a rare cadence through grouping of words and phrases and by providing pauses at necessary intervals. He also employed metres so judiciously that they sometimes reflect the nature of the incident he was describing. Especially noticeable, for example, is his continuous use of *mattēbha* metre in eight successive stanzas in 'Gajendra Moksham' to show the rapt attention and immediate response with which Vishnu hastened to rescue Gajendra (*mattēbha* - an elephant).

Two clearly distinct styles are seen coexisting in Potana's *Bhâgavatamu*. Narration of episodes is mostly done in a musical style, which is almost lyrical. Besides, the epic also contains large tracts of philosophical and metaphysical information which are done in sobre prose or stanzas that very much resemble prose.

Potana was a great devotee, highly emotional when dealing with the sentiment of bhakti. There are several unfounded anecdotes current in the oral tradition, linking him with Srinatha, as his brother-in-law. Potana lived the simple life of a cultivator and was averse to royal patronage. He dedicated his *Bhâgavatamu* to Lord Rama. Srinatha, on the other hand, led a luxurious life with honours from royal courts. This contrast gave the anecdotes an absorbing story value. Potana became a personification of virtue while Srinatha allegedly tempted him to accept royal patronage. These stories, portraying him as a saint and ascetic, further enhanced his image as a virtuous poet.

Potana described himself as *Sahaja Pâṇḍitya*, whose scholarship was 'self-acquired'. In rendering the epic into Telugu, he followed the dictates of his mind, in abridging, amplifying and altering the original. Some of the additions he made are charming and breath-taking. For example, in the episode of Vamana, Sukra smells foul and advises Bali not to concede to the request of Vamana. Bali replies: 'Is it not my fortune that the palm which caresses the hair, the body, lotus feet, cheeks and the breast of the divine lady, Sri, humbles itself under my palm? Can a kingdom be an all time property? Is a human body free from risk for ever?' These are Potana's words, not found in the original.

Again, when Vamana expanded himself and started growing in size, Potana describes: 'As the young *brahmacāri* grew up to occupy the cosmos, the disc of the Sun, in succession, appeared first as an umbrella, and then as a diamond worn on the head, an ear-ornament, a jewel in the necklace, an epaulet, a radiant bracelet, an ornamental bell of the belt, an anklet and finally a cushion under his feet.'

Ravi bimbamb upamimpa pătramagu, chatrambai, śirŏratnamai,
Śravaṇălamkṛtiyai, gaḷăbharaṇamai, souvarṇa kĕyŭramai,
Chavimat kamkaṇamai, kaṭisthalin udamcad ghanṭayai, nŭpura
Pravarambai, pada pĭṭhamai, vaṭuḍu dă brahmănḍamunninḍucŏn

Episodes of 'Rukmini Kalyanamu', 'Gajendra Mokshamu', 'Prahlada Charitramu', 'Sita Kalyanamu', etc. gained popularity as independent texts, which even illiterate could memorise. Many of Potana's stanzas came to be recited as invocatory verses on both religious and secular occasions. He is regarded as one of the trinity who set a cultural pattern to the life of the Andhras, along with Tikkana and Vemana. Potana is the first saint-poet in Telugu.

Potana did not, somehow, complete the epic in Telugu. Out of the 12 'skandhas', or books, he authored only eight (1-4, 7-10). Of the remaining four, the fifth was composed by Gangana and the sixth by Yerchuri Singaya. The last two books, the 11th and the 12th, were completed by Veligandala Naraya, a disciple of Potana. A story that somehow gained currency states that Sarvajna Singa, ruler of the Rachakonda kingdom sought for himself the dedication of Potana's work. As Potana refused, the king was angry and burried the work in a ditch. As the four skandhas were lost as a result, they were rewritten by others, according to the story. Such nonsense apart, it may be imagined that Potana willingly allowed the others to participate in the huge project that he took upon himself.

There are two other works ascribed to Potana but their authorship is hotly debated. One of them is *Bhōginī Danḍakamu*, celebrating a mistress of the king Singa. Some critics ruled out the possibility of Potana composing this work on the basis of his later image as a saint-poet. Potana, in his adolescent age, might have succumbed to the pressures of the king Singa in composing it. It was, in that case, just an indiscretion. It need not be simply rejected as untruth because it doest not agree with the image he gained later. The other work *Vīrabhadra Vijayamu* ascribed to him does not appear to be his. It could have been probably a work by some other Potana. The story goes to say that Potana belittled Siva in his *Bhāgavatamu* and hence wrote this work as a recompense.

Sanskrit Plays as Narratives

Srinatha was admired by many later poets, who held him as a model. A noteworthy poet among them was Pillalamarri Pina Virana or Pina Virabhadrudu ('Pina' meaning Jr. - c.1420-1500). Only two of his poetic works are available: *Śakuntalā Pariṇayamu* or *Śṛngāra Śākuntalamu* and *Jaimini Bhāratamu*. The theme of the former is the story of Sakuntala and Dushyanta from the *Mahābharata* along with certain modifications made by Kalidasa in his play *Abhijnāna Śākuntalam*. This was an interesting experiment because he was drawing his material and mode of communication from a narrative as well as a play and combining the best of the both. Virana's mastery over narration and style made this an absorbing poem. This also indicates the preference of the poets of the period to adapt the Prabandha form and style.

Virana succeeded in focussing on the human side of the epic characters and thus bringing them closer to the contemporary society. For example, this is what Kanva tells Sakuntala before she left the hermitage to join her husband :

> Sons-in-law and their kin
>   may have any number of faults,
> It is wrong on the part of the bride's party
>   to point out any of those.
> Crafty sons-in-law blame the bride's parents
>   for insubstantial things

And to rebut their charges constitutes
a more severe fault.
Those who give away their daughters
are only fit for disrespect.

This, perhaps, reflects the contemporary situation.

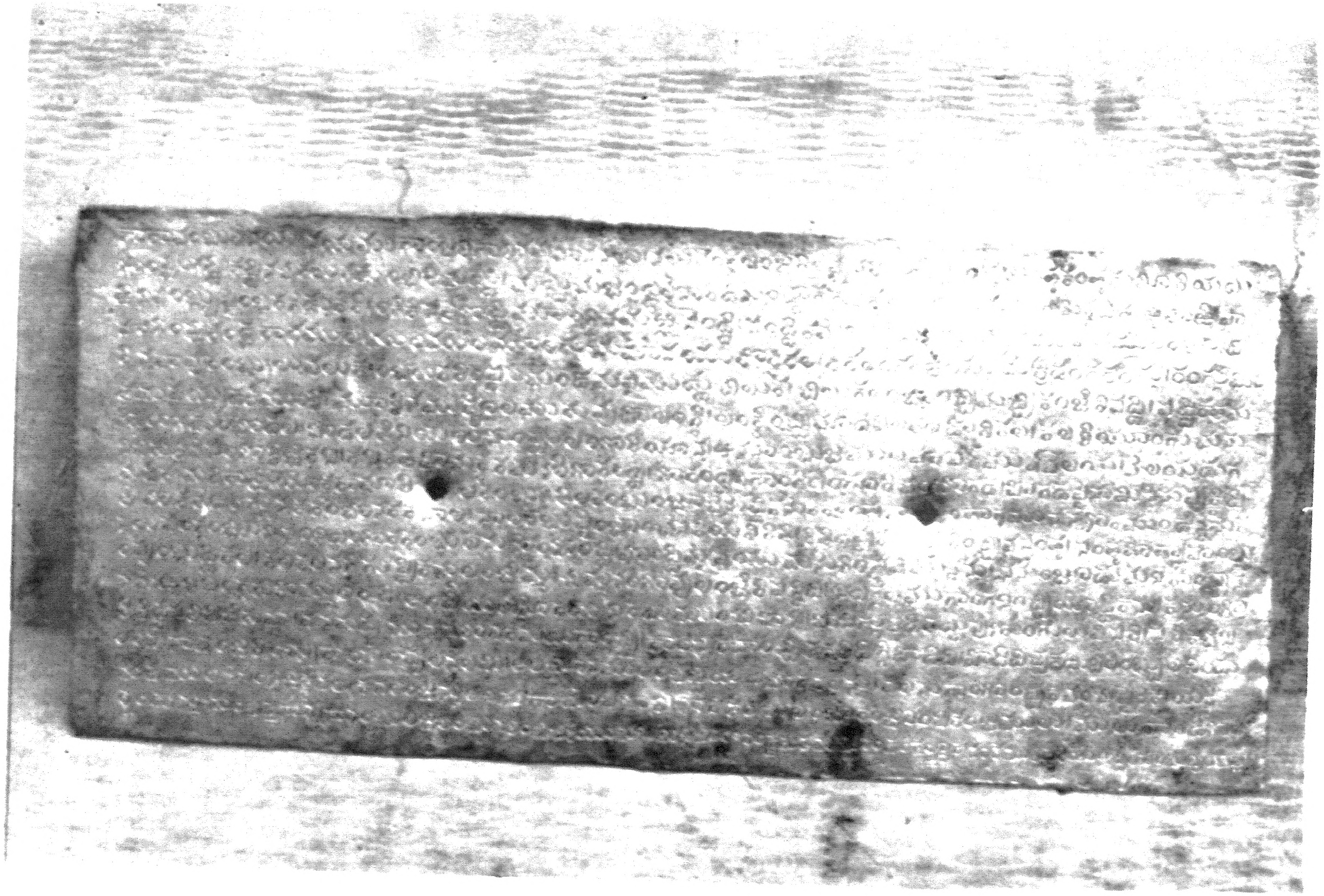
Virana's other work is a Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit poem popular as *Jaimini Bhāratamu*, the available text of which is only confined to the *Aśwamēdha parvam* of the *Mahābhārata*. Virana's poetic abilities further matured by the time he wrote *Jaimini Bhāratamu*, which he dedicated to Saluva Narasimha Raju. A number of anecdotes are in circulation about the superhuman powers of Virana. One of them, related to *Jaimini Bhāratamu*, runs like this. The poet assured the king that he would complete the poem in six months. A date was set to dedicate the work, but Virana only lazed away without commencing the work. When the appointed day was only a night away, goddess Saraswathi wrote it for him. When the surprised king asked him how he could complete it in a single night, Virana replied that Vani was his *rāṇi* (meaning 'queen' as well as 'consort'). The king and the court who took offence at his utterance were stunned when, at Virana's request, the goddess showed her fore-arms decked with bracelets, in proof.

Prominent among the poets of the time were Nandi Mallaya and his nephew Ghanta Singaya (later part of the 15th c.) who teamed together to write *Prabōdha Candrōdayamu* and *Varāha Purāṇamu*. They were the first of such 'twin poets' (*janṭa kavulu*) and later came many such pairs. *Prabōdha Candrōdayamu* is an adaptation, in narrative form, of an allegorical Sanskrit play of the same name by Krishnamisra. It depicts the ultimate success of wisdom over passion in achieving tranquility. Abstract qualities are personified as characters in the play and the story is built on the model of the story of the *Mahābhārata*. It is significant to note that the poets had sought to adapt a play into a narrative and not bring it out as a play. Virana's *Sṛngāra Śākuntalam* had already initiated this tradition, though partly. Mallaya and Singaya tackled magnificently the two-fold difficulty of treating a highly abstract subject in a lucid way and of adapting a play into the narrative form.

Varāha Purāṇamu contains numerous episodes pertaining to rituals and gods and goddesses connected with them. The poets had handled the subject in such a skillful way that it did not hamper the quality of poetry.

Katha - Kavyas

Popularity of *Kathākāvyas* was growing around this time and three note-worthy poets attempted them in this period (15th c.). Jakkana's *Vikramārka Caritamu*, Anantamatya's *Bhōjarājīyamu* and Koravi Goparaju's *Simhāsana Dwātrimśika* deal with the glory of ancient Indian emperors, Vikramarka and Bhojaraja, who became legendary heroes and around whom innumerable tales were woven. Of these, Jakkana was a poet endowed with imagination and a flair for artistic narration. Anantamatya is known for his lucid, natural descriptions and direct



Copper plate Transcript of Annamacharya song

Tallapaaka Peda Tirumalacharya

Tallapaaka Annamacharya

and crisp narration. Goparaju has a pleasing style. A significant point about his work is that he incorporated into it many stanzas which propound ethical norms. He took care to see that such stanzas were independent of the element of narration and could be compiled separately as a book on ethics. He had also created such occasions in his narrative which dealt with subjects like astrology, palmistry and prosody. Goparaju described the literary scene of his time in the *avatârika* of his book. He says: 'When tales are narrated in clear Telugu, readers feel that the work is too soft, not mature enough and not so good. If you switch over to Sanskrit they say it is harsh on the ears and withdraw. So have I to mix Tenugu words and derivatives of Sanskrit words *(tadbhavas)*. Do not ask why some one should write a poem again when it has already been beautifully written in Sanskrit. Suppose an archer has planted his arrow at a point. Another archer releases his arrow to stick it at the same point. Is not the second more skillful? Sanskrit, no doubt, is the mother of Telugu. But, in order to appreciate the Sanskrit poem, one has to parse the words and arrive at the meaning. While reading it in Telugu, one gets at the heart of the poem directly and without strain. Is it not more welcome to drink the juice directly than chewing a piece of sugar cane?'

Gaurana was another noteworthy poet of the time. He authored *Hariścandrôpâkhyânamu* and *Navanâtha Caritra*, both in the *dwipada* metre. He re-established *dwipada* as a viable medium for poetry. His descriptions and portrayal of characters won him acclaim.

Bhakti Movement

Bhakti was not new to the people of India or of Andhra. Sentiments of bhakti can be traced back to the Upanishads. There had been great devotees (the 12 Alvars of Vaishnavism and the 63 Nayanars of Saivism) in south India. Nannichoda's *Kumâra Sambhavamu* and more pronouncedly Somanatha's *Basava Purâṇamu* are resplendent with bhakti as a strong emotion. But, it was after Potana that bhakti became a movement. Chaitanya Prabhu came about half-a-century later. The entire country from the Himalayas in the north to Kanyakumari in the south came under the sway of the bhakti movement which had a deep social, cultural and religious significance in the integration of the country. Treatises appeared treating bhakti as a *rasa*.

It became the chief sustainer of thought and engaged all models of aesthetic expression like literature, drama, dance, music, sculpture and painting. This process of integration and assimilation in the domain of creative arts sparked off novel innovations. Tradition and experiment progressed hand in hand, with bhakti as an ideological backdrop. The early epic form continued, as in the case of Potana's *Bhâgavatamu*, while an innovation came in the shape of *samkîrtana* or *pada* form of literature. The new form took sustenance from the folk song and evolved into an 'art-song', assimilating the essential ingredients of literature, music and dance. While, until then, epic reigned supreme under the patronage of kings and their courts, prose and song slowly gained ground in the hearts of the common folk. Though the charm of the royal court was enticing to some poets like Srinatha, the art of poesy showed visible signs of freedom by moving away from the pomp of the court as in the case of Potana. Though both Srinatha and Potana followed the same mode of epic in their art, their attitudes towards life differed. While Srinatha was a model for the later-day 'ashta' diggaja court-poets of Srikrishnadeva Raya, Potana was a torch-bearer to poets like Annamayya, Ramadas, Tyagaraja and others.

The emergence of Potana and Annamayya on the scene seems to be timely as the tradition was threatened by the severe onslaught of Islam, the religion of the new invaders. Potana's rendering of *Bhāgavatamu* and Annamayya's devotional lyrical poetry gave a touch of faith and devotion needed then.

Annamayya, the Father of 'Pada Kavita'

Tallapaka Annamayya (1424-1503), like Potana, cast a remarkable spell on the masses. He transformed the folk-song into an art-song and the earlier recitative hymn into a rhythmic musical mould. His genius lay in the rare choice of a genre called *padam*, in the remarkable brevity that he acheived in its structure and in the language of the masses he chose as its medium of expression. The art-song which he innovated combined in itself the dual functions of poesy and music on one hand and the drama and the epic on the other. It was a comprehensive three-in-one art form in which literature, music and *nâṭya abhinaya* were fused.

Annamayya's *padam*, in general, contains a two-line refrain which states the theme followed by four-line stanzas delineating the plot. Within this frame, he presented innumerable structural variations depending upon the theme, plot, mood, situation, interaction of the characters or the level of discourse. He achieved stylistic variations with a remarkable sensibility, through nuances in the language used, imagery he projected and the diction he employed. His songs engaged the attention of the masses from every station of life and came in handy for them to reflect and chant their cultural aspirations, functional needs, philosophical introspections and the riddles and joys of life.

The comprehensive song-form of Annamayya later gave birth to three distinct schools of art. As the celebrated scholar, Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, puts it - the devotional aspect in his songs reached its peak in the 'kirtans' of Ramadasu and his followers, the art of *abhinaya* attained its fullest stature in the padams of Kshetrayya and the musical genius reached the water-mark of excellence in the 'kritis' of Tyagaraju. As the 'padam', the 'kirtana' and the 'kṛti' owe their existence to the art-song of Annamayya, it may be said that the south Indian 'bhajana paddhati' owes its origins to Annamayya's works.

Potana and Annamayya are like two pillars on whom the edifice of India's later Bhakti Vedanta stood. Inspired by these two saint-scholars, Acharya Vallabha spread his 'Pushti marga' through the western corridors of India, which later swept the whole of India followed by Chaitanya and his disciples.

Annamayya is said to have composed 32,000 songs, starting from his sixteenth year, on a divine call and mission. This voluminous output, both in its content and count, is unique and unparalleled. If this was in itself a great feat achieved by Annamayya, greater was the effort put in by his son, Peda Tirumalayya, in getting all those songs compiled, analysed and inscribed on copper plates, over a period of more than twenty years - a stupendous task in terms of cost, time and energy. Tallapaka family also gave the first woman writer in Telugu, Timmakka, the first wife of Annamayya, who wrote *Subhadrā Kalyāṇamu* in *dwipada*. Though based on the story of the *Mahābhārata*, this is an original work and has become popular with women folk.

Annamayya's grandson, China Tirumalayya (1495-1553) did a great service in keeping alive the traditional singing mode of his grandfather's padams and socialising the individualised art-song by way of group singing seeking divine blessings through service and worship through the songs. This art-song flourished in the temple environment for over two centuries. The Tallapaka family produced several talented writers in later generations also.

EARLY MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

The Golden Age

The first half of the 16th century witnessed what is popularly described as the golden age in the history of Telugu literature. The credit for initiating it goes to the colourful personage of the greatest of the Vijayanagara rulers, Sri Krishnadeva Raya, who ruled between 1509 and 1530. He was described as *Sāhitī Samarāngaṇa Cakravarti*, an emperor in the field of literature as well as on the battle field. The Raya extended his empire through conquests and made his capital, Vijayanagaram, one of the richest cities of the world, where 'heaps of diamonds were sold on the streets'. Adventure and prosperity marked the life of people in general and in particular, enriched the fabric of their cultural life. Literature and all other arts reached new heights under the Raya.

Krishnadeva Raya was a scholar and poet and a great conniosseur. He celebrated the festival of spring, *vasantōtsavam*, every year. Poets and artists thronged the capital during the festival. The Raya used to take poets along with him even during his military expeditions and found time to enjoy their poetry. He got constructed a court, named Bhuvana Vijayamu, where he conducted regular meetings of poets. He installed in it eight chairs for eight great poets in the name of 'ashta diggajas' (the eight mythical elephants that bear the burden of the Earth). Many traditional stories and legends have come down about the literary feats and exploits of the court.

Tradition mentions the names of eight Telugu poets as the ashta diggajas. They are Allasani Peddana, Nandi Timmana, Madayagari Mallana, Dhurjati, Ayyalaraju Ramabhadrudu, Pingali Surana, Ramarajabhushanudu and Tenali Ramakrishna. Although the collective term ashta-diggajas occurs in inscriptions, no individual names are recorded anywhere. Of the above poets, Peddana, Timmana and Mallana were among the eight on the evidence of a later work. Dhurjati was in the court of the Raya according to statements made by the former's grandson and great-grandson in their own works. Surana and Ramarajabhushana, also known as Bhattumurti, were of a later day. Ramakrishna was a young man at the time. He might or might not have been one of the ashta diggajas. We know for sure that poets in Sanskrit, Kannada and Tamil had been in the Raya's court. Some of them could have been honoured as diggajas.

Krishnadeva Raya composed works both in Sanskrit and Telugu. He was an emperor of a wide region in south India and gave preference to Telugu among the regional languages. He composed his *magnum opus, Âmuktamâlyada*, at the instance of the god, Andhra Vishnu of Srikakulam, whom he worshipped during one of his campaigns. Appearing in a dream, the Lord asked him to compose a work in Telugu electing the theme of Goda's marriage with Lord Sriranganatha and explained:

"Why should the work be in Telugu? Because this is Telugu land. I am the Lord of the Telugus. And Telugu is like sugar-candy. Having conversed with several kings [in many languages], haven't you found that Telugu is the best of all?"

The age of Krishnadeva Raya saw the emergence of a novel literary form, designated as 'prabandha'. Both in Sanskrit and Telugu, 'prabandha' had been a general term applicable to any type of work of a poet. Nevertheless, this term acquired a new connotation in Andhra during the early sixteenth century as a specific form with certain features. There are critics who felt that there had been a subtle distinction marking two different traditions of poetry ever since the earliest days. According to them Nannaya and Nannichoda were the initiators of those two distinct traditions. Nannichoda picked up a narrative which comprises a theme with a single focus and embellished it with formal descriptions. He also made a beginning of an ornamental style as against the simple narrative style of Nannaya. But in diction and over-all mode of expression Nannichoda followed Nannaya. Attempts were made to further individualise this style in the following centuries. They came to a fruition in the age of Krishnadeva Raya and the period also came to be called the 'Prabandha Age'.

Though the term 'prabandha' came to denote a genre in Telugu and is widely used, it is not easy to postulate its characteristics. Critics have, however, identified the following as essential features of a prabandha:

1. The theme should be confined to a single principal character (*nâyaka*: hero).
2. There should be unity of theme.
3. A prabandha should include the eighteen (prescribed) descriptions.

4. The main *rasa* should be *sṛngāra*; other *rasas* may find place in it as the occasion demands.
5. A prabandha should be composed in an ornamental style.
6. The work should not be a translation. It should be original.

However, no prabandha worth its name is found to possess all these features. It is true that some of the poetic works of the earlier times display quite a few of these features, but still are not regarded as prabandhas in the sense that the works of the early sixteenth century are so called. Perhaps, what distinguished the later works to be called prabandhas appears to be that they were 'original' works. It is to be noted here again that the authors of prabandhas had, by and large, depended on puranas for their themes. But in weaving the fabric of narration out of their source-materials, they were 'original'.

In spite of the fact that the early prabandhas (composed by Peddana, Timmana and Krishnadeva Raya) failed to incorporate all the characteristics of a prabandha, they were full of vigour and achieved an excellent measure of success, which was not the case with the later prabandhas that followed the copybook rules.

Chronologically the first prabandha that appeared was *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* of Nandi Timmana, also known as Mukku (meaning 'a nose') Timmana. How he got this nickname is not known, though a traditional story is related that Timmana wrote a beautiful stanza on the nose to earn that reputation. The stanza in question happens to be the translation of a Sanskrit stanza and is found not in Timmana's work but in Ramarajabhushana's. Traditional account explained this stating that Ramarajabhushana was so fascinated by it that he 'purchased' it from Timmana.

Timmana is said to have come to the Raya accompanying the retinue of his queen, Tirumala Devi. The theme of *Pārijātāpaharṇamu* was drawn from *Harivamśa* in Sanskrit. Timmana had taken necessary liberties in composing his prabandha.

Sage Narada brought to the earth a *Pārijāta* flower from heaven and presented it to Krishna when he was with Rukmini. Krishna naturally had to give it to Rukmini. Narada eulogised the great qualities of the flower and made an observation that Krishna, in presenting it to Rukmini, had shown his preference as to whom, among his wives, he regarded the dearest. He also said this act would put the proud Satyabhama in her place. When the news was carried to her, Satyabhama entered her 'chamber of anger'. Krishna had to touch her feet with his bowed head in order to pacify her. She pushed his head away with her foot. Krishna promised to bring the *Pārijāta* tree itself from Indra's garden and plant it in Satyabhama's backyard. Krishna had to wage a war against Indra for achieving it.

Again, there is a traditional account explaining why Timmana chose this particular theme. It is said that one night the queen, Tirumala Devi, was awaiting the arrival of the Raya and after a long wait could not keep herself awake. She rested her body on the bed, her feet towards the head-rest. The Raya, who came unusually late, refrained himself from waking her up and went to sleep on the bed. Tirumala Devi touched the king's head with her foot unknowingly. The Raya was offended and left the chamber in rage. For a long time he did not step into her chambers. Timmana, as a guardian of the queen, took upon himself to set things right. The poem was a result of this attempt. In it he improvised a situation in which Krishna finally accepted Satyabhama's act of indiscretion sportively. The Raya saw the incident of his own life in a new perspective and became softened towards his queen.

Timmana was extolled for his 'endearing idiom' (*muddu paluku*). He displayed a rare gift of conversational style set in prosody. The first of the five cantos of the book, which deals with the presentation of the flower to Rukmini and Krishna pacifying Satyabhama has become immensely popular with generations of readers. The canto runs like a play on the stage and Timmana portrayed his characters in live action. On his journey from the chamber of Rukmini to that of Satyabhama Krishna could anticipate the violent mood in which he was going to find the latter. Timmana composed a stanza in this context. "Krishna boarded his chariot and arrived at the golden palace of Satya, his self-possession fluttering like the edge of the flag-cloth attatched to the pole on the chariot, his anxiety out-running the dashing horses and his mind reeling like the hubs of the chariot's wheels". Earlier, Tikkana had also attempted to picturise the mood of his characters in a similar way, but Timmana's achievement excels the former's.

Allasani Peddana's *Manu Caritramu* (short for *Swârôciṣa Manu Sambhavamu*) followed Timmana's work during the next five years or so. Peddana (derived from *Pedda* - big, elder, senior) occupied a place of honour among the ashta diggaja poets. He was close to the Raya and was his adviser during his expeditions. Peddana received many honours from the Raya who used to address him as 'Andhra Kavita Pitamaha'. The Raya gifted to him many *agrahāras*, which in turn, were given away by Peddana to Brahmins in memory of his own guru, Sathakopa Yati. If the Raya, riding his elephant, chanced to come across Peddana on the street, he stretched his arm and helped the poet mount the royal elephant. When *Manu Caritramu* was dedicated to the Raya, the poet was taken in a procession in a palanquin which the king himself had lifted. The Raya himself decorated Peddana with a *ganḍa penḍêram* (an anklet in recognition of supremacy).

Manu Caritra was essentially a product of its age. In bringing a happy fusion between the lustful enjoyment of life and the upholding of *dharma*, it has no parallels. Standing midway between the classical Age of Nannaya and Tikkana on the one hand and the rather decadent Age of the 18th century on the other, Peddana's times accepted and even enjoyed the luxurious life, while strongly upholding the dominant and virtuous postion of *dharma* in all spheres of life. The poem is a monumental example of these seemingly contradictory elements ably synthesized and fused, represented here by the luxuriant Varudhini and the virtuous Pravara.

Peddana's unique craftsmanship raised the poem from being merely a love poem. Two essential characteristics of his craftsmanship stand out: his ability to 'picturize' his scenes vividly and his sense of rhythm echoing not only the meaning but the entire situation.

Raya produced a golden anklet in the court one day and asked the illustrious court poets to prove their mastery and claim it. None came forward. The Raya expressed his dismay at the lack of response from such great poets in two poetic lines when Peddana stood up, completed the remaining two lines claiming the golden anklet. He then proceeded to compose an extempore verse of 27 lines. Then Raya honoured him by adorning the anklet personally, the greatest honour that a poet could think of.

In the long verse of 27 lines, Peddana elaborated the chief characteristics of poetry according to him. In an enchanting image he compared a poem to a beautiful and graceful damsel, with sensuous lips and limbs, resting on one's lap. He then went on to stress that a poem should imbibe in itself the essence of music, dance and rhythm. Peddana's *Manu Caritramu* stands out as a classical illustration of the views he expressed on the art of poetry. His choicest diction, carefully grouped phrases and pauses, his stress on the varied consonants to bring alive a situation - all these exemplify his craftsmanship by making the reader picturise before him not only the charater's physical qualities, but with it, the entire situation, the mood - the entire scene, so to say - synthesizing the painter's use of colour, the sculptor's use of symmetry, the musician's use of tempo and the dancer's use of rhythm. An example may illustrate the point clearly.

Prabala bhalluka nakha bhalla bhayada mathana
Śithila madhukōśa visara viśīrṇa makṣi
Kāntarāntara danturi tātapamuna
Puḍami tila taṇḍula nyāyamuna velunga.

Peddana was describing in this stanza how the bees, scattered as the bears tore apart the honeycombs with their sharp spike-like nails, were criss-crossing and how the sunlight passing through the swarm made patterns of light and shade on the ground as if a mixture of white rice and black *til* was spread. Apart from the beauty of the visual description, it may be noted here that Peddana, in composing the long phrase, avoided any *sandhi* as far as it was speaking of the honeycombs being torn asunder. Each lexical component was left as a separate piece. When it came to the criss-crossing of the bees, he uses twice in succession, *Sandhi (savarṇa dīrgha* : "maksi kantarantara"). Again, to describe the visual on the ground made of patches of light and shade interspersed, he breaks the phrase without *sandhi* (pudami, tila tandula nyayamuna velunga). This is indeed a feat to realise the visual through adept employment of diction and phrase. This is a classic tradition traceable to Nannaya, the Adi Kavi.

The third major work of the period was *Âmuktamâlyada* (The lady who gave a used garland - for the service of God). It was the story of Godadevi, the daughter of Vishnuchitta, a devotee of Sriranganatha. The father was serving the Lord with a daily offering of garlands. Godadevi took a fancy for the garlands. Without anyone knowing it, she used to deck her hair with the garlands, look at her own reflection and then put them back to be offered to the Lord. When it was discovered and resented by the temple priests, Lord Sriranga expressed his desire to marry her and accept her as his consort. Godadevi has thus come to be known as *cūḍikoḍutta nāncār*.

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If the Raya's *Âmuktamâlyada* is endowed with an expression of faith in Vaishnavism, Dhurjati's *Srî kâḷahastî śwara Mâhâtmyamu* excels as an expression of faith in Saivism. Dhurjati was also the author of another work, *Śri Kâḷahastî śwara Śatakam*. Although he is believed to have adorned the court of the Raya, his Satakam (an anthology of hundred poems) is resplendent with stanzas which bitterly decry associaiton with kings and rulers. The Raya, according to a traditional anecdote, appears to have held him in high regard. He particularly appreciated 'the extent of sweetness' *(mâdhurî mahima)* in Dhurjati's poetry. A verse in circulation states that the Raya once wondered: "How come that the utterings of Dhurjati, the celebrated Andhra poet with laudable intellectual powers, are so exquisitely sweet!" The anecdote goes on to say that Tenali Ramakrishna completed the verse: "O, it is clear! It is because of his constant association with the sweet lips of the courtesans of supreme charm and beauty!"

Dhurjati appears to be a very emotional and restless person. His Satakam yields information about the nature of his personal life, though not the events of his life. Dhurjati expresses in it his anguish for having wasted his time on transient pleasures and on futile attempts to seek the patronage of rulers and the associated comforts. He now turns away from all that is mundane and entreats the presiding deity of Srikalahasti, Srikalahastiswara, to accept him as a devotee and lead him to emancipation. The diction, language and style of his stanzas contribute to the unsurpassable quality of his direct communication with god. The poet did not hesitate to own his 'misdeeds' and confess. "A mother does not abandon a faltering child. She shows a greater affection and concern for the child. So should the Lord", he says.

From a close study of the stanzas of the Satakam, it is possible to infer that there was a phase in his life when he was honoured by kings who presented him with every conceivable comfort. Once that phase ended, he sought similar honours and comforts from the later rulers and failed to achieve results. Memories of earlier life haunted him for sometime. Finally, he realised that he should cleanse himself of the mundane desires and seek what was permanent.

Dhurjati's *Śrīkāḷahastīśwara Māhātmyamu*, celebrates the grace of Siva as the presiding deity of Srikalahasti. Śrī (a spider), Kāḷa (a serpent) and Hasti (an elephant) served the Lord and attained *mōkṣa*. In addition to these tales, Dhurjati included the story of Tinnadu (who was Arjuna of the *Mahābhārata* fame in an earlier birth) and his devotion to the Lord. Tinna, a tribal, found a *Śivalingam* in a corner of the forest and pleaded with the Lord to shift his abode to the tribal village. Failing to induce him to do so, Tinna himself settled down there to serve the Lord. In order to satisfy a brahmin devotee, who abhored the crude and primitive methods of the tribal's worship, Siva designed a test to prove the intensity of the devotion of Tinna. Water oozed from Siva's eye. Tinna tried many remedies and finally pulled out his own eye to transplant it on the *lingam*. Then water started oozing from the other eye. Tinna prepared himself to pull out his second eye for transplantation when the Lord appeared and admitted both Tinna and the brahmin devotee to salvation.

Another story included in the work is that of Natkira, a poet who found fault with a poem composed by Siva himself and refused to compromise. This *kṣètra mâhâtmya* type of poem includes a few other stories also, altogether taking the number to nine. It is easy to see that the nine stories are visualised in the format of nine *âvaraṇas* in *Śrī Vidya*. This work is fragrant with a naturalness and aplomb, a mark of deep devotion.

Chintalapudi Ellanarya was another poet who received honour from the Raya. Ellanarya dedicated his poetic work *Râdhâmâdhavamu* to his personal god, Madana Gopala. This was composed between 1520 and 1530. The concept and cult of Radha is treated elaborately in the *Brahmavaivarta Purâṇa*. According to it, Radha is the *mûla prakṛti*. An outstanding feature of Ellanarya's work is that he presented Radha as Krishna's wife and not some one else's *(parakīya)*. The poet is highly aesthetic in his treatment of *śṛngâra* coupled with an equally high sense of devotion. Ellanarya also wrote a philosophical work, *Târakabrahma Râjīyamu*

The Radha-Krishna cult has been familiar to the Andhras right from the days of *Gâthâsapta śati*. Four other poets later had handled this story but depicting Radha only as a *parakîya* and with varying degrees of *śṛngâra*.

Next should be mentioned two minor celebreties - Revanuri Venkatarya who wrote *Śakuntalâ Pariṇayamu* (c.1530) and Sankusala Nrusimha Kavi the author of *Kavikarṇa Rasâyanamu* (c.1536). Venkatarya was the grandson of the well-known *pada* poet, Annamayya, while the latter is thought to be Annamayya's son by his first wife, though there is no conclusive evidence for it. Nrusimha Kavi prided in his abilities to say that the erotic depiction in his work could lure even an ascetic into a libertine whereas his depiction of the sentiment of detatchment could reform a libertine into an ascetic. His poem deals with the story of the Emperor Mandhata.

Molla (16 c.), a poetess belonging to the potters' class, is said to have lived during the Raya's reign. She cast the story of *Râmâyaṇa* into the prabandha mould. Her *Râmâyaṇa* is in a simple and sweet style and has gained popularity. Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra (1510-80) produced a scholarly prabandha, *Râmâbhyudayam* (c.1555) and dedicated it to one Gobburi Narasa Raju, a scion of the Telugu Chodas and a nephew of Aliya Ramaraya, son-in-law of Srikrishnadeva Raya. Tradition has named Ramabhadra as one of the ashta diggaja poets.

Post-Raya Period

A major poet of the post-Raya period is Tenali Ramakrishna (16th c.). There are any number of stories connecting him with the Raya and his court poets. Most of these anecdotes throw light on his sparkling wit and humour. The stray verses, reeled off impromptu on several occasions, reveal the versatility and acumen of the poet. A number of stories shows him as a practical joker and quite probably they might have grown around him as he, in time, gained a legendary image as a humourist. Ramakrishna would have been a young man during the Raya's time. His poetic works were all composed only later (between 1525 and 1555). Ramakrishna was at first a Saivaite and was known as Ramalinga. He might have switched over to Vaishnavism, the faith of the king and changed his name into Ramakrishna. *Udbhaṭârâdhya Caritramu*, celebrating the Saivaite preacher, Udbhata and *Pâṇḍuranga Mâhâtmyamu* are his major works.

Ramakrishna is noted for his power of observation and his grand diction including new coinages. The story of Nigama Sarma is an outstanding and popular episode in his *Pâṇḍuranga Mâhâtmyamu*. Nigama Sarma, the son of a pious brahmin, degenerated into a moral wreck. It so happened that he died at a holy place and so was invited to the abode of Lord Vishnu. The story, thus assures the great efficacy of the faith.

Nigama Sarma had an elder sister who was happily married and was living with her husband. When she learnt that her brother was leading a vile life, she tried to reform him. Ramakrishna presented a homely picture of the incident and made her cajole and admonish her brother. This part of the prabandha is considered to be the best. Ramakrishna absorbed the major features of the craftsmanship of Srinatha, Peddana and the Raya and developed a style of his own. His experiments with diction and prosodic features are noteworthy.

Like the family of Tallapaka Annamayya, that of Tenali Ramakrishna also producd generations of praise-worthy poets. Tenali Annaya, a brother of Ramakrishna, wrote *Sudakṣiṇâ Pariṇayamu*, depicting the story of Dilipa of the Raghu family, around 1560. Another of his brothers, Srigiri Kavi is said to have composed *Śrīśaila Mâhâtmyamu* (not extant). Srigiri's grandson, Ramabhadra, chose the story of Aja of the Raghu family for his *Indumatī Pariṇayamu* (c.1575).

Prabandha, as a genre, gained immense popularity during this period but soon revealed signs of wearing out and became repetitive. Ramaraju Rangaparaju's *Sâmbôpâkhyânamu* (c.1550) and Edapati Errana's *Malhaṇa Caritramu* are examples of such a fall of standards. It was Pingali Surana who, at this juncture, took note of the signs of stagnation and experimented boldly. Three works of Surana have survived. They are: *Râghava Pâṇḍavīyamu*, *Kaḷā Purṇōdayamu* and *Prabhāvatī Pradyumnamu*.

The first of them, as the title suggests, is a narrative which yields two stories at the same time - the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as the story of the *Bhârata*. Surana achieved this feat through the figure of speech, *Śleṣa*. Earlier, Bhimana is reputed to have composed a similar *dwyarthi kāvyam* but it is not extant. Later poets, particularly Ramarajabhushana, took up this challenging feat. Still, none of them could match Surana in his felicity of expression. Surana made a sensible suggestion to the readers : 'At times the readers who are keenly following one of the stories may miss the purport of the other story (if they try to pursue both stories simultaneously). So, I suggest that they may go through them separately to follow one story at a time".

Popular regard for Surana rests on his prabandha, *Kaḷâpûrṇôdayamu*. Though a very bold experiment at that time, its greatness and significance were realised only in the present century, specially after the scholar-Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, Cuttamanchi Ramalinga Reddy published his *Kavitwatattwa Vicâramu* (A discourse on the nature of poesy), in which he dealt brilliantly with the richness of Surana's prabandha.

Surana invented his own theme for the poem. It deals with three generations and is mainly set in the times of Lord Krishna living in Dwaraka. The theme runs as in a suspense novel. Lord Brahma, in a joyful mood, narrates a story to his consort, Saraswati, developing it through a personification of their own intimate private moments. When Saraswati protests that Brahma is narrating their own story he assures her that the story would come alive on earth at a future date. However, the one who reveals the incident for the first time to the mortals shall have to take a birth on the earth. So no divine or heavenly personage would welcome it. Finally all of it becomes a fact. Surana kept alive the suspense and unravels the mystery towards the end. This was a technique unheard of at the time. The story of Kalabhashini, a dancing girl of Dwaraka and the story of Sugatri and Salina of Kashmir are the most popular episodes in this book. Sugatri was decked with ornaments on the wedding night. Salina, her husband refused to look at her. Sugatri's mother held him in contempt and treated him badly. Salina was asked to tend the farm. Sugatri, in spite of her husband's lack of regard for

4. The main *rasa* should be *sṛngâra*; other *rasas* may find place in it as the occasion demands.
5. A prabandha should be composed in an ornamental style.
6. The work should not be a translation. It should be original.

However, no prabandha worth its name is found to possess all these features. It is true that some of the poetic works of the earlier times display quite a few of these features, but still are not regarded as prabandhas in the sense that the works of the early sixteenth century are so called. Perhaps, what distinguished the later works to be called prabandhas appears to be that they were 'original' works. It is to be noted here again that the authors of prabandhas had, by and large, depended on puranas for their themes. But in weaving the fabric of narration out of their source-materials, they were 'original'.

In spite of the fact that the early prabandhas (composed by Peddana, Timmana and Krishnadeva Raya) failed to incorporate all the characteristics of a prabandha, they were full of vigour and achieved an excellent measure of success, which was not the case with the later prabandhas that followed the copybook rules.

Chronologically the first prabandha that appeared was *Pârijâtâpaharaṇamu* of Nandi Timmana, also known as Mukku (meaning 'a nose') Timmana. How he got this nickname is not known, though a traditional story is related that Timmana wrote a beautiful stanza on the nose to earn that reputation. The stanza in question happens to be the translation of a Sanskrit stanza and is found not in Timmana's work but in Ramarajabhushana's. Traditional account explained this stating that Ramarajabhushana was so fascinated by it that he 'purchased' it from Timmana.

Timmana is said to have come to the Raya accompanying the retinue of his queen, Tirumala Devi. The theme of *Pârijâtâpaharṇamu* was drawn from *Harivamśa* in Sanskrit. Timmana had taken necessary liberties in composing his prabandha.

Sage Narada brought to the earth a *Pârijâta* flower from heaven and presented it to Krishna when he was with Rukmini. Krishna naturally had to give it to Rukmini. Narada eulogised the great qualities of the flower and made an observation that Krishna, in presenting it to Rukmini, had shown his preference as to whom, among his wives, he regarded the dearest. He also said this act would put the proud Satyabhama in her place. When the news was carried to her, Satyabhama entered her 'chamber of anger'. Krishna had to touch her feet with his bowed head in order to pacify her. She pushed his head away with her foot. Krishna promised to bring the *Pârijâta* tree itself from Indra's garden and plant it in Satyabhama's backyard. Krishna had to wage a war against Indra for achieving it.

Again, there is a traditional account explaining why Timmana chose this particular theme. It is said that one night the queen, Tirumala Devi, was awaiting the arrival of the Raya and after a long wait could not keep herself awake. She rested her body on the bed, her feet towards the head-rest. The Raya, who came unusually late, refrained himself from waking her up and went to sleep on the bed. Tirumala Devi touched the king's head with her foot unknowingly. The Raya was offended and left the chamber in rage. For a long time he did not step into her chambers. Timmana, as a guardian of the queen, took upon himself to set things right. The poem was a result of this attempt. In it he improvised a situation in which Krishna finally accepted Satyabhama's act of indiscretion sportively. The Raya saw the incident of his own life in a new perspective and became softened towards his queen.

Timmana was extolled for his 'endearing idiom' (*muddu paluku*). He displayed a rare gift of conversational style set in prosody. The first of the five cantos of the book, which deals with the presentation of the flower to Rukmini and Krishna pacifying Satyabhama has become immensely popular with generations of readers. The canto runs like a play on the stage and Timmana portrayed his characters in live action. On his journey from the chamber of Rukmini to that of Satyabhama Krishna could anticipate the violent mood in which he was going to find the latter. Timmana composed a stanza in this context. "Krishna boarded his chariot and arrived at the golden palace of Satya, his self-possession fluttering like the edge of the flag-cloth attatched to the pole on the chariot, his anxiety out-running the dashing horses and his mind reeling like the hubs of the chariot's wheels". Earlier, Tikkana had also attempted to picturise the mood of his characters in a similar way, but Timmana's achievement excels the former's.

Allasani Peddana's *Manu Caritramu* (short for *Swârôciṣa Manu Sambhavamu*) followed Timmana's work during the next five years or so. Peddana (derived from *Pedda* - big, elder, senior) occupied a place of honour among the ashta diggaja poets. He was close to the Raya and was his adviser during his expeditions. Peddana received many honours from the Raya who used to address him as 'Andhra Kavita Pitamaha'. The Raya gifted to him many *agrahāras*, which in turn, were given away by Peddana to Brahmins in memory of his own guru, Sathakopa Yati. If the Raya, riding his elephant, chanced to come across Peddana on the street, he stretched his arm and helped the poet mount the royal elephant. When *Manu Caritramu* was dedicated to the Raya, the poet was taken in a procession in a palanquin which the king himself had lifted. The Raya himself decorated Peddana with a *ganḍa penḍêram* (an anklet in recognition of supremacy).

Manu Caritra was essentially a product of its age. In bringing a happy fusion between the lustful enjoyment of life and the upholding of *dharma*, it has no parallels. Standing midway between the classical Age of Nannaya and Tikkana on the one hand and the rather decadent Age of the 18th century on the other, Peddana's times accepted and even enjoyed the luxurious life, while strongly upholding the dominant and virtuous postion of *dharma* in all spheres of life. The poem is a monumental example of these seemingly contradictory elements ably synthesized and fused, represented here by the luxuriant Varudhini and the virtuous Pravara.

Peddana's unique craftsmanship raised the poem from being merely a love poem. Two essential characteristics of his craftsmanship stand out: his ability to 'picturize' his scenes vividly and his sense of rhythm echoing not only the meaning but the entire situation.

Raya produced a golden anklet in the court one day and asked the illustrious court poets to prove their mastery and claim it. None came forward. The Raya expressed his dismay at the lack of response from such great poets in two poetic lines when Peddaṇa stood up, completed the remaining two lines claiming the golden anklet. He then proceeded to compose an extempore verse of 27 lines. Then Raya honoured him by adorning the anklet personally, the greatest honour that a poet could think of.

In the long verse of 27 lines, Peddana elaborated the chief characteristics of poetry according to him. In an enchanting image he compared a poem to a beautiful and graceful damsel, with sensuous lips and limbs, resting on one's lap. He then went on to stress that a poem should imbibe in itself the essence of music, dance and rhythm. Peddana's *Manu Caritramu* stands out as a classical illustration of the views he expressed on the art of poetry. His choicest diction, carefully grouped phrases and pauses, his stress on the varied consonants to bring alive a situation - all these exemplify his craftsmanship by making the reader picturise before him not only the charater's physical qualities, but with it, the entire situation, the mood - the entire scene, so to say - synthesizing the painter's use of colour, the sculptor's use of symmetry, the musician's use of tempo and the dancer's use of rhythm. An example may illustrate the point clearly.

Prabala bhalluka nakha bhalla bhayada mathana
Śithila madhukōśa visara viśīrṇa makṣi
Kāntarāntara danturi tātapamuna
Puḍami tila taṇḍula nyāyamuna velunga.

Peddana was describing in this stanza how the bees, scattered as the bears tore apart the honeycombs with their sharp spike-like nails, were criss-crossing and how the sunlight passing through the swarm made patterns of light and shade on the ground as if a mixture of white rice and black *til* was spread. Apart from the beauty of the visual description, it may be noted here that Peddana, in composing the long phrase, avoided any *sandhi* as far as it was speaking of the honeycombs being torn asunder. Each lexical component was left as a separate piece. When it came to the criss-crossing of the bees, he uses twice in succession, *Sandhi (savarṇa dīrgha* : "maksi kantarantara"). Again, to describe the visual on the ground made of patches of light and shade interspersed, he breaks the phrase without *sandhi* (pudami, tila tandula nyayamuna velunga). This is indeed a feat to realise the visual through adept employment of diction and phrase. This is a classic tradition traceable to Nannaya, the Adi Kavi.

The third major work of the period was *Âmuktamâlyada* (The lady who gave a used garland - for the service of God). It was the story of Godadevi, the daughter of Vishnuchitta, a devotee of Sriranganatha. The father was serving the Lord with a daily offering of garlands. Godadevi took a fancy for the garlands. Without anyone knowing it, she used to deck her hair with the garlands, look at her own reflection and then put them back to be offered to the Lord. When it was discovered and resented by the temple priests, Lord Sriranga expressed his desire to marry her and accept her as his consort. Godadevi has thus come to be known as *cūḍikoḍutta nāncār*.

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Hiding thier heads under their wings, the white geese rested among the fields along the canals. They were mistaken by the watch and ward to be the white clothes of the brahmins (who came early in the morning to bathe) washed, squeezed and kept ready for drying. The Raya's descriptions of the city, the seasons, etc. also show his power of keen observation and occasionally his wild imagination. He expresses the difficulties of women folk during the rainy season: "Fire could not be 'obtained' unless they went from house to house. (It has been a usual practice until modern times to borrow a few burning pieces of charcoal or a piece of burning wood to kindle a stove at home). Even if it was managed, it was not easy to fire the oven with dried grass and constant fanning. Still more difficult was it to kindle. After all the trouble it was an imponderable task to cook food by it. The firewood emitted more smoke than heat. The food, though cooked for many, would suffice only the first batch. The women folk who ate later would have to go through the entire process again".

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The story line of *Râjaśêkhara Caritramu* is simple. Rajasekhara was the only son of the king of Avanchaka. He rescued the daughter of a sage from a demon and restored her to her father. The demon was a devotee of Kali and the goddess presented Rajasekhara a jewel which fulfilled all his desires and asked him to spare the life of her devotee. Rajasekhara also got in the process a parrot which knew the past, present and the future. Through the help of the parrot, Rajasekhara married a princess with whom he fell in love. They returned home and lived happly.

Like Timmana, Mallana also handled *śṛngâra* with great restraint. Most of the verses have the touch of an a aesthetic relish. The whole thing is conceived in *sâtvic* ethos and executed with commendable propriety. The general characteristics of a prabandha are all present in this poem, including the criteria of a single hero and unity of plot. The real merit of this work lies in that it lends itself to deeper interpretation in terms of *tantra śâstra*.

If the Raya's *Âmuktamâlyada* is endowed with an expression of faith in Vaishnavism, Dhurjati's *Srî kâḷahastî śwara Mâhâtmyamu* excels as an expression of faith in Saivism. Dhurjati was also the author of another work, *Śrî Kâḷahastî śwara Śatakam*. Although he is believed to have adorned the court of the Raya, his Satakam (an anthology of hundred poems) is resplendent with stanzas which bitterly decry associaiton with kings and rulers. The Raya, according to a traditional anecdote, appears to have held him in high regard. He particularly appreciated 'the extent of sweetness' *(mâdhurî mahima)* in Dhurjati's poetry. A verse in circulation states that the Raya once wondered: "How come that the utterings of Dhurjati, the celebrated Andhra poet with laudable intellectual powers, are so exquisitely sweet!" The anecdote goes on to say that Tenali Ramakrishna completed the verse: "O, it is clear! It is because of his constant association with the sweet lips of the courtesans of supreme charm and beauty!"

Dhurjati appears to be a very emotional and restless person. His Satakam yields information about the nature of his personal life, though not the events of his life. Dhurjati expresses in it his anguish for having wasted his time on transient pleasures and on futile attempts to seek the patronage of rulers and the associated comforts. He now turns away from all that is mundane and entreats the presiding deity of Srikalahasti, Srikalahastiswara, to accept him as a devotee and lead him to emancipation. The diction, language and style of his stanzas contribute to the unsurpassable quality of his direct communication with god. The poet did not hesitate to own his 'misdeeds' and confess. "A mother does not abandon a faltering child. She shows a greater affection and concern for the child. So should the Lord", he says.

From a close study of the stanzas of the Satakam, it is possible to infer that there was a phase in his life when he was honoured by kings who presented him with every conceivable comfort. Once that phase ended, he sought similar honours and comforts from the later rulers and failed to achieve results. Memories of earlier life haunted him for sometime. Finally, he realised that he should cleanse himself of the mundane desires and seek what was permanent.

Dhurjati's *Śrīkāḷahastīśwara Māhātmyamu*, celebrates the grace of Siva as the presiding deity of Srikalahasti. Śrī (a spider), Kāḷa (a serpent) and Hasti (an elephant) served the Lord and attained *mōkṣa*. In addition to these tales, Dhurjati included the story of Tinnadu (who was Arjuna of the *Mahābhārata* fame in an earlier birth) and his devotion to the Lord. Tinna, a tribal, found a *Śivalingam* in a corner of the forest and pleaded with the Lord to shift his abode to the tribal village. Failing to induce him to do so, Tinna himself settled down there to serve the Lord. In order to satisfy a brahmin devotee, who abhored the crude and primitive methods of the tribal's worship, Siva designed a test to prove the intensity of the devotion of Tinna. Water oozed from Siva's eye. Tinna tried many remedies and finally pulled out his own eye to transplant it on the *lingam*. Then water started oozing from the other eye. Tinna prepared himself to pull out his second eye for transplantation when the Lord appeared and admitted both Tinna and the brahmin devotee to salvation.

Another story included in the work is that of Natkira, a poet who found fault with a poem composed by Siva himself and refused to compromise. This *kṣētra māhātmya* type of poem includes a few other stories also, altogether taking the number to nine. It is easy to see that the nine stories are visualised in the format of nine *āvaraṇas* in *Śrī Vidya*. This work is fragrant with a naturalness and aplomb, a mark of deep devotion.

Chintalapudi Ellanarya was another poet who received honour from the Raya. Ellanarya dedicated his poetic work *Rādhāmādhavamu* to his personal god, Madana Gopala. This was composed between 1520 and 1530. The concept and cult of Radha is treated elaborately in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*. According to it, Radha is the *mūla prakṛti*. An outstanding feature of Ellanarya's work is that he presented Radha as Krishna's wife and not some one else's *(parakīya)*. The poet is highly aesthetic in his treatment of *śṛngāra* coupled with an equally high sense of devotion. Ellanarya also wrote a philosophical work, *Tārakabrahma Rājīyamu*

The Radha-Krishna cult has been familiar to the Andhras right from the days of *Gâthâsapta śati*. Four other poets later had handled this story but depicting Radha only as a *parakīya* and with varying degrees of *śrngâra*.

Next should be mentioned two minor celebreties - Revanuri Venkatarya who wrote *Śakuntalâ Pariṇayamu* (c.1530) and Sankusala Nrusimha Kavi the author of *Kavikarṇa Rasâyanamu* (c.1536). Venkatarya was the grandson of the well-known *pada* poet, Annamayya, while the latter is thought to be Annamayya's son by his first wife, though there is no conclusive evidence for it. Nrusimha Kavi prided in his abilities to say that the erotic depiction in his work could lure even an ascetic into a libertine whereas his depiction of the sentiment of detatchment could reform a libertine into an ascetic. His poem deals with the story of the Emperor Mandhata.

Molla (16 c.), a poetess belonging to the potters' class, is said to have lived during the Raya's reign. She cast the story of *Râmâyaṇa* into the prabandha mould. Her *Râmâyaṇa* is in a simple and sweet style and has gained popularity. Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra (1510-80) produced a scholarly prabandha, *Râmâbhyudayam* (c.1555) and dedicated it to one Gobburi Narasa Raju, a scion of the Telugu Chodas and a nephew of Aliya Ramaraya, son-in-law of Srikrishnadeva Raya. Tradition has named Ramabhadra as one of the ashta diggaja poets.

Post-Raya Period

A major poet of the post-Raya period is Tenali Ramakrishna (16th c.). There are any number of stories connecting him with the Raya and his court poets. Most of these anecdotes throw light on his sparkling wit and humour. The stray verses, reeled off impromptu on several occasions, reveal the versatility and acumen of the poet. A number of stories shows him as a practical joker and quite probably they might have grown around him as he, in time, gained a legendary image as a humourist. Ramakrishna would have been a young man during the Raya's time. His poetic works were all composed only later (between 1525 and 1555). Ramakrishna was at first a Saivaite and was known as Ramalinga. He might have switched over to Vaishnavism, the faith of the king and changed his name into Ramakrishna. *Udbhaṭârâdhya Caritramu*, celebrating the Saivaite preacher, Udbhata and *Pâṇḍuranga Mâhâtmyamu* are his major works.

Ramakrishna is noted for his power of observation and his grand diction including new coinages. The story of Nigama Sarma is an outstanding and popular episode in his *Pâṇḍuranga Mâhâtmyamu*. Nigama Sarma, the son of a pious brahmin, degenerated into a moral wreck. It so happened that he died at a holy place and so was invited to the abode of Lord Vishnu. The story, thus assures the great efficacy of the faith.

Nigama Sarma had an elder sister who was happily married and was living with her husband. When she learnt that her brother was leading a vile life, she tried to reform him. Ramakrishna presented a homely picture of the incident and made her cajole and admonish her brother. This part of the prabandha is considered to be the best. Ramakrishna absorbed the major features of the craftsmanship of Srinatha, Peddana and the Raya and developed a style of his own. His experiments with diction and prosodic features are noteworthy.

Like the family of Tallapaka Annamayya, that of Tenali Ramakrishna also producd generations of praise-worthy poets. Tenali Annaya, a brother of Ramakrishna, wrote *Sudakṣinâ Pariṇayamu*, depicting the story of Dilipa of the Raghu family, around 1560. Another of his brothers, Srigiri Kavi is said to have composed *Śrîśaila Mâhâtmyamu* (not extant). Srigiri's grandson, Ramabhadra, chose the story of Aja of the Raghu family for his *Indumati Pariṇayamu* (c.1575).

Prabandha, as a genre, gained immense popularity during this period but soon revealed signs of wearing out and became repetitive. Ramaraju Rangaparaju's *Sâmbôpâkhyânamu* (c.1550) and Edapati Errana's *Malhaṇa Caritramu* are examples of such a fall of standards. It was Pingali Surana who, at this juncture, took note of the signs of stagnation and experimented boldly. Three works of Surana have survived. They are *Râghava Pâṇḍavîyamu*, *Kaḷā Purṇōdayamu* and *Prabhâvatî Pradyumnamu*.

The first of them, as the title suggests, is a narrative which yields two stories at the same time - the story of the *Râmâyaṇa* as well as the story of the *Bhârata*. Surana achieved this feat through the figure of speech, *Śleṣa*. Earlier, Bhimana is reputed to have composed a similar *dwyarthi kâvyam* but it is not extant. Later poets, particularly Ramarajabhushana, took up this challenging feat. Still, none of them could match Surana in his felicity of expression. Surana made a sensible suggestion to the readers: "At times the readers who are keenly following one of the stories may miss the purport of the other story (if they try to pursue both stories simultaneously). So, I suggest that they may go through them separately to follow one story at a time".

Popular regard for Surana rests on his prabandha, *Kalâpûrṇôdayamu*. Though a very bold experiment at that time, its greatness and significance were realised only in the present century, specially after the scholar-Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, Cuttamanchi Ramalinga Reddy published his *Kavitwatattwa Vicâramu* (A discourse on the nature of poesy), in which he dealt brilliantly with the richness of Surana's prabandha.

Surana invented his own theme for the poem. It deals with three generations and is mainly set in the times of Lord Krishna living in Dwaraka. The theme runs as in a suspense novel. Lord Brahma, in a joyful mood, narrates a story to his consort, Saraswati, developing it through a personification of their own intimate private moments. When Saraswati protests that Brahma is narrating their own story he assures her that the story would come alive on earth at a future date. However, the one who reveals the incident for the first time to the mortals shall have to take a birth on the earth. So no divine or heavenly personage would welcome it. Finally all of it becomes a fact. Surana kept alive the suspense and unravels the mystery towards the end. This was a technique unheard of at the time. The story of Kalabhashini, a dancing girl of Dwaraka and the story of Sugatri and Salina of Kashmir are the most popular episodes in this book. Sugatri was decked with ornaments on the wedding night. Salina, her husband refused to look at her. Sugatri's mother held him in contempt and treated him badly. Salina was asked to tend the farm. Sugatri, in spite of her husband's lack of regard for her, went to the farm to assist him. At the time of working, she removed all her ornaments. Salina noticed her only then and made love to her. Sugatri, allegorically, represents a poem. Surana, by making Salina (a connoisseur of poetry) appreciate her beauty only when she is rid of her excessive ornamentation, suggests that too much of embellishment in poetry leads to abhorence.

His *Prabhâvati Pradyumnamu* (c.1560) is a more mature work and surpasses *Kaḷâpûrṇôdayamu* in poetic art and skill. The story is on the lines of the story of 'Usha Parinayamu' found in *Harivamśam* and *Śrimadbhâgavatam*. *Pradyumnâbhyudaya*, a Sanskrit drama by Ravivarmadeva of Kerala (c.1240) is said to be the source for this work to some extent. This prabandha runs like a stage-play and can be adapted as such easily.

Surana made statements on poetry in general in his *Kaḷâpûrṇôdayamu* and on a *mahâkâvya* in his *Prabhâvati Pradyumnamu* which deserve notice. The first is an imaginative configuration. If the beauty of the cool moonlight gets fragrance and if the camphor which has fragrance and coolness obtains tenderness and if the gentle southern breeze which has fragrance, coolness and tenderness acquires sweetness then they may be equated with poetry. The second is more concrete and traditional. Elegance of diction, appropriate use of the arrangement of lexemes to convey meaning, transference of ideas into vivid expression, avoidance of redundancy, explication without being too wide off, establishing meaningful ideas with clarity and relevance are some of the qualities he stressed on. He also pointed out that the purport of the various constituents of the structure should never counter each other but shoud contribute to the main purport of the poem. It is significant that even earlier in *Kaḷâpûrṇôdayam* he gave importance to the arrangement of lexemes or diction saying that it ought to resemble the making of a pearl garland.

Ramarajabhushana (1520-85) was a contemporary of Surana. The name is interpreted as an epithet to suggest that he had been an 'ornament to the court of Ramaraja'. His real name is believed to be Murthy kavi as mentioned in his *Kavyâlamkâra Sangrahamu*, also known as *Narasa Bhûpâlîyamu* written to commemorate Narasa Raju to whom it was dedicated. This is a work on rhetoric. His next composition was *Vasu Caritra* which brought him fame. The title is evocative of Allasani Peddana's *Manu Caritra*. If the latter is a poem for connoisseurs, the former is a work for scholars. *Vasu Caritra* depicts the story of Uparichara Vasu and his marriage with Girika, found in the *Mahâbhârata*. It is a chiselled work of art full of *ślêṣa*. Besides, the work is known for its musical aspects, especially lilt. The poet was a knowledgeable person in music and called himself *Sangîta Kaḷâ rahasya nidhi*. Many verses are based on *ślêṣa* and *dhwani* (suggestion) and yield parallel interpretations and images which are not quite relevant to the context. There is a preponderance of intellect rather than emotion and it is difficult to comprehend the meaning fully without expert commentaries.

It is significant that Murthy kavi had obsered in the *avatârika* of *Vasu Caritra* that mere fictional themes are like artificial diamonds and original themes (of the earlier literature like the *purāṇas*) are genuine but unpolished diamonds, whereas such established themes treated and developed with the fertile imagination of good poets are polished stones. This may be seen as his reaction to Surana's *Kaḷâpūrnōdayamu*, the theme of which is a creation of the poet. Surana's description of a *mahā kâvya* in his *Prabhâvatī Pradyumnam* similarly appears to be a dig at Murthy's *Vasu Caritram*, specially when the former stressed on the qualities : 'explication without being too wide off, establishing meaningful ideas with clarity and relevance'.

Ramarajabhushana also wrote a *dwyarthi kâvya, Hariścandra Nalôpâkhyanamu*, probably to compete with Surana. Ramarajabhushana, no doubt is a scholar-poet, well-equipped and well-accomplished. He had a great command over language and was a genius. His *Vasu Caritra* inspired several later poets who aimed at scholarly feats that might not have the emotional sensibility which marked ideal poetry.

It was thought that both Surana and Ramarajabhushana were in the court of Sri Krishnadeva Raya but there is no reliable evidence. Surana could have been a student during the Raya's time and Ramarajabhushuna, a young boy around ten. Another poet who is also supposed to have been in the Raya's court is Kandukuri Rudra kavi. He is the author of an inventive and fictional prabandha, *Nirankuśōpākhyânamu*. His other works include *Surgrīva Vijaya Yakṣagānamu* and *Janārdanâṣṭakamu*, both dedicated to the divine Lord Janardana of Kandukuru in the present Prakasam district.

Prabandha, as a genre, continued even after the Raya's period and examples abound even in the modern period. But later prabandhas became stereotyped and degenerate. During the 17th and the 18th centuries there was a mushroom crop of obscene writings under this class. The prabandha is essentially an artistic genre. Art explores the ephemeral sensuous world and such sensuousness is an inevitable concomitant of Art. But sensuousness itself is not Art. Early prabandhas maintained a sense of morality and ethics even under provocation. Too much of economic prosperity seems to have resulted in the neglect of the 'higher self' and a preoccupation with the 'lower self'. The heroine represented *prakṛti* and was a repository of all beauty and sensuous experience and the hero represented the *puruṣa* or the enjoyer. The Prabandha poets did not bother about realism and characterisation and they thought the *lōkadharmi* is only a part of the artistic mode. This is the reason for almost all the prabandhas being in the same mould. Still it cannot be denied that Telugu saw its artistic acme of development in the prabandhas and at least some of them are as ennobling as other works. In the appreciation of prabandhas 'historicism' (viewing the works with the outlook and taste of their age) is necessary to some extent. The real pleasures of freedom of spirit and imaginative creation satisfactory to the innermost core of the spirit and all the five senses can be enjoyed only in prabandhas.

LATER MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, two poets handled the story of a great Vaishnava devotee, Vipra Narayana and produced prabandhas. They were Sarangu Tammayya, the author of *Vaijayanti Vilâsamu* and Chadalawada Mallayya, the author of *Vipra Nârâyaṇa Caritra*. Vipra Narayana was lured into sensual pleasures by Devadevi, but was finally saved by Lord Sri Ranganatha, whom he worshipped with his daily offerings of garlands. Though both the poets took advantage of the situation in the story to exploit *śṛngâra*, they were cautious in doing so. These two prabandhas stand apart for two reasons : the poets adopted a natural and simple style in place of the immediately earlier rhetorical and artificial style; secondly, they introduced humour into the prabandha type.

Collapse of the imperial power of the Vijayanagara regime resulted in a sprout of numerous centres of power. Along with it a few already existing kingdoms gained strength. Golkonda was one of them. The Muslim rulers of Golkonda were generous to the language and arts of the people and extended patronage to them. Ponnaganti Telaganna conceived an idea of producing a poem in *acca* (pure) Tenugu. Earlier poets had composed a stanza here and there using only *acca* Tenugu. Telaganna's *Yayâti Caritra* was the first full length poem to use *acca* Tenugu and became a model for some more writers to continue the experiment even into the early part of the twentieth century. Telaganna dedicated his work to Amin Khan, loyal to Ibrahim Qutb Shah.

Addanki Gangadhara kavi authored a prabandha, *Tapatî Samvaraṇôpâkhyânamu* and dedicated it to Ibrahim Qutb Shah (rule: 1550-80) of Golkonda. (Malik) Ibrahim was a popular ruler and was known by his sanskritised name, Malkibharam.

Two works that demand attention were produced in the 16th century. They are Kase Sarvappa's *Siddhêśwara Caritra* and *Râyavâcakamu* by an unidentified officer under the Madurai regime. The former is partly in the dwipada metre and partly in prose. It deals with a local belief that Lord Siva manifested himself as Siddheswara in Hanumakonda, the early capital of the Kakatiyas and goes on to portray the last Kakatiya king Prataparudra and his times. Though the historical account it provides is muddled up by gossip and oral tradition, the work furnishes an interesting portrayal of the administrative and social set-up complete with the beliefs, faiths, tastes and traditions of the people of those days.

Râyavâcakam is in the form of a report and throws light on the Rayas of Vijayanagara and their times. This work assumes significance from the linguistic point of view also since it uses the colloquial language of the court.

In their turn, these two works led to poetic works dealing with historical times. Sarvappa's work formed the basis for Kuchimanchi Jagga Kavi's *Sômadêva Râjîyamu* (c.1720), while Kumara Dhurjati produced his *Kṛṣṇarâya Vijayamu* based on *Râyavâcakamu*. Andugula Venkayya (c.1630) published a poetic work *Narapati Vijayamu* (or *Râmarâjîyamu*) celebrating the Arviti kings that succeeded Sri Krishnadeva Raya.

The 16th century also witnessed several theoretical works (in metrical stanzas) dealing with norms and rules regarding prosody, poesy and dramaturgy. *Lakṣaṇa Sâra Samgrahamu* (by Citrakavi Peddana, c.1550), *Kavi Cintâmaṇi* and *Chandôdarpaṇamu* (by Vellanki Tatam Bhattu, c.1480-1520) and *Sulakṣaṇa Sâramu* (by Lingamagunta Timmana, c.1560) are some such works.

In an effort to boost the morale of the people against the inroads of the Islam, many scholar-poets came to the fore with their devotional and philosophical works. Iswara Phani Bhattu *(Paratattwa Rasâyanamu)*, Mummadi Mallana *(Tattwa Candrôdayamu)* and Dhilli Venkata Kavi *(Jnăna Sūryôdayamu)* are some of them.

As more and more *dwyarthi kâvyas* started appearing, it became necessary to provide commentaries and interpretations for the benefit of the lay readers. The first such commentary was published for Surana's *Râghava Pâṇḍavîyamu* by Muddaraju Peda Ramana (c.1575). He was followed by Citrakavi Anantayya (c.1580) who commented on *Hariśchandra Nalôpâkhyânamu* and also *Âmukta Mâlyada* and Citrakavi Venkata Ramana (c.1600), an author of several poetic works besides being a commentator.

Vemana, a Mystic Poet

Around this time (16th-17th c.), pehaps, flourished a mystic saint-poet, Vemana, who had come to be a household name. Vemana's place of birth, time, background and philosophy have been hotly debated and the debates continue. He forms a trinity with Tikkana and Potana that had exercised a deep and profound influence upon the socio-cultural life of the Andhras.

Vemana is believed to have spent his earlier life in luxury and in pursuit of sensuous pleasures. After renunciation, he seems to have become an itinerant. He ad-libbed simple stanzas in reaction to a variety of day-to-day situations and had covered an uncommonly wide range of topics targetting at the patterns of phony behaviour of the contemporary society. Most of his stanzas are cast in a flexible and simple metre, *Âṭaveladi*, which incidentally means a (public) dancing woman.

Vemana ridiculed the showy side of the social and individual life-style and propagated a sincere and simple ethical life. His stanzas, by and large, carry home-truths illustrated by an apt and common parallel. 'Salt and camphor look alike but can be distinguished through taste. Such is the case of pious men who stand apart in the society', he pointed out in a stanza. 'A vile man is bombastic in his talk while a gentle one is guarded in his utterance. Does gold ring as loud as bronze?'

Vemana was eager to free the society of its dogma. He ridiculed the beliefs and practices of the day. He held that a practice without a pure conscience was similar to food cooked in unclean vessels. Sharp wit coupled with pungent satire marks most of his stanzas. 'One goes to a cave (to lead an austere life) in search of salvation. If, by chance, he meets a wild animal there, it is certain to show him an easy way of salvation', he observed.

Vemana's comments and observations on social life are numerous. 'No need for an elaborate process to kill a miser. Just ask him for some of his money', he says in a stanza. 'Why should the Lord of Ocean of Milk (when born as Krishna) run after a stealthy procurement of milk from all houses? Others' property is always sweeter and tempting!'

The directness of communication, simplicity and commonness of diction, flow of the flexible metre and the sparkling wit and humour of these stanzas have made them popular with even children and the illiterate. One can find an apt quotation from his stanzas for any situation.

Most of his stanzas end in a common line - *Viśwadâbhirâma Vinura Vêma*. Over two thousand stanzas are now available in his name but all of them may not have been his. Vemana's success in easy communication and the metre and format of his verses led many others to add to them. Even a noted poet of the twentieth century, Devulapalli Venkata Krishna Sastry composed parodies of the stanzas (though unfortunately the bulk is lost beyond hope). C.P. Brown, who did yeoman service to the Telugu literature, not only collected, edited and published his verses but also translated some of them into English. Some of the stanzas of Vemana are cryptic and are suggestive of the Yoga school of philosophy.

The tradition of extending patronage to letters and arts, which reached its zenith during the reign of Sri Krishnadeva Raya, was continued by all the big and small rulers in the post-Raya period. Telugu poets flourished in numerous kingdoms and principalities spread over a vast area comprising regions in the present Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.

Southern Literature

The most noteworthy of such new centres was Tanjore, where the Nayaka kings began their rule as representatives of the Vijayanagara imperial power by as early as 1535. However, literary activity commenced there from around 1620.

Raghunatha Nayaka (rule: 1600-31), the grandson of the first Nayaka king of Tanjore, Chewappa Nayaka, was the most illustrious of them. He was described as a second Sri Krishnadeva Raya. He was, like the Raya, a poet himself and patronised poets. He was a noted musicologist also. Of the several works in Sanskrit and Telugu that Raghunatha is credited with, only four Telugu works have survived. *Vâlmîki Caritra* is the only one out of them that is available *in toto*. Raghunatha drew material for this from *Dharma Khanḍam* and also from *Vâsiṣṭa Râmâyaṇam* and *Bhakta Vijayam*.

Valmiki was born as a kirata and by profession a way-robber. The seven great sages, *Sapta ṛṣis*, who were once attacked by him, took compassion on him and transformed him. In narrating the pilgrimages made by the Sages, Raghunatha described several holy places, all of them from the south except Kasi. Raghunatha's portrayal of life in the tribal villages is charmingly realistic. He found occasion in this work to reveal his deep knowledge of dance and music. Raghunat a is known to have authored some works in Sanskrit on dance and music.

The foremost of his court poets was Chemakura Venkata Kavi, the author of two prabandhas, *Sārangadhara Caritra* and *Vijaya Vilāsamu*. Venkata Kavi, whose fame mainly rests on the latter work, is described as the last of the stalwarts of the prabandha school. Venkata Kavi comes nearer to Ramarajabhushana in his poetic qualities of musicality and pun *(Ślēṣa)*. Venkata Kavi vowed to exhibit his dazzling skill in the employment of diction so as to produce an amazing relish in every single verse *(Pratipadya camatkāra)* and succeeded in it.

Vijaya Vilāsamu is a prabandha in three cantos and narrates Arjuna's marriages with Uluchi, the Naga princes, Chitranagada and, finally, Subhadra. Uluchi fell in love with Arjuna even before she saw him. The marriage became posible with Arjuna's acceptance of her love. This can be described as a *swayamvara* type of wedding. His marriage with princess Chitrangada was traditional and so *ārṣa* in nautre. Arjuna fell in love with Subhadra and married her in the *gāndharva* style. The poet brought out this significance with skill. He paid attention to aesthetic relish in narration and chose an engaging style of expression which is at once idiomatic and native.

Raghunatha named his court 'Indira Mandiram', just as the Raya called his own court 'Bhuvana Vijayamu'. Among those who adorned it were Govinda Yajwa, his learned minister and scholar, Govinda's two scholar-writer sons, Yajnanarayana Dikshita and Venkata Makhi, Raja Cudamani Dikshita, author of many Telugu and Sanskrit works, Krishnadhwari, author of *Naiṣadha Pārijātamu*, a dwyarthi kavya and noted poetesses Ramabhadramba and Madhuravani.

'Abhyudaya Kavya', which celebrated the glory and prosperity of a historical personality, was conceived in the Tanjore period. (The term 'abhyudaya', here, is not to be confused with 'abhyudaya' to mean 'progressive' in the modern era). Raghunatha appears to be the first to compose such a work through his *Atchyutābhyudayamu* (in dwipada) about his father Atchyutappa Nayaka. The book, however, is not available. Ramabhadramba authored a Sanskrit work, *Raghunāthābhyudayam*.

Madhuravani translated Raghunatha's Telugu *Rāmāyaṇamu* into Sanskrit. No Telugu work of these poetesses is extant. The king 'bathed' Madhuravani in gold.

Raghunatha's son Vijaya Raghava Nayaka (rule: 1631-73) succeeded his father to the throne. His court was called 'Rajagopala Vilasamu'. Vijaya Raghava authored over fifty works including some yakshaganas. He initiated several changes in the form of the yakshaganam, bringing it closer to the theatrical play and incorporating in it some features of the Sanskrit drama. He also encouraged production of yakshaganams. Vijaya Raghava published an 'abhyudaya kavya', *Raghunāthābhyudaya Kāvyam*, about his father. Vijaya Raghava was so drawn towards arts, letters and pleasures that he could not safeguard the interests of the kingdom. A Maharashtra warrior and a step-brother of the great Sivaji, Ekoji I, defeated him in a combat and wrested the throne. Vijaya Raghava's son, Mannarudeva, also a poet, died in the war.

Among those who adorned the court of Vijaya Raghava were Chengalwa Kala Kavi, Koneti Dikshita Kavi, Purushottama Dikshitulu and Kamarasu Venkatapati Somayaji. Chandrarekha, Krishnaji and Rangajamma were the poetesses of the day. Rangajamma was honoured with *Kanakābhiṣēkam* (bath in gold).

An interesting aspect of the literature produced in the court of Vijaya Raghava was that most of the works featured the king as the hero and his amours as subject matter. In this way, poetry degenerated into the mundane level. The brighter side of it, however, was that the bulk of literature started reflecting the contemporary scene, its men, matters and styles.

A notable figure in the *pada* literature, Kshetrayya, flourished around this peirod. He hailed from Movva in the present Krishna district. He continued the tradition laid down by Annamayya in the structural features of the padams but largely composed erotic songs addressing the local deity, Gopala.

The *bhâgavata* school of devotion had already thrown up the concept of the Lord as the only man and all devotees as women in the fashion of Radha or *gopis*. Kshetrayya's padams gave a boost to the concept, no doubt, but still they reek of the physical and sensuous side of *Sṛngâra*. His songs combined literary excellence and music and were interpreted through *abhinaya* (dance-form). Thus they became a part of the repertoire of the entertainers. As he became a master of the art, Kshetrayya moved about the land and visited several temples as well as royal courts. He composed his padams addressing the various rulers also. He went to the courts of Raghunatha and his son, Vijaya Raghava.

Kankanti Papa Raju was a noted poet of the first half of the 17th century. He published a yakshaganam, *Visṇu Mâyâ Vilâsamu* and *Uttara Râmâyâṇamu* in metrical stanzas. *Uttara Râmâyaṇamu* has gained populairty due to its lucid style and portrayal of human emotions.

Mulugu Papayaradhyulu (1778-1852), a pious man and a scholar, flourished in the court of Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu of Amaravati (Guntur district). Naidu held him in a great esteem as his guru. Papayaradhyulu published many works in Sanskrit and Telugu. He did not dedicate any of his works to the king. At the request of Venkatadri Naidu's son, Papayaradhyulu translated *Dêvî Bhâgavatam* into Telugu and dedicated it to Lord Viswanatha of Kasi. This version is regarded as the most authentic and the best of all the translations of the Sanskrit work.

Kings of Maharashtra stock ruled over Tanjore from 1674 to 1885. Most of them learnt Telugu and became authors of Telugu works. They also extended their patronage to Telugu poets. Shahaji (rule: 1684-1724), son of the founder-king, Ekoji I, authored about twenty works in Telugu apart from works in Sanskrit. He wrote both prabandhas and yakshaganas, which by then came to be known as *nâṭakas*.

Tyagaraju, the Saint-Composer

Tyagaraju (1767-1847), one of the trinity of south Indian music (the others being Syama Sastry and Muttuswami Dikshitar), enriched both literature and music with his unique contribution. He declined the patronage of Sarabhoji II (1793-1833), a Maharashtra ruler of Tanjore. Tyagaraju was a great saint who led an austere life begging for alms. Fore-fathers of Tyagaraju migrated to Tiruvarur (in the present Tamil Nadu) from Kakarla (Kurnool District). An ardent devotee of Lord Rama, Tyagaraju composed innumerable *kṛtis* of which a thousand have survived. He worshipped Rama through a variety of timely services to the Lord - from 'waking' Him up in the morning to singing lullabies in the late evening. Some of his *kṛtis* are associated with those services. He visited many holy shrines and composed extempore songs in praise of the presiding deities.

Critics noticed three distinct phases of evolution in the life of the Saint-composer. During the earliest he was a devotee of Rama and Rama to him then was the hero of the *Râmâyaṇa*, the scion of the Ikshwaku family, son of Dasaratha and Kausalya, Lord of Sita and a charming person of virtue and, of course, the incarnation of Vishnu - on the whole his personal god. Later on, probably during and after his pilgrimage covering a wide area and many temples and holy places, he fell into a deep speculation as to the real purport of godhood - manifested as gods and goddesses of several denominations. In a kriti, he questioned: "How had it been resolved whether you are Siva or Madhava?" Tyagaraju chanted the *mantra* of *Râma-nâma* for nearly two crores of times. He realised the *Brahman*, the fountain of godhood and 'Rama' ultimately became synonymous with Brahman. During the last phase, we find him addressing his own inner self in his kritis. His later day songs reveal his inner thoughts, philosophy and his profound yearning for the Lord.

Tyagaraju is regarded as the architect of 'sangatis' in music. Sangatis are variations on a musical theme for emphasising the latent meaning in the *sâhitya* (literary text) or for bringing out the soul of the *rāga* into full play. Most of the admirers of Tyagaraju are lovers of his music only. If they but know the significance of the *sâhitya* and its correlation with *sangīta* (music), their appreciation would be greater and more intense.

Tyagaraju wrote three operas - *Prahlâda Bhakti Vijayamu, Sītârâma Vijayamu* and *Naukâ Caritramu*.

Kancherla Gopanna, or Ramadas as he is popularly known, was another great devotee of Rama. He was a revenue officer at Bhadrachalam under the Qutb Shahi king, Abul Hassan Tana Shah. Ramadas diverted the revenue collection to renovate the temple for Lord Rama in Bhadrachalam and to gift precious ornaments to the idols. He was imprisoned in a cell at the Golkonda fort for twelve years. According to common belief Lord Rama, along with His brother Lakshmana, is believed to have repaid the money to the Sultan and obtained the release of Ramadas.

Ramadas was a pious man with a singular devotion to the Lord. His songs addressed to Lord Rama are known as *kīrtans*. His *kīrtans* composed during the period of his imprisonment and torture, which he endured with fortitude and unswerving devotion, are rich in communicative skill. He complained to his Lord, Rama: "I am not able to bear these thrashings. And there, you cheerfully enjoy my offerings, as if it is your father's property!' He appealed to His concert, Sita, to intervene and put in a word to Rama. Ramadasa's compositions are resplendent with the melody and rhythm of the folk songs. Love, devotion and equanimity of thought of the Bhagavata cult and of the Sufi saints moulded the inner urges of the Saint-composer, Ramadasa. In fact, his *kīrtana* was an extension of the devotional art-song form of Annamayya.

Ramadas also composed a book of one hundred stanzas, *Dāśarathī Śatakamu*, which gained immense popularity. Till recently, verses from this book along with similar devotional stanzas from *Bhāgavatāmu, Kāḷahastīśwara Śatakamu* and such others used to be a part of routine recital in daily prayers.

It may be noted that *kṛti, padam, kīrtana* and *samkīrtana* meant the same at the time of Annamayya. Connotations began to change later. *Kīrtanas* of Ramadasa and others denoted the devotional song whereas *padams* of Kshetrayya denoted erotic but devotional songs mainly set to dance. After Kshetrayya, the art-dance-song bloomed in the compositions of Sarangapani and others and flourished in the royal courts as pure erotic song. It came to be called *Jāvaḷī*. *Kṛti* developed out of the *padas* as a pure art-music-song lending itself to the development of the concert music.

Concentration on Prose

While operas and yakshaganas dominated the literary output in the Tanjore region, prose works gained predominance in the Madurai and Mysore regions. Muddalagiri or Muttulinga Nayaka (rule: 1675) and Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha (rule: 1705-32) were the patrons of letters at Madurai. Lingamaneni Kameswara Kavi, the author of *Satyabhamā Sāntwanamu* among other works and Ganapavarapu Venkata Kavi, credited with thirty works, were in the court of Muddalagiri. Venkata Kavi was an adept in *citra, garbha* and *bandha* varieties of poetry. Venkata Kavi was also an expert in performing *avadhānas*. He composed a Telugu lexicon after the fashion of the Sanskrit *Amara Kōśam*.

Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha authored two prose works : *Śrīranga Māhātmyamu* and *Māgha Māhātmyamu*. Samukhamu Venkata Krishnappa Nayaka, who wrote two prose works - *Jaiminī Bhāratamu* and *Sārangadhara Caritra* and two prabandhas - *Ahalyā Samkrandanamu* and *Rādhikā Sāntwanamu* was the noted one of his court poets.

In the Mysore region, Peda Kempa Gouda (1513-69), the architect of the city of Bangalore, composed a yakshaganam, *Gangā Gaurī Vilāsamu*. Palavekari Kadiripati (c.1660) published *Śuka Saptati*, an original poem which contains thirty tales as narrated by a parrot to a house-wife, Madavati. Kadiripati displayed in it a rare skill of narration and his work reflects the contemporary Telugu life.

Kaluve Vira Raju (18th c.), a military chief in the Mysore kingdom, translated the *Ādi, Sabhā and Bhīṣma parvas* of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* into Telugu prose. He was assisted by Tupakula Ananta Bhupaludu. Vira Raju also brought out a treatise on medicine. Vira Raju's son Nanja Raju, also a military chief, published prose works both in Telugu and Kannada.

Chenji was another centre which patronised Telugu letters. China Narayana Nayaka, the author of a meritorious prabandha, *Kuvalayāśwa Caritram* is believed to be a contemporary of Varadendra, who ruled Chenji from 1645-49 and also was related to him. Tupakula Ananta Bhupala, who served in the army of the Madurai king and assisted Kaluve Vira Raju in translating the *Mahābhārata* was the son of the army chief of Chenji, Krishnappa. Ananta also published prose renderings of *Viṣṇu Purāṇam, Sundara Kāṇḍa (Râmâyana)* and *Bhagavadgīta* besides the *Ānuśasanika Parvam* of the *Mahābhārata*. After the Maharashtra rulers took over Chenji (1677), Darbha Kavigiri authored *Rukmângada Caritra* (in dwipada) and *Abhinaya Darpaṇamu* at the instance of Khande Rau, a Maharashtra army officer.

The rulers of Pudukkotai (1730-1886) were not of Telugu stock. Still, they not only extended patronage to Telugu poets and scholars but also authored Telugu works. Vijaya Raghunatha I (rule: 1730-69) encouraged Nudurupati Venkana to produce *Àndhra Bhâṣârṇavamu*, a dictionary of pure Telugu in verses. Vijaya Raghunatha's son Raya Raghunatha Tondaman (rule: 1769-89) was a disciple of Uddandakavi Sitaramarya and a co-student of Venkana. Tondaman wrote a prabandha in six cantos, *Pārvatī Pariṇayamu*. Venkana adorned his court and authored several works including *Malla Purāṇam* dealing with the technique of combat. Vijaya Raghunatha II, who succeeded Raya Raghunatha to the throne and ruled from 1789-1807, was also a patron of literature. Venkana's son, Sambayya, Navanappa, the author of *Khaḍga lakṣaṇa śirômaṇi*, which classifies the swords into types and describes them and Gonasuri Narayana Ayyangar, the king's teacher, were in his court.

Not only the large principalites and their rulers but also some high officials and the affluent patronised literature. Noted among them was Ananda Ranga Pillai, an officer under the French in Pondicherry. Under his patronage, Kasturi Ranga Kavi produced a work on prosody, *Lakṣaṇa Śirōmaṇi* which he dedicated to Pillai. Ranga Kavi also authored *Sâmba Nighaṇṭuvu* and *Kṛṣṇārjuna Samvâdamu*, a poem in five cantos. Some of the other patrons were Magadala Krishnayya, an interpreter with the Dutch and his son Ramadasu. Similar literary activity is recorded from Trichi, Salem, Turayur, Cheyyur, Hosur and other places in the south.

Telugu literature flourished during the 17th, 18th and the 19th centuries at a number of principalities spread over in the present Andhra Pradesh also. Kalahasti, Jataprolu, Pithapuram, Peddapuram, Bobbili, Vijayanagaram, Venkatagiri, Karveti Nagaram, Nuzividu, Amaravati, Munagala, Muktyala, Challapalli, Urlam-Devidi, Gadwala, Atmakuru and Vanaparti are but a few of them. The credit, perhaps, goes to Srikrishnadeva Raya to have made it a fashion and tradition for rulers to extend patronage to men of letters. To be a poet, certainly, was by and large an honour for the individual in spite of some voices here and there deriding the explosion in their number. Adidam Sura Kavi (later half of the 18th c.) observed: 'By God, there used to be a single poet in an entire region. But now, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten in each village'. Writing became a livelihood for some and also an excuse to demand offerings from the affluent. Though in a humourous vein, Panuganti Lakshmi Narasimha Rao, a dramatist and essayist (1685-1940) made a character of his observe, 'The easiest way to rob the people, next to thievery, is to write and publish works'.

A positive contribution of the numerous principalities, spread over all the Telugu speaking region and also beyond its borders, was an increased and expansive activity in the field of literature. The total literary output had been vast and varied. Traditional poetry of the courts, by and large, continued to be aloof from the realities of life and involved itself in poor imitation of the noted works of yester years. However, there have been a few poems of interest on account of their historical themes like *Rangarâya Kadanaranga Caritramu* (Dittakavi Narayana, c.1790), *Padmanâbha Yuddhamu* (Chatrati Lakshmi Narasa Kavi, 18-19th c.) or accounts of travel like *Nîlagiri Yâtra, Cennapuri Vilâsamu* and which afford as an insight into contemporary times. Even from the linguistic point of view such works are interesting as they accepted foreign loan words as adopted by the people.

Prose works, which were either translations or retold narrations of myths and legends, and original works which dealt with the greatness or significance *(mâhâtmyam)* of a holy river, place or the presiding deity of a shrine, appeared in abundance.

Another point that demands notice is that a number of poets and writers came from classes other than brahmins, who dominated the scene until then. Public interest in literature and reading material reflects in the abundance of minor types and forms like satakam, ballad, etc. As against the traditional literature which confined itself to unreal themes, ballads and heroic poetry concentrated on local heroes both real and legendary (Katama Raju, Desingu Raju, Sarvai Papadu, etc.).

Satakam played a vital role in this period. Though bhakti was still the predominant sentiment in sataka literature, not a few of them reflect the contemporary situation, specially, the turbulences, political or social instability, attack on the holy places by aliens and the general helplessness of a law-abiding citizen. The poet's aggrieved voice and his anguish added a new dimension in subjectivity to such satakams. *Râmalingêśwara Śatakamu* (Adidam Sura Kavi, c.1720-60), *Simhâdri Nârasimha Śatakamu* (Gogulapati Kurmanatha Kavi, first half of the 18th c.), *Bhadragiri Śatakamu* (Bhalla Perayya, early half of the 18th c.), etc. stand out as examples.

Some poets had resorted to use poetry to abuse or defame their antagonists. Kuchimanchi Jagga Kavi (1700-1765) accepted to write a poem celebrating Chandra Rekha, a kept woman of Chintalapati Niladri Raju and actually wrote it under the title *Chandra Rêkhâ Vilâsamu*. But Niladri Raju changed his mind and refused to accept its dedication. Jagga Kavi went mad with the insult and destroyed the manuscript. Further, he composed an abusive poem changing the title to *Chandra Rêkhâ Vilâpamu*. In it he depicted Chandra Rekha, Niladri Raju and one Venkata Sastry, who was believed to have advised Raju against accepting dedication of the earlier poem, as vile people with despicable taste. The whole poem is a wild satire and parody bordering on obscenity. Jagga Kavi did not stop there. He obtained orders from the Nawab of Hyderabad compelling Niladri Raju to listen to the reading of this poem in an open court.

Another poet, who is remembered in the context of abusive poetry *(tiṭṭu kavita)* is Pindiprolu Lakshmana Kavi (18-19 c.). He composed a *dwyarthi kâvyam, Lankâ Vijayamu* (popular as *Râvaṇa Dammîyamu*), combining the stories of Ravana (of the *Râmâyaṇa*) and his antagonist Dammana (for Dharmarayudu) who forcibly took away the poet's paddy field.

NEW ERA

Latter half of the 19th Century : a Prelude

Literature written during the 19th c. was often condemned as one of a decadent nature. But, such a condemnation seems to have been based on the fact that poetry of an imitative nature formed the largest part of the output and also that poetry which reflected the intellect rather than the emotion had become the order of the day. *Dwyarthi kâvyas* and *tryarthi kāvyas* (with three simultaneous interpretations) were popular. Grammars, Cyclopaedias and dictionaries, in verse form, were aplenty. A play on words resulted in *ślêṣha kâvyas* and in poems that used 'sound gimmicks'. Sustained poetic sensibility, hallmark of the early periods, was missing - the reason for which was perhaps the emergence of smaller principalities in place of a major power with internal dissensions, meagre resources, and dwindling literary taste.

But there were also positive signs of the brith of a New Era in literature, the stirrings of which could be clearly seen during the 19th c. These new stirrings were felt in all the spheres - political, educational, social and literary. There was, after a long time, political stability and the resultant financial stability due to new river projects and pervading peaceful atmosphere. Literature was made available to every reader, with the growing impetus of printing and publication of books. With English education came an awareness of new genres hitherto unknown to the native readers. The attempts to write books in the new genres enriched literature. With the emergence of prose as a vehicle of expression, it was exploited not only for creative and critical writings, but also for writings on social and political issues. Literature, for the first time, began to reflect more and more of contemporary social life as it was intended for the common reader rather than to a learned connoisseur of a high aesthetic sensibility.

This wide variety is also reflected in poetry. Besides innumerable prabandhas, several yakshaganas, ballads, satakas and even philosophical poems were written. Folk songs and narrative poems saw the light of the day. Even prabandhas, which were imitiations of earlier and more prominent poetic texts of yester years, came to contain in them descriptions of contemporary manners and customs.

Thus, seen from an 18th century point of view there was certainly decadence in poetic virtuosity during the 19th c. But this was amply compensated by the variety of poetic and literary forms, by the socialization of literature, and by the creation of new literary types. On the whole, this Age serves as a prelude to the New Era that was to emerge at the end of the century.

The poets that belonged to the 19th century can be studied in three phases: those that were born in the 18th c. but lived on to write in the early part of the 19th c., those that belonged to the early part of the century (1800-1850) and those that started writing in the latter part of the century and continued to write in the early part of the 20th c.

To the first category belonged Adidam Sura Kavi, who was born in the latter part of the 18th c., saw the Padmanabha battle (between the king of Vijayanagaram and the British) in 1799 and wrote his important works in the 19th c. He is the author of *Candramatī Pariṇayamu*, a prabandha in three cantos, often called "Pilla Vasu Caritra" (literally, a 'budding' *Vasu Caritra* called so because of its imitative nature). Even in this mythological story, the poet included several descriptions of social customs that were prevalent in Andhra during his time. He is also the author of *Râmalingêśwara Śatakamu, Kavi Samśaya Vicchêdamu*, a grammatical text, *Ândhra Candrâlôkamu*, a book on alamkara, *Ândhra Ñama Śêṣamu*, a lexicon of *acca* Telugu words. He is also known for his poetry of abuse *(tiṭṭu kavitvam)*.

Another innovative poem in which an altogether new approach is found is Mangalagiri Ananda Kavi's *Vêdântarasâyanamu*. Ananda Kavi is one of the earliest Christian converts and his poem in 4 cantos describes, in prabandha style, the story of Christ. He dedicated the poem to Dasaya, a minister working at Bandar (Machilipatnam). Another poem on Christian myth is *Sarvêśwara Mâhâtmyamu*, written by Pingali Yellanarya. It is a *citra prabandham*.

Three poets of Maringanti family were authors of several prabandhas. Singaracharya of Devarakonda, who wrote *Daśaratha râja Caritra* is said to be a *Śata Ghanṭâvadhâni*, a poet who could extemporaneously dictate poems to a hundred scribes simultaneously. Maringanti Venkata Narasimhacharya is the author of *ŚrîKṛṣṇa Śatânandîyamu*, a story based on an episode from the *Bhâgavatam*. He also authored a prabandha on Duryodhana's marriage *(Ciluva Padiga Rêni Pêraṇamu)*. Another poet, Maringanti Narasimhacharyulu, in his *Tâḷânka Nandinî Pariṇayamu*, described several social and marital customs prevalent in Andhra at the time.

Dittakavi Narayana Kavi's *Rangarâya Caritramu* is of particular importance in this period because it is a historical poem depicting the Battle of Bobbili waged between the kings of Bobbili and Vizianagaram, with the French fighting on the side of the latter. The poem is dedicated to the Narasaraopet Zamindar, Malraju Ramarayaningaru.

Another important poem of the period is Ayyalaraju Narayana Kavi's *Hamsa Vimśati* in 5 cantos. The poem contains descriptions of several social and religious customs of the 18th and 19th century life and is considered a valuable source book for social history.

Several Sanskrit texts were translated during the period, among which texts on prosody also found a place, besides poetic texts. Krishna Dasa Kavi closely followed *Gîta Gôvindam* in his *Râdhâkṛṣṇa Vilâsamu*, a poem in 3 cantos. The story of Bilhana attracted the attention of some poets. Among these is Chennuri Sobhanadri (*Śṛṇgâra Sudhâ Samudra Pūrṇa Candrôdayamu* in 4 cantos). Chellapalli Narasakavi wrote a love poem on the same story. Gopinatham Venkatakavi translated Magha's *Śiśupâla Vadha* into Telugu, among other works.

Among poetic texts on *alamkâra śâstra*, mention must be made of Katikaneni Ramayya's *Kuvalayânanda Prakâśam* based on Sanskrit *Kuvalayânandam*. Tirumala Bukkapattanam China Tatacharya rendered *Viśwa Guṇâdarśamu* (yatra caritra), into Telugu poetry.

Several philosophical poems of eminence also appeared during the period. The most important among them is Parasuramapantula Linga Murty's *Sītarâmânjanēya Samvâdamu*, a poem in three cantos. Through discourse the poem brings out very difficult philosophical concepts into easily understood poems. He hailed from Telangana. His son, Rama Murthy, also wrote a philosophical poem, *Śuka Caritra* in 5 cantos. Similarly, Veginati Kondanarya's *Vivēka Sindhuvu*, Vasudevayogi's *Jīva Prabōdhamu*, Konala Narasimha Kavi's *Śeṣa Dharmamulu* and Sridharamalle Venkataswamy's *Brahmōttara Khaṇḍamu* are of special importance.

A considerable number of women poets made a mark during the period, by their diverse contributions which revealed their poetic achievements. Tarigonda Venkamamba is easily the best poetess of the early 19th c. She is the author of *Jnâna Vâsiṣta Râmâyaṇamu*, *Śrī Vēnkaṭācala Māhātmyamu* and *Râjayōga Sâramu*. She is adept in writing easy and freely-flowing verse and is equally proficient in the traditional *padyam* as well as in *dwipada*. Mamidanna Subhadramma composed *Ādhyatma Râmâyaṇam* in *dwipada*.

The *Śatakam* gained wider popularity in the 19th c. Two dominant aspects can be seen in the *satakas* of this period: one, a satirical vein condemning the contemporary social conditions and the second, a moral vein laying down rules and regulations for leading an upright, virtuous life. To the former type belong *Candraśēkhara Śatakam*, which used rustic language as though contemporary manners are viewed from the point of view of village folk. Both Mandapaka Parvateeswara Sastry (of Bobbili Samsthanam) and Satyavolu Bhagavatha Kavi wrote more than eighty *śatakams* each. Others who wrote *Śatakams* include Tripurana Tammaya Dora (*Pânduranga Aṣṭōttara Śatakamu* and *Mukhalingēśwara' Śatakamu)*, Pullamaraju Narasinga Rao *(Nrikesari Śatakamu)*, Adidam Bala Bhaskarudu of Madugula Samsthanam *(Śrī Venkatêśwara Śatakamu, Jānakīrāma Śatakamu* and *Bhōgalinga Śatakamu)*, Polipeddi Venkataraya Kavi *(Veṇugôpâla Śatakamu* and *Lāvaṇya Śatakamu)* and Madina Subhadrayyamma *(Raghunâyaka Śatakamu, Kēśava Śatakamu* and *Krişṇa Śatakamu*). The most popular of the *śatakams* that came in the latter half of the 19th c. is Vaddadi Subbarayudu's *Bhakta Cintâmaṇi*, the poems from which were at the tips of the tongues of youngsters and elders alike for more than half a century. Moralistic *śatakams* include *Kumâra Śatakamu, Kumârī Śatakamu* and *Mâninī Śatakamu*. Tarigonda Venkamamba wrote *Kṛṣṇa Satakam* in *dwipada* metre.

Yakshaganas

Yakshagana, which had its origins by the 14th-15th c., was the most popular form during the reign of the Nayaka Kings. By 19th c., they were no more confined to the royal courts. People from all walks of life and of social status had developed their own versions of yakshagana. At least two important traditions of yakshagana performance can be traced to this period, in addition to the already prevailing Kuchipudi tradition. The first one is a continuation of the court tradition. In the royal court of Tanjavur, yakshagana had a pride of place, for both the royal patrons and their court poets vied with each other in writing them and getting them performed. The last of the Tanjavur kings, Shahaji (1833-55) wrote *Annapūrṇā Pariṇayamu* celebrating the marriage of Konkaneswara with Annapurna.

The other tradition is the Bhagavata Mela, prevalent in the villages around Melattur and Uttukadu, initiated by Melattur Venkatarama Sastry. This is a non-court tradition, and is mainly a temple-based one. Venkatarama Sastry was the author of 12 yakshaganas including *Prahlâda Caritra, Ushâ Pariṇayamu, Hariścandra, Rukmiṇī Kalyâṇamu* and *Sitâ Kalyâṇamu*, which are performed even today in these villages.

Cheyyuri Changalvaraya Sastry of Chengalpat (1810-1900) is the author of *Sundarēśwara Vilâsamu*, a yakshagana of high literary and musical qualities, which describes the divine love story of Sundareswara and Madhura Meenakshi. Tyagaraja also is the author of three yakshaganas, all of them rich not only in musical virtuosity but in visual imagination as well. His *Prahlâda Bhakta Vijayamu* treats the story of Prahlada from the points of view of *jnâna, vairâyga, viginâna* and *sadbhakti*. An interesting aspect of the play is that Hiranyakasipa doesn't appear in it at all. The other play by Tyagaraja is *Nauka Caritramu*, a *Sṛngâra Yakshagana* in which the great master depicts the relationship between the child Krishna and the Gopikas. The third one is *Sitârâma Vijayamu* describing the *uttara-Râma Katha*.

Besides these, several yakshaganas have been made popular by performing groups. The most important among them is *Lêpâkṣi Râmâyaṇamu*, dedicated to Srihari at Lepakshi. Other Ramayana yakshaganas include *Dharmapuri Râmâyaṇamu* written by Seshachala Kavi and *Manthena Râmâyaṇamu* written by Muddaya Kavi. These yakshaganas had also become the basic 'singing texts' of leather puppet shows all over Andhra. Several other poets also became popular for their yakshaganas. Noteworthy among them are Govardhanam Narasimhacharyulu, Seshabhattar Krishnamcharyulu and Vattem Papa Kavi. Dhenuvakonda Venkata Kavi's *Virâtaparvam* was very popular with performers all over the land.

To call this an 'Age of Decadence' is only a partial view because it is so adjudged only on the basis of the prabandhas that were written during the time. Fortunately, such poetic imitations are few and experiments in other types of poetry - such as yakshagana, philosophical poem, sataka and *udâharana* - are more varied. It was also an age in which social awareness was pronouncedly seen in poetry. Thus the first half of 19th c., can be called an 'Age of New Awareness'. The literary output of the second half of the century strengthens this view.

This can also be called an Age of Experimentation because of the steady influence of western literature on Telugu literary forms and styles as a result of which, new poetic and prose genres have set in. British administrators took great interest in the development of Telugu studies and helped publish authentic texts of old classics. Thus, the decadence of traditional poetry, the influence of new forms from west and a new awareness of our own tradition made available in the now printed and published classics have all contributed to the dawn of a new age in the last decades of the 19th c.

DAWN OF A NEW AGE

The emergence of the New Age is the result of the sustained work of many stalwarts. These can be classified into two groups - the fore-runners who created the proper ground for an awareness of newness both in content and form and social consciousness, and the pioneers who ushered in modernism. To the former group belong Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Tirupati Venkata Kavulu, Venkata Parvateeswara Kavulu and Cuttamanchi Ramalinga Reddy. To the latter belong Gurazada Appa Rao and Rayaprolu Subba Rao.

Though these new bearings in poetry had started appearing by 1875, there were also a large number of traditonal poems - prabandhas, satakas and translations of Sanskrit *Kavyas* - written during the period. The most important poets that translated poems and plays from Sanskrit were Paravastu Rangacharyulu, Dasu Sriramulu, Tripurana Tammaya Dora, Vavilikolanu Subba Rao and Sripada Krishna Murthy Sastry. Paravastu Rangacharyulu (1822-1900) was a scholar in *tarka, vyākaraṇa* and *mīmāmsa* and the author of a Telugu Encyclopaedia called *Śabdārtha Sarvasvamu*. He translated Kalidasa's *Abhijnâna Sâkuntalam* and published it in the periodical, *Sakala Vidyābhivardhini*. His monumental Telugu poetic work is a translation of select Upanishads. He also translated Rajachudamani Diskhita's *Kamalini Kalahamsamu*.

Dasu Sriramulu (1846-1908), who attained enviable scholarship in *tarka, vyâkaraṇa, sangīta, sahitya* and *vēdânta śâstras* by his twenteith year, studied, in later years, English as well and became a 'first-class pleader' at Machilipatnam and Eluru. His best known work is the translation of *Dēvī Bhāgavatam* which received unprecedented contemporary critical acclaim. He also authored short poems among which *Telugu Nâḍu* describes the customs and manners among different Telugu sects. He is also known for his musical compositions.

Another poet who translated *Dēvī Bhâgavatam* into Telugu was Tripurana Tammaya Dora (1849-90), whose poetry contained the cliches of prabandha style. Akondi Vyasamurty Sastry's (1860-1916) *Mahābhārata Navanītamu*, in 18 chapters, is a re-make of the *Mahâbhârata*. Vavilikolanu Subba Rao (1863-1939) closely followed the Sanskrit original in his *Vâlmiki Rāmāyaṇamu*. A great devotee of Rama in his later life, he also wrote other narratives like *Kumārābhyudayamu, Kausalyâ Pariṇayamu* and *Subhadrâ Vijayamu*. Similarly, Janamanchi Seshadri Sarma (1882-1940) translated puranas and Vedanta texts into Telugu. Besides, he also translated *Bhāratam* and *Bhâgavatam*. Sripada Krishna Murty Sastry (1866-1960), another traditionalist, authored more than 100 poetical works and plays, out of which his translations of *Rāmāyaṇam, Bhāratam* and *Bhâgavatam* are known for their close following of the originals.

Many poets wrote both narrative and descriptive poems which contained some new element either in poetic content or in poetic diction. Mention must be made of Vavilala Vasudeva Sastry (1851-97), whose translation of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* was the first of its kind translated from English. He also translated the "Bhajagovinda slokas" into Telugu as *Mumukṣu Tārakamu*. He was also the author of a prabandha, *Brâhmaṇīyam*, a story of contemporary social relevance depicting the middle-class brahmin life in Telugu villages. He also practised a poetic style which is very close to the spoken idiom, as is evidenced in the autobiographical sketch prefacing *Nandaka Rājyamu*, the first original social play in Telugu. Similar attempts to bring poetry closer to the spoken word were made by Poondla Ramakrishnayya (1860-1904), Dasu Sriramulu and Maccha Venkata Kavi (1856-1903).

Among the poets who wrote extensively in the traditional style the most prominent are: Mudumbai Narasimhacharya Swamy (1842-1924; *Lingēśa Śatakamu*), Mandapaka Parvateeswara Sastry (1833-97; *Rādhākṛṣṇa Samvādamu, Umā Samhita, Kāncī Māhātmyamu* and *Kṛiṣṇabhyudayamu)*, Marepalli Ramachandra Sastry (1874-1951; popularly known as 'Kavi garu'), Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi (1866-1957), a great Sanskrit scholar and the first editor of *Nāṭya Śāstra* (*Mṛgāvati* and *Vasanta Vilāsamu*), Achanta Venkataraya Samkhyayana Sarma (1864-1933; *Sudhānidhi* and *Manōrama*) and Medepalli Venkataramanacharyulu (1862-1943; *Dēvavrata Caritra, Āndhra Sētubandha Mahākāvyam*).

Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu (1842-1915) is among the most well-known traditionalist poets of the period. A champion of the *grānthika* style, he was in continuous literary battles with several contemporary authors of repute. Among his poetical works, *Bilwēśwarīyam, Simhācala Yātra* and *Gōvinda Manjari* are notable. Devulapalli Subbaraya Sastry (1853-1909) and Tammana Sastry (1856-1912) wrote a prabandham, *Mahēndra Vijayamu*. Gurazada Srirama Murty (1851-99), whose *Kavi Jīvitamulu* is one of the earliest Lives of Telugu Poets, also wrote a poetical work called *Citra Ratnākaramu*.

Musical Compositions

The diversity of the late 19th c. will best be understood if we consider the rich variety of musical compositions that appeared during this time. The musical 'trinity' Tyagaraja, Syama Sastry and Muttuswami Deekshitar were contemporaries and lived and wrote during the early part of the century. Melattur Venkatarama Sastry, Patnam Subrahmanya Iyer, Pulaiyur Doraswamayya, Uttukadu Manavallur Sabhapataiah, Subbaraya Sastry (Syama Sastry's son) were all younger contemporaries of Tyagaraja. Tumu Narasimha Dasu (1790-1833) and Maddirala Venkataraya Kavi wrote popular musical compositions.

Similarly 'javali' also is a popular musical composition of the late 19th c., which is a *sṛngāra* composition, intended for dance. Dharmapuri Subba Rao, Ramnad Srinivasa Iyengar, Tirupati Narayana Swamy and other musicians wrote popular javilis, which became a part of concert repertoire of dance performances. Contemporary poets like Dasu Sriramulu and Maccha Venkata Kavi also wrote javalis.

Other forms of *gēya* compositions popular during the time were philosophic songs *(tattvams)*. Nishtala Prakasa Dasu (early 19th c.) and Edla Ramadasu (1860-1910) were popular song-writers of this type, whose tattvams were specially sung for illiterate rustics by mendicant sadhus. This age also saw the collection and publication of traditional folk songs and ballads.

Adibhatla Narayana Das (1864-1945) is a pioneer in the field of 'Hari-katha' performances. A noted scholar in six languages including Persian, he adorned the court of that great patron of Arts, Ananda Gajapati of Vizianagaram. Narayandas not only wrote Hari-kathas but also trained many disciples in the art. He was also a poet of repute and had established a style of his own, which specialized in using native Telugu metres and words. He translated Omar Khayyam into English, Telugu and Sanskrit. He also translated *Bhagavadgīta* as *Vēlpu Māṭa*. In addition, he rendered several important episodes from Shakespeare's plays into Telugu in his *Navarasa Taranginī*. His original poem, *Bāṭasāri* is one of the finest narrative-descriptive poems of the time.

MODERN PERIOD : POETRY

Fore-Runners

Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Tirupati Venkata Kavulu, Venkata Parvateeswara Kavulu and Cuttamanchi Ramalinga Reddy may be grouped together as fore-runners of modernism, who brought a fresh insight into poetry, either by way of a fresh social consciousness, an easier idiom, a subjective element or a tragic perspective hitherto seen only sporadically. Thus, through individual efforts, they spearheaded and initiated a change that was to dominate the coming years of poetic history. That all of them have made conscious efforts towards a new type of poetry goes as much to their creative talent as to the changing environment in the country and the willing response of the poets towards that change (Their contribution to other forms of literature like the novel, short story, drama and literary criticism is discussed in various sections dealing with them separately).

The first to herald the new age was Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848-1919), whose creative output was multi-pronged, but whose goal of attack was the existing orthodox social order. His contribution lies mainly in bringing about an awareness of several new media of literary expression - the novel, the biography, the autobiography, the satirical tale and the drama. His poetic output, however, is meagre and is reminiscent of the experiments made in the early part of the century. His *Śuddhândhra Nirôsṭhya Nirvacana Naiṣadham* is an attempt at writing a Kavya in *acca* Telugu (also avoiding labials and prose interludes). Even the other works like *Rasika Jana Ranjanamu, Śuddhândhrôttara Râmâyaṇamu, Śuddhândhra Bhârata Sangrahamu* are bereft of any newness, mainly following an earlier tradition. But his *Abhâgyôpâkhyânam* (1876) is the first satirical poetic work in Telugu, which trend later paved the way to his several *prahasanas*. As a writer conscious of social goals rather than of his own creative endeavour, he wrote *Saraswatī Nārada Samvâdam* (1887) in which the whole poetic environment of the day was brought into a critical focus. In his later years, however, he left the field of poetry to write his other works in easily understandable prose. That he is capable of writing chaste poetry is evident form his translation of *Abhijnâna Śâkuntalam*.

The credit for changing the poetic idiom and bringing it nearer to the comprehension of the common reader goes to the twin-poets *(Janṭa Kavulu)* - Tirupati Venkata Kavulu : Diwakarla Tirupati Sastry (1871-1919) and Chellapilla Venkata Sasty (1870-1950). These two poets, for long, the uncrowned kings of the Telugu poetic world, are responsible for popularising poetry, though of a traditional type, by their fluency and closeness to the spoken idiom. As popular dramatic poets, they were able to directly communicate with the audiences. As undaunted practioners of *āśu* kavita (extempore rendering of poetry) in "ashtavadhanams" and "satavadhanams", they addressed themselves to more discerning participants.

Thus they achieved, in their poetry, a rare immediacy and directness, which were hitherto absent in Telugu poetry. Their poems in the "Bharata" plays were, for half a century, heard even from the illiterate mouths. Their other poetical works include *Buddha Caritramu*, a translation of Arnold's *Light of Asia* and *Paṇigrahīta* and *Śravaṇānandam*, original narrative poems, in which they have criticised the contemporary evils like child marriages and the nautch. Their *Gīratamu* is a satirical work based on the model of *Bhāratam*.

Their greater and long-standing renown rests on their nourishing a large number of disciples, who were virtually leaders of the next generation of Telugu poetry. Though they followed the tradition both in their subject matter and and their style, they were mainly responsible for creating a large and willing readership which helped the later practioners of the art.

Venkata Parvateeswara Kavulu (Balantrapu Venkata Rao, 1880-1972, and Voleti Parvateesam, 1882-1955) are also 'twin' poets whose genius is multi-faceted and whose contribution multifarious. Influenced by Rabindranath Tagore, they wrote novels, translated some from Bengali, popularised the historical novel and founded a publishing concern. Their fame as poets rests mainly on three anthologies - *Ēkānta Sēva, Bhāva Sankīrtanam* and *Kāvya Kusumāvaḷi* (in two parts) published in 1913. They brought in a new mysticism into Telugu poetry, and a relentless yearning for the godhood that reminds one of Tagore's *Gītānjali.* The spiritual exuberance and the devotional ecstacy in their poems have initiated a branch of romanticism in which subjectivity of the poet and direct address to an ideal have become a part of the larger romantic fervour popularised in the next generation.

Cuttamanchi Ramalinga Reddy (1880-1951), a poet-critic, deserves a place among the fore-runners, mainly because of his *Musalamma Maraṇamu*, published in 1899. It is the story of the supreme sacrifice of a woman for the sake of a whole village. A sustained tragic element creates the needed atmospheric background to the story. The creation of such an atmosphere in the poem, not in the traditional way of using images and similies, but by the actions and reactions of the participants in the story is its over-all contribution to modern story-telling. It was a bold experiment on the part of Dr. Reddy to make a woman the protagonist of the poem and to end it in her tragic death, contrary to the tradition.

The Pioneers

Gurazada Venkata Appa Rao (1862-1915) and Rayaprolu Subba Rao (1892-1984) are the pioneers who are responsible for steering in a New Age of poetry. But it is an irony that Gurazada's pioneering work did not immediately find any ardent followers and his creative work, replete with humanism and social concern, had to wait for another twenty years to find some following, whereas Rayaprolu, thirty years his junior, found an immediate following in the Romantic poets of his era. However, both of them were responsible, separately, for spearheading two distinctly separate schools of poetry: Gurazada, the humanistic, socially relevant one (which, in later-day terminology, is called 'progressive poetry') and Rayaprolu, the Romantic one.

In Gurazada Appa Rao we find an explicator and practitioner of Veeresalingam's social, reformist ideology and Gidugu Rama Murty's (1863-1940) linguistic reform. In him we find a happy combination of purposeful creativity and artistic perfection. He not only mastered the differnt realms of poetry, drama and short story, but stood as a towering figure. His *Kanyāśulkam* has, since its appearance in 1892, been considered a masterprice in dramatic literature. His stories like *'Mī Pērēmiṭi'* have easily set the tone of the short story. His poems like *Māṭala Mabbulu, Puṣpa Lāvikalu* and *Merupulu* and the narrative, *Subhadra* paved the way for new poetry. He also wrote a *śatakam - Ṛtu Śatakam* - in his younger days. His *Nīlagiri Pāṭalu* (1909) showed some newness in containing a musical quality, after the kirtans of the composer-devotees. The selection of a non-devotional subject of 'Nilagiri' for such a purpose is new. •

But his *Mutyāla Sarālu*, an anthology, is what shows Gurazada as a poet of immense creative innovation. Almost all the short poems (except *Pūrṇamma*) are written in a new metre "mutyala saram" which is a four-lined stanza, with 14 syllables *(mātras)* in each of the first three lines and the fourth line containing seven to fourteen matras. Inspired by several, easy-flowing metres from various sources - a 'shatpadi' from Kannada, a 'ghazal' from Urdu, a folk song and a form of native metre called 'Vrishabhagati ragada' - Gurazada wrote his poems in this metre "as a happy blending of the Old and the New".

The poems in the *Mutyāla Sarālu* (anthology) show how wide Gurazada's interests are. There are poems that belong to Romantic poetry, Nature Poetry, Nationalist poetry, Reformist poetry and so on. His Romantic poems like *Kāsulu* denote a much wider human love than merely a love between two lovers. In simple, ordinary words, he expresses what is universal. His idea of love is devoid of any physicality; it is a friendly union and such love "is above all empires", he says. In *Kanyaka*, he shows how a woman's egotism in love and her authoritarian attitudes to obtain it bring horrors into the lives of the lovers.

Gurazada's Nationalist poetry is but an extension of his Romantic poetry. In his now much-renowned poem, *Dēśabhakti*, Gurazada bemoans the attitude of Indian citizens indulging in selfishness and an over-indulgence in religion. He advises his fellow countrymen to keep aside "a bit of selfish gain" and "help the neighbour in need", and declares:

> A country isn't a crust of earth
> It means the men that inhabit it.

Many of the short couplets of this long poem look like aphorisms found in ordinary moral lessons. Appa Rao changed the entire perspective of such morality from the 'Do's and Dont's' of ordinary life to a much loftier notion of human, universal love. The change in the perspective is what Gurazada has attained, however simple it may look now. In this poem, he aspires:

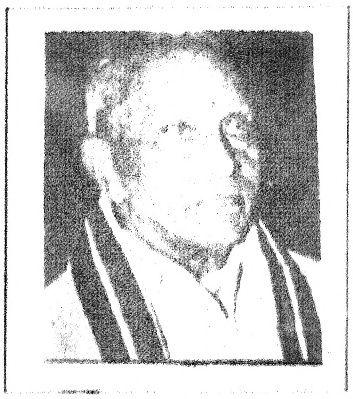
> **When the whole world becomes one Home**
> **When caste divisions are belied**
> **When boundless love showers happiness**
> **Faiths cease to be barriers**
> **Knowledge alone stands a beacon of light**
> **And Heaven descends on the Earth.**

EMINENT PERSONALITIES

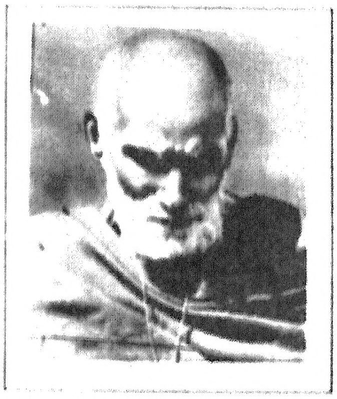
Kandukuri Veeresalingam

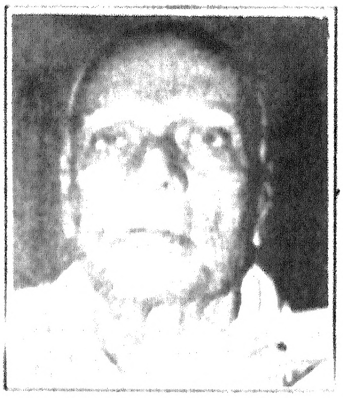
Gurazada Venkata Appa Rao

Gidugu Ramamurthy

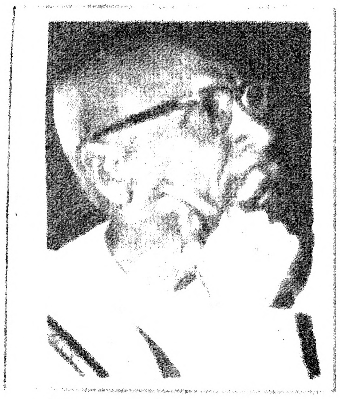

Rayaprolu Subbarao

Divakarla Tirupati Sastry

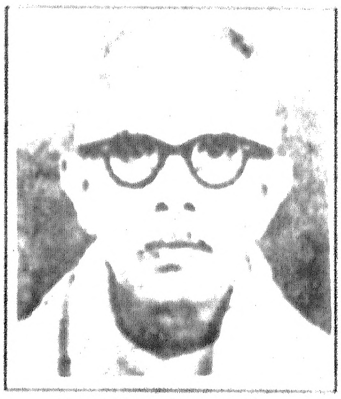

Chellapilla Venkata Sastry


Balantrapu Venkata Rao

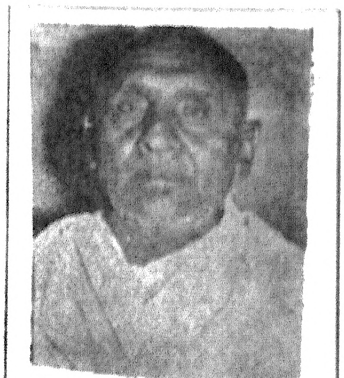
Voleti Parvateesam


Viswanatha Satyanarayana

Pingali Laxmikantham


Katuri Venkateswara Rao

Tripuraneni Ramaswami Chaudari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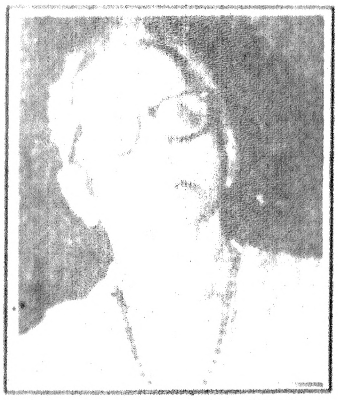
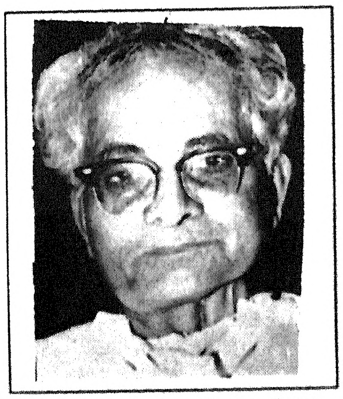
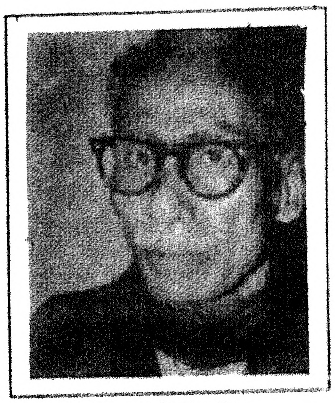

Tallavajjhula Sivasankara Swamy

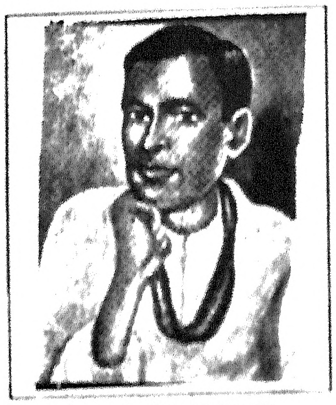
Basavaraju Venkata Appa Rao

Nanduri Venkata Subba Rao

EMINENT PERSONALITIES


Devulapalli Venkata Krishna Sastry


Nayani Subba Rao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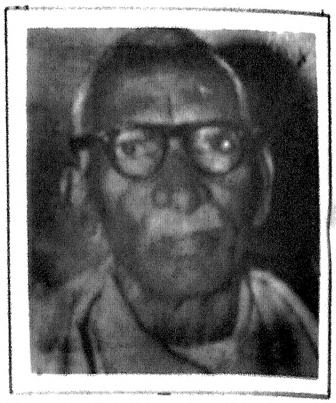
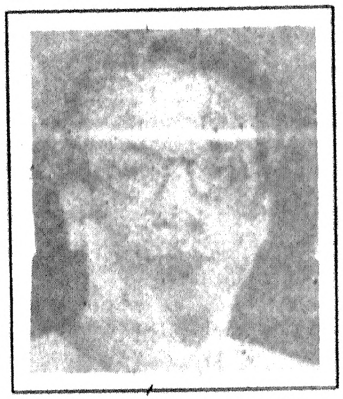
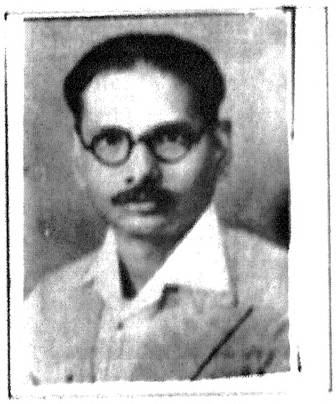
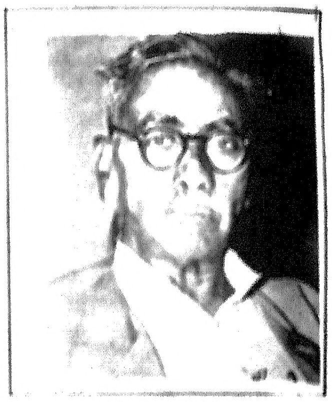
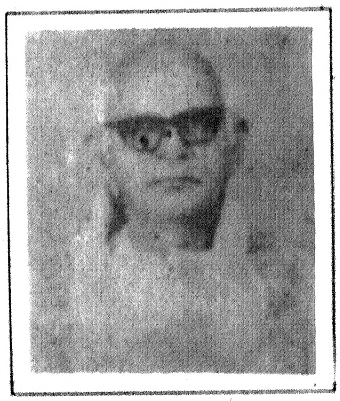

Tummala Seetharamamurthy Chaudary


Puttaparti Narayanacharyulu

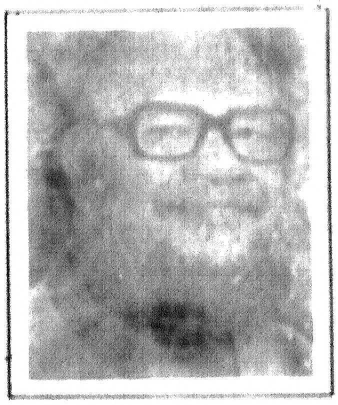
Kanuparti Varalakshmamma


Duvvuri Rami Reddy


Gurram Joshua


Jandhyala Papaiah Sastry (Karunasri)

Sri Sri


Arudra

Dasaradhi

Devarakonda Balagangadhara Tilak

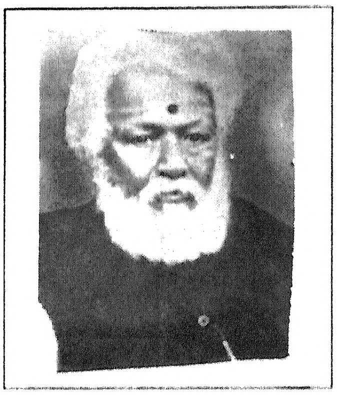
Kundurti Anjaneyulu

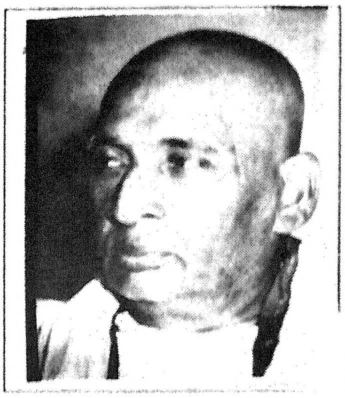
Boyi Bheemanna

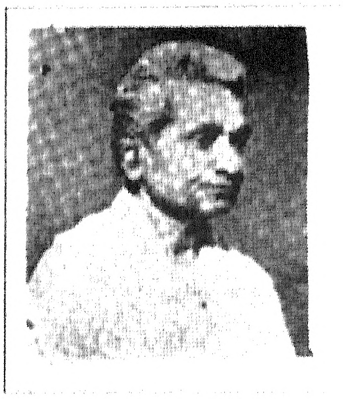
C Narayana Reddy

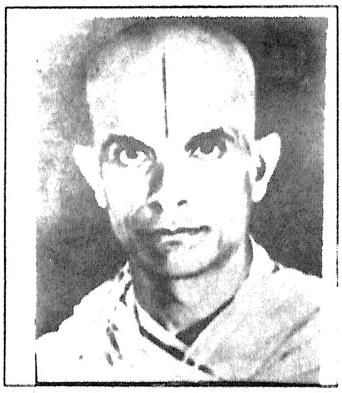
EMINENT PERSONALITIES

Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu


Vedam Venkataraya Sastry


Veturi Prabhakara Sastry


Veturi Sivarama Sastry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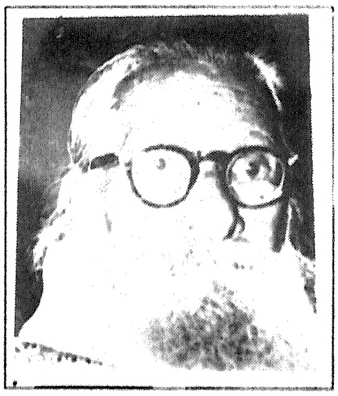
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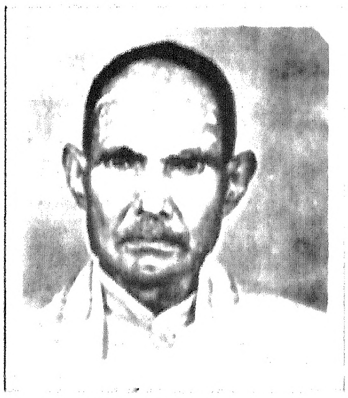
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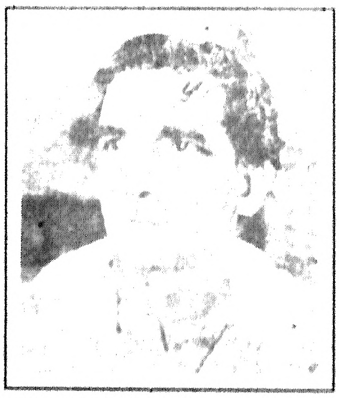
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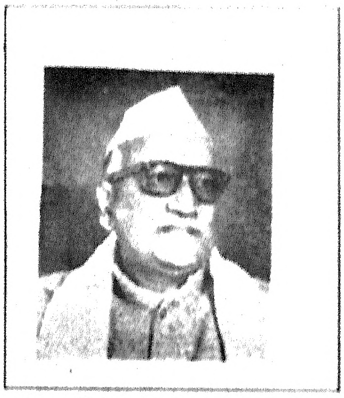
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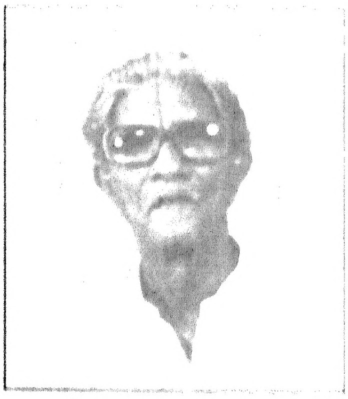
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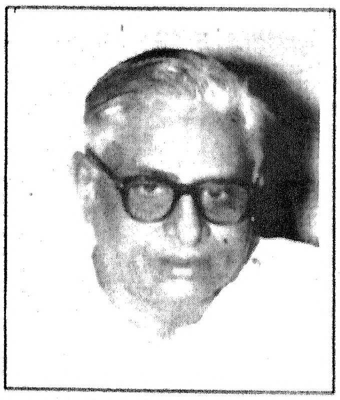
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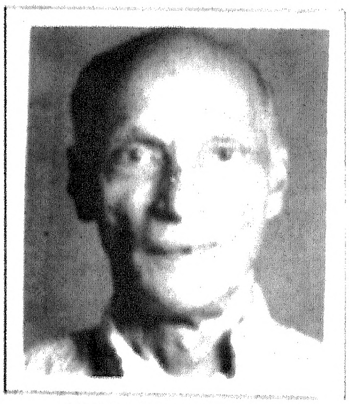
Nyayapati Kameswari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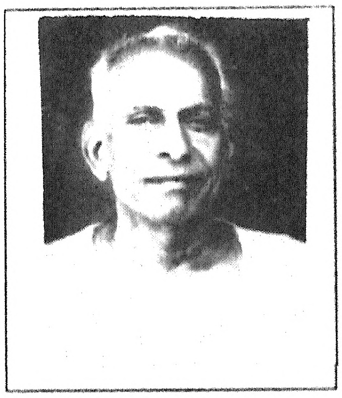
EMINENT PERSONALITIES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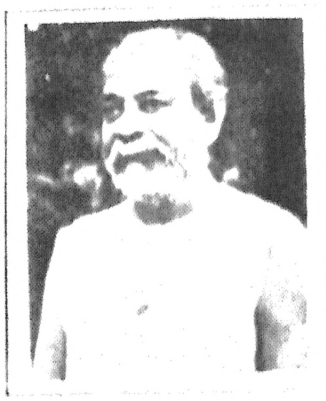
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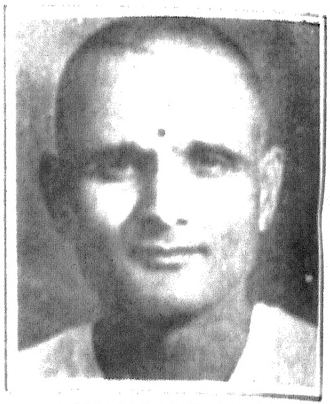
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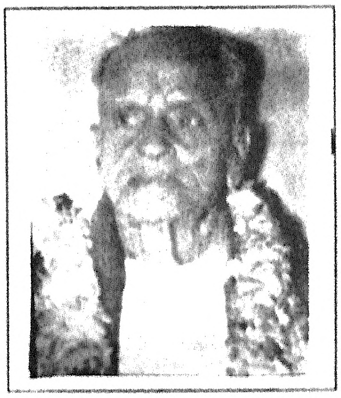
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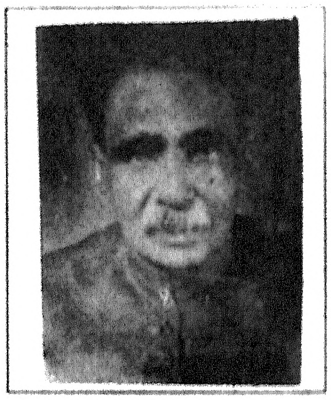
Gopichand

Buchibabu

Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao

Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry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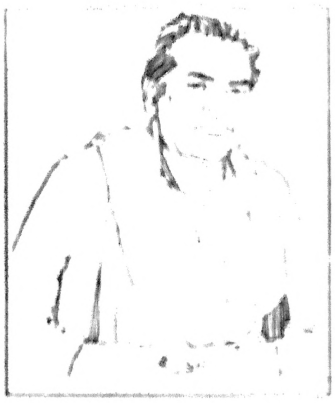
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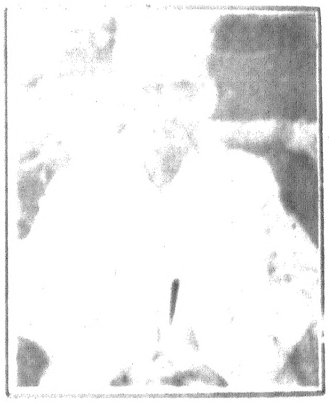
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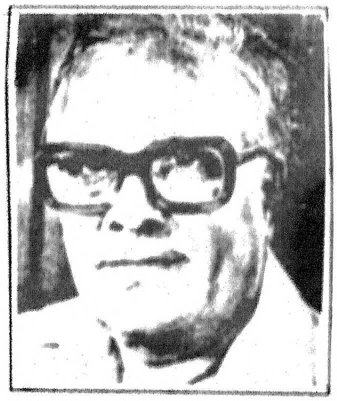
Palagummi Padmaraju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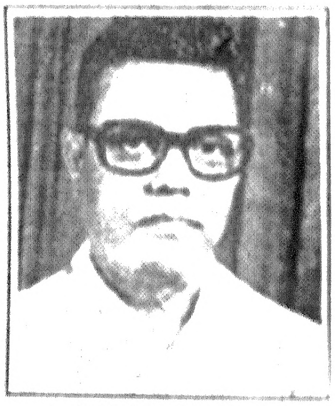
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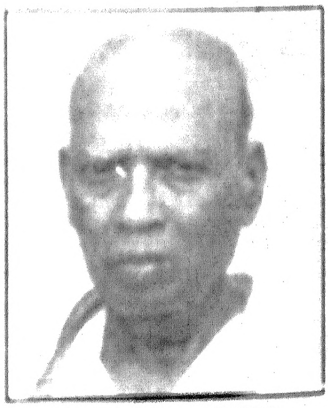

Madhurantakam Rajaram

If nationalist ideology is but an extension of individual love and a positive consequence, its negative deterrents are sung in his *Lavaṇa Rāju Kala*. In it, he questions the cruelty shown to the lowly castes and declares that the Good and Evil are the only two castes. "If the good stands for 'mala' (untouchable), let me be a mala", he stated. This poem, written in 1911, anticipates Gandhiji's pronouncement of similar sentiments.

Gurazada's *Pūrṇamma Katha* is a condemnation of paternal selfishness which, for mercenary considerations, sacrifices the young life of Purnamma by marrying her to an old man - the same theme that reappears in his *magnum opus, Kanyāśulkam.*

In another poem, *Maniṣi*, Appa Rao champions the cause of his humanistic ideal, condemning those that look down upon fellow human beings, while worshipping the man-made stones as gods.

Gurazada thus initiated a new Movement in poetry, combining carefully both new poetic material and a new style of diction. His movement aims at a total transformation of the outlook of fellow beings, including poets, towards their immediate surroundings. Condemning what is logically inappropriate and socially reprehensible, he upholds love - for fellow beings, for the country, for the world at large - as the key to human success and human happiness. His simple style and diction, sometimes bordering on the simplistic - is a carefully chosen medium - to 'educate' those who still hover under fantasies of writing poetry by playing with words. He aimed his poetry, as also his other notable contributions, not only at the well-educated people who were hitherto the connoisseurs of poetry, but at the common men and women. So, he chose an idiom which directly appeals to their good sense. In conscienciously choosing a poetic style which is akin to oral poetry, Gurazada achieved a rare musical quality in it as also a directness which, until then, was limited to some Vedantic songs of direct import. In addressing himself, thus, to the commonest minds, he brought a new awareness among the writers, not merely of their content and form, but of their readers and their sensibilities also. As a humanist of unquestionable nobility and as a lyricist endowed with simplicity and clarity of diction, Gurazada gave to Telugu poetry a much-needed 'openness' of form and a consciousness of content - the two important components of modern poetry.

Gurazada is the sole representative of a critical, yet humanistic realism, with social awareness as its base and reaching the literate as its aims, that has not been even remotely followed in the next generation. During the Romantic era, which immediately followed Gurazada, abstract symbolism was the key-note of poetry. Telugu poetry and other forms of literature had to wait for another generation to catch up with the progressive ideology of Gurazada, until Sri Sri spearheaded a new Movement of progressive poetry, though traces of certain aspects of Gurazada's poetry can be seen in poets like Basavaraju Appa Rao and Kavikondala Venkata Rao.

Pioneering efforts of Rayaprolu Subba Rao will be discussed under *Bhāva Kavitwam*, for it was he that led the movement of Romantic poetry in Telugu.

The Romantic Age in Telugu poetry, called the "Bhava Kavitwa Yugam", came into existence by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century and has established itself as a powerful era of genuine poetic expression. The forces that led to its emergence are varied and numerous, the foremost among them being the English Romantic poetry and the poetry of Rabindranath Tagore. The renaissance spirit that dominated the reformist tendencies during the later part of the 19th c. (which resulted in the humanistic concerns) seemed to have inspired the young poets towards a new sense of freedom both in choosing their subject-matter and form.

Bhava Kavitwam (Romantic Poetry)

The name given to Romantic poetry in Telugu is *Bhāva Kavitwam*. Called by various names as *Kālpanika Kavitwam, Abhinava Kavitwam* and *Navya Kavitwam*, Romantic poetry has an impressively long history. Due to its popularity, it also made a considerable impact on the other forms of literature. The name 'Bhava Kavitwam' is said to have been given to it by Gadicharla Harisarvottama Rao, the doyen of the Library Movement in Andhra, in recognition of an original imaginative quality it contained.

Bhava Kavitwam may be defined as that poetry which contains a subjective expression of a deeply-felt emotion either through a traditional metrical, stanzaic form or through a *gēyam* (song) of unspecified lines, rhythmic and strictly metrical. Intuitive emotion, freedom in using thought and diction, subjective approach even in reacting to impersonal, objective things, a personally-felt emotional verve - these then, are the basic tenets of Bhava Kavitwam. It is in fact a revolt against the decadent poetry of the late 19th c., with its cliche-ridden image, the physicality of its love and a cheap imitation both in subject matter and in poetic form of the prabandha poetry.

Intuition more than reason, subjectivity more than objective responses to the external world, an expression of personalised emotional intensity rather than an impersonal description of events - these signify Bhava Kavitwam. Since subjective experience is at the core of this poetry, it is bound to be a little abstract and lacks that much of clarity as in objective poetry. Thus, Bhava Kavitwam is a total deviation from what poetry was in the previous century - both in content and form. Relying more on new imagery and a completely fresh outlook on men and matters, the poets of this Movement carefully avoided the poetic elements of the past era. New themes, new metrical innovations, new imagery and a new outlook - these distinguished the Romantic poets from those of the previous era.

Based on the content, Bhava Kavitwam can be divided into several types: Love poetry, Nature poetry, Mystic poetry, Nationalist poetry, Eligiac poetry, Reformist poetry, etc. The poet who initiated almost all these modern forms of Romantic poetry for the first time is Rayaprolu Subba Rao, the pioneer of this kind of poetry in Telugu Literature.

Love poetry seems to be the major output by the poets of Bhava Kavitwam. *Sṛngāra* is at the core of whatever they had perceived. Love, by itself, is a fleeting sentiment. And its realization into marriage further makes it short-living (the Romantics almost ignored love between a wife and a husband). So *Viyōga Srngāra* (love in separation), with all its agony, expectation and reverential attitude bordering on worship of the beloved, became the touchstone of love poetry. Since the union of the two lovers is ruled out (for no specific reasons), the lover-poet is left only with an emotive outburst of his feelings towards the beloved. Even if she were to come closer to him in later years, he preferred to retain her as his dream-girl; love her in his imagination; treat her more as in emotional companionship than in a physical one; and extoll her mental and psychological attributes that drew him towards her. One of the major differences between the earlier love poetry (and there was aplenty) and the Romantic's love poetry is that the former was keen on describing the physical attributes of the lady, whereas the latter abhorred it; for the latter's idea of love is something friendly, sacred, intuitive, worshipful, almost a kind of an 'objective correalative' of the love in their own selves.

Rayaprolu Subba Rao (1892-1984) was the propounder of this new theory of love, which he called 'a-malina sringaram' (literally, unpolluted love). In both his narrative and subjective poems, Rayaprolu deviated completely from the traditional approach. He even showed how love could transform itself into meaningful friendship through a process of intuition.

Several shades can be seen in such *sṛngāra* among the Romantic poets. While some of them wrote poetry on their own experience, some others had only an imagined beloved. Krishna Sastry, a younger contemporary of Rayaprolu, has gone to the extent of imagining Urvasi, the celestial dancer, as an image of his love-worship. On the other extreme was Nanduri Subba Rao, who sang about the pastoral love between Yenki and Nayudu Bava, two rural characters that have since become symbols of pure, rustic love. 'Saudamini' and Bangaramma have described the preponderence of the lady and her love for 'her man'.

Next to love (the word 'Romance' seems to have been equated with 'love' by most of the Telugu Romantics), it is Nature that demanded the creative attention of the Telugu Romantic poets. Not that descriptions of nature - the external manifestations of it - were absent in the earlier Telugu poetry. It was, in fact, a prominent part of the *aṣṭādaśa* (eighteen) *varṇanas* (descriptions), prescribed for a prabandha. But for the Romantics, Nature is not an external manifestation; it is a reflection of man's own mind and soul. He finds in it a mother, a sister, a beloved, and even the Goddess. They equated *prakṛti - ārādhana* (Nature worship) with *paramēśwara - ārādhana* (worship of God) and often found themselves lost to the external world in their attempt to own a kinship with the intrinsic beauty and power of nature.

Pastoral poetry is the result of such a self-identification with nature. Viswanatha, Pingali-Katuri, Duvvuri and Kavikondala are some of the poets who wrote lyrical poetry in which reflections on nature found inspired poetic voices.

Love for the Mother Country is only an extension of love poetry and Nature poetry. Thus almost every one of these poets wrote substantial amount of poetry on nationalism (Desabhakti Kavitwamu) and more immediately on the Telugu land and its greatness. Rayaprolu, Viswanatha, Kodali Subba Rao, Puttaparti Narayanacharyulu and Indrakanti Hanumatchastry are some of the poets who sang in praise of their native land.

Mystic poetry is yet another kind. Spiritual in content and a strong bond between the individual and the godhood as its focus, mystic poetry *(marma kavitwam)* has attracted a sizeable number of the Romantic poets, the most important among them being Venkata-Parvateeswara Kavulu, one of the earliest fore-runners and Devulapalli Krishna Sastry.

Elegy and Eulogy are the two sides of the same coin - one bemoaning the loss of someone very close and the other eulogising someone who is a benefactor. However, elegy is a very personal poem and Euology can be sometimes personal and sometimes very impersonal - as in the case of hundreds of poems written on nationalist leaders, especially Gandhiji. While the former type is enriched by poets like Rayaprolu, Viswanatha and Nayani, almost all the poets wrote in praise of those leaders, whose struggle-torn lives became national models of self-sacrifice.

Rayaprolu Subba Rao is the pioneer who is responsible for ushering in Bhava Kavitwam into Telugu. A prolific poet, who has more than thirty volumes of poetry to his credit, he successfully attempted all the different types of Romantic poetry discussed above. He was a disciple of Komarraju Laxmana Rao and Rabindranath Tagore, one inculcating in him the necessary conceptual needs and the other providing his intelect a new way of poetic rendering. A fresh imaginative sensibility and a subjective approach are the two hallmarks of all his poetry. Added to these, he also initiated poetry of devout nationalism. *Tṛṇa Kankaṇam, Kaṣṭa Kamala, Snēhalata, Swapna Kumāramu, Telugu Tōṭa, Āndhravaḷi, Jaḍakucculu, Vanamāla* and many others are his original poems. *Lalita, Bhaja Gōvindam, Saundarya Lahari, Sundarakāṇḍa, Dūta Mattēbham*, etc. are his translated works. *Ramyālōkamu* and *Mādhurī Darśanamu* are his works on poetics.

Rayaprolu in his new theory of "amalina sringaramu" pleaded that love need not necessarily lead to a physical union of the lovers. He interpreted *sṛngara* as *śuci* and its *sthāyībhāva* as *rati* (in its *Vaidika-artha* it means *ānandam* or bliss). Thus, unlike the poets immediately preceding him, he gave such meanings to 'sringara' as friendship, mental nearness, parental love and psychological communion.

Interestingly, Rayaprolu started his poetic career with two translations. His *Lalita* (1909) is an adaptation of Goldsmith's *Hermit* and his second poem, *Anumati* (1910) is a translation of Tennyson's *Dora*. In both the poems, his emphasis was on "pure love" unstained by physical union.

Rayaprolu's first original poem, called *Khānda Kāvyam* (a minor narrative), is *Tṛṇa Kankaṇam* (1913) in which the poet showed how a young woman, who loved a young man earlier, but now married to another one, entreats her lover to retain their "thoughts of love" which are far superior to physical union. She defines love thus: Chaste love in this world is that which is not polluted with mind, speech or action. True love is that which is consecrated by rectitude, penance and constant meditation.

Rayaprolu's definition of love and his assertion that the final goal of true love is affection that leads to a universal love has its beginnings in this poem and is redefined and reasserted in poem after poem. If a lover changes his sentiment of passion towards his beloved and could retain his affection by accepting her as his sister as shown in *Tṛṇa Kankaṇam*, its obverse is the theme of Rayaprolu's next narrative, *Kaṣṭa Kamala* in which a thirst for physical love destroys the otherwise sacred affection between a young man and a woman, leading eventually to the lady's suicide. All his love poems and other shorter poems pertaining to the same theme lead to the same proposition that love should not insist on physicality; and real love should direct men and women to attain a sense of universal love.

This freedom from the traditional modes is nowhere better evident than in Rayaprolu's nationalist poems - both of his love for the country, India, as well as for his native land - Andhra. The national poem - *Yē dēśa mēginā, Yendu kāliḍinā, Yē pīṭha mekkinā, Yevva reduraina...* he sang in praise of the country and the need to be proud of the Mother country.

> Into whichever country you go
> And into whatever land you enter
> To whatever position you climb up
> And whomsoever you meet
> Hail your Mother, your Mother land
> Uphold the honour of your Nation.

Similarly his euologistic poems on Telugu land and Telugu people are the very first ones to be written on the subject. In order to inculcate a new sense of love towards the Telugu land, he sang of the great past in poem after poem and entreated his fellow Andhras to rededicate themselves to bring the land to its past glory.

Thus, Rayaprolu ushered in a new kind of poetry which harmoniously blended the native culture and the western concepts. It creatively brought forth a new sensibility of delicate imagination, along with the use of pleasingly simple diction. As he declares in his *Ramyālōkam*, *rasa* is the base of every *Kāvya* and *Kavyānanda* which evokes the finer sentiments in human beings is the only aim of any poetic venture. Though he used the old metrical stanza as his medium, he brought to it a delicacy, both in concept and diction, that has opened up new avenues for the later poets to emulate.

If Rayaprolu is the initiator of the Bhava Kavitwam movement, it is Devulapalli Venkata Krishna Sastry (1897-1980) who has brought it a nation-wide recognition, by popularising it through his pleasing personality, his continuous discourses on the subject and rendering of the poems and songs, not only his own but those of others. Krishna Sastry is "delicate imagination personified". In him we find a happy blending of the right word, the right rhythm and the right concept. As a love poet Krishna Sastry is par excellence. The subject of love in separation is his special *forte*. In one of his poems, Krishna Sastry said that he was a 'lyric on seperation', that slipped through the twiggy finger tips of a woman playing on a harp in the land of divine musicians. The musical composition followed drowsily-lit paths of moon shine, came into the unbounded universe and commenced what appeared to be an unending, unfulfilling hapless quest.

Krishna Sastrys' quest was for an ethereal identity which seeks fulfilment in the unison with the one from which he was separated earlier. The separation was heart rending. It left him in deep grief. Essentially aesthetic in nature, he exalted this grief to great heights of ennobleing experience:

> Who do you think I am?
> I am the Lord of the Universe of Darkness
> rendered frightful by incessant wailing.

On another occasion, he stated :

> Even in pure ecstatic music, I hear
> frightful heart-rending cries of anguish.

In early years, it was seperation from a beloved in whose eyes were the "blue hues of the vast skies", "the dark dreamy shades of the deep, quiet, undisturbed lakes of pure water" and the "whispers of darkness gathered by the top foliage of the *nipa* trees at dusk". The poet grew so accustomed to frustration and loneliess in due course that he not only abandoned all hopes of luck, but in a mood of resignation begged to be left alone in his grief. He resolved to move on in his unending quest like 'a sigh', 'a mute tear' and 'a deep desire'. His concept of beauty, grace and love grew into a dream woman - 'Urvasi'.

His grief led him to a broad and benign sympathy for all men and women around and concern for their happiness. His love for the unattainable beloved took a universal form of affection for mankind. He, like the 'Mother Goddess' before the creation, had warmth of love and affection in abundance. In his later years he was more and more drawn towards God as a symbol of perfection of art and as a centre of love. He asked men to "rain tears of sorrow" and assured that the Almighty would wear them 'as a string of pearls'. He should identify with the Lord of Dance who "Let a tiny lyric charge his heart! bursts into music or a revelling dance'. He begged Him:

> "So, My Lord, allow me my modest show
> Of song and dance in my own way,
> Till I fulfil this journey tiresome
> And wind it up in Thy divine presence."

Krishna Sastry saw perfection of humanism in Christ who bore the cross for all the sins of mankind, in the Buddha, the Apostle of love and in Mahatma Gandhi, an incarnation of both. He was pained by the hypocrisy of the priests of these human gods. He defined the Era of Gandhi in a simple and short poem. "If people are well fed it is the era of Gandhi; if people can live comfortably, it is the era of Gandhi".

Through poetic anthologies like *Kṛṣṇa Pakṣam, Ūrvaśi* and *Pravâsamu* and through innumerable songs written for the radio and the cinema, Krishna Sastry has carved for himself a niche in the history of Telugu Romantic poetry. His is a unique voice among the Romantics, since his songs and poems have a great imaginative quality and rich musicality. Sensitive imagination, highly evocative images, emotive sharpness, a rare musical quality and an unfailing newness in style are responsible for his continued fame.

Two poets contemporaneous to Rayaprolu who have retained an individuality of their own are Abburi Ramakrishna Rao (1896-1979) and Kavikondala Venkata Rao (1892-1969). Abburi's *Ūhāgānam* and other writings (1973) contain all his earlier poems including the narratives. Abburi's is a rare poetic genuis and his poems reveal a mastery of creating the visual images effectively. Kavikondala Venkata Rao, a master of the rural milieu, wrote more than 200 poems in which he portrayed the village life in all its variety and entirety. Like Wordsworth, with whom he is often compared, he could see the grass leaf shedding tears and the tulip laugh.

Another important Romantic poet was Basavaraju Venkata Appa Rao (1894-1933) who mastered the *gēyam*, a metrical song, that is intended to be set to music. Some of his intensely emotional songs have since attained immortality, having gone into common man's repertoire. Some of his songs were incorporated into films and have become popular. Both his love songs and nationalist songs (especially his song on Gandhiji) have been scored for music and were published in such popular volumes as *Selayēti Gānamu, Prēma Tattvamu, Kōkila, Nāgula Caviti* and *Vaṭa Patra Sāyi*, (all of which have been brought as one collection since: *Basavarāju Gēyālu*) and have a prominent place in the history of Telugu Romantic poetry.

His wife Rajyalakshmamma (pen-name: "Saudamini") is also a poet of worth. Her love poems, such as "Nirikshanamu" and "Duradrushtamu" have a lurking tragic note in them and add an intense emotional quality to her poetry.

Viswanatha Satyanarayana (1895-1976) is a multi-faceted genuis. In the early phase of his long poetic career, he was a romantic poet of rare significance. As the rest of his work in several genres, his romantic poems show a significant stamp of his individuality. Starting with *Bhraṣṭa Yōgi* (1916), he wrote several volumes in the same vein. Among them *Girikumāruni Prēma Gītālu* (1920-28) *Kinnerasāni Pāṭalu* (1924), *Kōkilamma Peḷḷi* (1924), *Śāśi Dūtamu* (1933) and *Sṛngāra Vīdhi* (1933) denote his individualistic imaginative genuis. In *Kinnerasāni Pāṭalu*, he personifies "Kinnera", a fast-flowing rivulet, as an emotionally vibrant woman and traces her travel through her joining the sea, which, he compares as a love-lorn beloved embracing her lover. His special quality in these poems is their evocative nature and creating the right atmosphere which adds to the over-all sensuosness of the story.

Viswanatha's *Telugu Ṛtuvulu* (1933-34) is a nature poem in which the special significance of the seasons as they are seen in rural Andhra is described, bringing a nativity to the universal idea of the cycle of seasons. Similarly, his *Āndhra Pauruṣamu* (1919) and *Āndhra Praśasti* (1926-28) are poems on the past glory of Andhra and are very popular. His *Varalakṣmi Triśati* (1934) is a heart-rending elegy on the demise of his wife. His contribution to other areas of literature is discussed at relevant places.

Pingali Laxmikantham (1894-1971) and Katuri Venkateswara Rao (1895-1962) wrote combinedly and also separately. Their joint authorship resulted in early romantic poems, *Sankrānti* and *Tolakari* (1923), besides a long narrative poem *Saundaranandam* (1932). The early poems contain fine descriptive pieces on the rural landscape of the Telugu countryside.

Adavi Bapi Raju (1895-1952), a musician, painter, novelist and short-story writer, is the author of several short narratives - *Śaśikaḷa, Gōdhūḷi, Tolakari, Rågamålika* and *Taranginṇi*. His poems reveal his sense of visual beauty coupled with a careful use of poetic diction. Duvvuri Rami Reddy (1895-1947) is another poet who has written several narrative poems, based on rural subjects. They include *Nalajāramma Agni Pravêśamu, Kaḍapaṭi Vīḍkôlu* and *Kṛṣīvaluḍu*. After his *Jaladāngana* and *Gulâbi Tōṭa*, he rendered into Telugu the Rubaiyats of Omar Khayyam as *Pānaśāla*. As a poet of rural subjects, his main emphasis is on the description of rural milieu in a telling way.

A landmark in the history of *Bhåva Kavitwam* was the publication of *Yenki Pâṭalu* (1925) of Nanduri Venkata Subba Rao (1884-1957). Even before they were brought into a book form, these songs have created an unprecendented furore in Telugu literary cricles. The main objection of the dissenters is to the poetic diction used by Nanduri. The songs are written in a completely local, rural idiom, deviating from that of the elitist language. Sanskrit and Telugu scholars like Panchagnula Adinarayana Sastry and poets like Krishna Sastry not only defended the songs, but insisted that they heralded a new type of people's language, which befitted the love-episodes of Yenki and Nayudu Bava, characters from rural Andhra. Their argument was mainly based on the fact that the language used suited the characters protrayed and if it were to be otherwise, it must have led to a ridiculous piece of poetic incongruity. When *Yenki Pāṭalu* were brought out in a book form in 1925, the event was celebrated with wide acclaim.

The songs, themselves, are of lyrical beauty and poetic exuberance. The rustic simplicity and the delicate sensitivity of the characters made Yenki and Nayudu Bava immortal. Started as a pure love poet in the early phase, Nanduri has imbibed the spiritualism of a native philosopher in the later volume, under the same name, published in 1953.

"Sahiti Samiti", the official organization of the Romantic poets, was started in 1919 under the presidentship of Tallavajjhala Sivasankara Sastry (1882-1977). Almost all the romantic poets were members of the Samiti at one time or the other. Gidugu Rama Murty's 'spoken-word movement' and Sahiti Samiti's liberal use of diction strengthened each other. The Samiti's official organ, *Sâhiti*, helped to propagate the ideals of Romantic poetry.

Sivasankara Sastry (in later years called Siva Sankara Swamy, after he became a 'sanyasi') is a multi-linguist and a great champion of the movement and its ideals. It was his relentless efforts that brought a focus and a new energy to the movement. As a poet, his fame rests mainly in *gĕya-nāṭikalu* (poetic plays). However, his early attemtps at love poetry, as seen in *Hṛdayēśwari* and *Āvēdana* are justly famous. Among his poetic plays, *Padmâvatī Caraṇa Cāraṇa Cakravarti, Dīkshita Duhita, Puṣya Pūrṇima*, etc. have been successful on the stage and especially over radio.

Vedula Satyanarayana Sastry's (1900-1975) *Dīpâvaḷi* and *Mukta Jhari* reveal his fine craftmanship in using the meduim of the metrical stanza to express even the most complicated thoughts, thus achieving a harmony between his imagination and his way of expressing it. Nayani Subba Rao's (1899-1978) *forte* is the poetic rendering of private emotions. Both his *Saubhadruni Praṇaya Yātra* (1937) and his *MātṛGītālu* are very intense expressions of personal emotions, one for his beloved and the other for his mother. Nori Narasimha Sastry's (1900-1978) *Gīta Mālika*, Kodavatiganti Venkata Subbaiah's (1897-) *Sandhyārāgam*, Mallavarapu Visweswara Rao's (1906-86) *Madhukīla* (1937) and *Kalyāṇa Kinkiṇi* (1938), Pilaka Ganapati Sastry's (1911-83) *Ratnōpahāramu* and *Pramadwara*, Indraganti Hanumatchastri's (1911-87) *Gōdāvari* and *Telugu Sīma* are the more well-known of the short romantic poems and anthologies. Each one of these poets has emphasized a particular aspect of romantic poetry, thereby retaining his individuality.

Among women poets Chavali Bangaramma (1897-1970), Tallapragada Viswasundaramma (1899-1949) and Basavaraju Rajyalakshmamma (1904-) have contributed significantly both to the general romantic ideal of love, and to its particular variant of *Viraha* and *Viyōga sṛngāra*. Bangaramma's Nature poems, Viswasundaramma's nationalist poems and Rajyalakshmamma's intensely personal, tragic poems are noteworthy contributions to the genre.

Kavyas and Khanda kavyas : The Romantic era witnessed the emergence of several new poetic forms. Besides the traditional epic (which, though rarely written, was not completely absent), two other forms have been dear to the poets : the shorter poetic piece in stanzaic form called *Khaṇḍa Kāvyam* and the *Gēya Kāvyam*, in song-form. The Khanda Kavyam, which is usually a short narrative is the finest contribution of the era. Khanda Kavyam is a generic name used for any type of a narrative-descriptive poem which has even a vague thread of continuity and a story line. Often the name is also used for short poetic pieces collected into a book form, in which case, it becomes a 'Khanda Kavya samputi' - a collection of short poems. The other form - Geya Kavyam - also contains these two types: the short poem and the short story poem, written in a musical medium. While the former used the *Padyam* (metrical song) as its medium, the latter used the *gēyam* (musical stanza) for the same purpose. The earlier is recited or even sung without rhythm; the latter uses rhythm. Individual *gēyams* which are brought under one title, such as *Yenki Pāṭalu* and which have a story line, such as *Kinnerasāni Pāṭalu* are both considered as geya kavyas or *Gēya-Kavitā Sampuṭi*, a collection of songs.

The larger poem is by far the most sparingly written during the age. It is traditional in using its metres and in its content, upholding the conventions of the poetry that flourished for over eight to nine centuries. Among the larger epics written during the period, a place of pride must be given to Viswanatha Satyanarayana's *Rāmāyaṇa Kalpavṛkṣamu* - Ramayana retold to a modern audience. Viswanatha, a giant among contemporary writers, has considered the evocation of *rasa* the most important ingredient in writing poetry rather than merely narrating a story. Thus the characterization, the narrative technique and the creation of atmosphere have not only been blended in tune with each other but all of them lead to a proper emotive expression.

Another poet, whose poetic technique is completely different from that of Viswanatha, but whose epic is a notable exercise in poeticising the biography of a contemporary leader, is Tummala Seetarama Murty Chaudary (1901-87). Tummala's *Ātma Katha*, a free rendering into poetic form, of Gandhiji's autobiography, retains both the elaborate story content and a fine narrative style. Two other noteworthy achievements in the epic genre are Gadiyaram Venkata Sesha Sastry's (1901-81) *Śiva Bhāratam*, a narrative poem on the life of Sivaji and Durbhaka Rajasekhara Satavadhani's (1888-1957) *Rāṇā Pratāpasiṃha Caritra*, both written on two great Indian warriors and aimed at inculcating a deep sense of nationalism among readers.

Written much earlier, Pingali-Katuri's *Saundaranandam*, though followed the Sanskrit original of Aswaghosha, is of great importance in this context. The poem on the conversion of the young couple Nanda and Sundari to Buddhism, evokes the sentiments of love and *Karuṇa* in the over-all milieu of *Ahimsa*. This, in a way, paved the way for the long epic in modern Telugu.

Among recent epic poems, Madhunapantula Satyanarayana Sastry's (1920-91) *Āndhra Purāṇam* stands high both for its nationalistic fervour and its poetic style. It is in fact the story of the Andhras through the ages, written in nine cantos. Even history transforms itself into a great aesthetic experience through the eminent poetic rendering of Madhuna-pantula.

The shorter epic is by far the most sought-after medium for the romantics. Right from Rayaprolu, poets have chosen this form to narrate a story with a subjective point of view. Among the latter Romantics, Gurram Joshua (1895-1971) was a prolific poet, who specialized in the short epic. He also wrote independent poems like "Smasana Vatika" and "Papayi", which are notable for looking at very ordinary things in life with an extraordinarily imaginative faculty. However, he was more comfortable with the long narrative, both of a biographical nature and of original bearing. From *Śivāji* (1925) onwards, his was a specific voice known for an individualistic vision, which, though had certain elements of romanticism, weaned away from pure and simple romantic attitudes. He mainly differs from them in their attitude towards love - 'amalina sringara' and he also objects to their heavily sanskritized poetic diction and introverted imagery. He was firm in his goals: his was going to be a humble effort in presenting a new point of view in the form of the traditional poem, *Padyam*, which is already an established medium. He wrote in all, about 13 narratives and five collections of poems. Joshua has a felicity of expression which very few contemporaries of his can claim. His reformistic zeal added purpose to such a felicity.

Puttaparti Narayanacharyulu (1914-90), one of the highly respected poet-scholars of the period, is a noteworthy poet and a scholar of eminence in several languages. Among his works, mention must be made of *Śiva Tāṇḍavam*, a geya kavyam, the musicality of which, has earned for it a reputation as a major contribution to the genre. His *Penugoṇḍa Lakṣmi, Sākṣātkāramu* and *Shāji* show his narrative prowess. Another poet, who has not anthologized all his poetic pieces is Belluri Srinivasa Murty (1910-84) who will be remembered as a poet of merit on the basis of his two books of poems - *Prêma Tapaswini* and *Apaśṛti*.

The few traditionalist poems which appeared after progressive poetry was launched will be discussed later.

Traditional Poetry

When the newness and vigour of Romantic poetry started dwindling by the late 30's, poets realised the futility of continuing their creative work in a mould that was no more relevant. Those poets, who were thoroughly disillusioned by the "escapist" nature of Romantic poetry and their cliche-ridden poetic idiom, revolted against it. They were also strongly influenced by the quick changes in the over-all political situation in the world, especially in Russia. The leftist poetic trends of Auden, Stephen Spender and Day Lewis enthused young poets towards using their poetic medium for achieving the ideals of equality, fraternity and a pronounced social change. These poets are generally termed "Abhyudaya poets" (progressive poets). The others, who had a strong traditional base both in literary studies and in general outlook on society, started writing poetry almost in the styles of the major poets of yester years. Called euphemistically the Neo-Classical poets, these poets often used the traditional medium of *padyam* (prosodic stanza in metre) for their poetic expression, but with new imagery, a fresh and conscious artistry in style, diction and use of language.

The leader of this latter group and an undaunted traditionalist is Viswanatha Satyanarayana, whose *Rāmāyaṇa Kalpavṛkṣam* is the finest epic written during the modern times and is an eloquent testimony to the ardent experimentalist tendencies of a traditionalist. Though he started his poetic career as a romantic poet, he soon became the leader of the new school of traditional poetry and continued to write until the late sixties.

Several worthy poets wrote in the same traditional vein, often projecting in their poems a nationalist outlook and used the *padyam* as their medium. Gadiyaram Venkata Sesha Sastry, whose *Śiva Bhāratam* had had an enthusiastic reception in the literary world, wrote another poem of historical bearing, *Raghunāthīyamu*. Katuri Venkateswara Rao's *Guḍigaṇṭalu* and *Paulastya Hṛdayam* not only reveal his mastery of the medium, but contain poems of rare poetic genius. Tummala Sitarama Murty Chaudary, who had already become famous with his poetic rendering of Gandhiji's autobiography continued to write, in his inimitable chaste idiom, poems like *Śabala, Udaya Gānamu* and others. Joshua is another poet who has mastered the art of writing a *padyam* to which he brought an ease and felicity. Similarly, Jandhyala Papayya Sastry (pen name: Karuna Sri; 1914-91) continued to wield the *padyam* racily in his very popular anthologies like *Vijayaśri, Karuṇaśri* and *Udayaśri*. All these poets continued to write even during the forties and the fifties.

Among the poems written in the traditional vein during the post-independent era, Madhunapanthula Satyanarayana Sastry's *Āndhra Purāṇamu* has a pride of place. Though it is a poetic rendering of Andhra history through the ages, it retained the emotional exuberance seen only in narrative poems. Bulusu Venkateswarlu's (b.1917) *Arundhatī-Vāsiṣṭamu*, Anumula Venkata Subrahmanya Sastry's (1888-1959) *Bhārgavarāma Caritra*, Atmakuri Govindacharya's (b.1901) *Gōvinda Rāmāyaṇamu*, Mudivarti Kondamacharyulu's (b.1923) *Buddha Caritramu* and Nori Narasimha Sastry's (1900-78) *Dēvī Bhāgavatamu* are notable contributions to traditional poetry. Vanamamalai Varadacharyulu's *Pōtana Caritra* is a masterpiece of this kind, which reveals not only the poet's mastery of the technique, but his devotional involvement in the story as well. He is rightly called "Abhinava Pothana". Mudigonda Veerabhadra Murty's (1908-87) *Vandēmātaram* in 18 *khanḍas*, reveals the effortless ease with which he narrates the story of the struggle for independence. His efforts to rewrite history of Indian Independent struggle have resulted in several fine historical poems including *Prathama Swātantrya Sangrāmamu, Mahā Marakatamu*, etc. Indraganti Hanumatchastry's (1911-87) *Kīrti Tōraṇamu* and *Dakshārāmamu*, Panyam Narasaramayya's *Swātantrya Virudu*, Belluri Srinivasa Murty's (1910-84) *Vivēkānanda Caritra*, 'Sphurtisri' T. Bhaskara Rao's *Mahāśwēta* are all poems of merit. Boyi Bheemanna (b.1911) and Kondaveeti Venkata Kavi (1918-92) wielded the poem with great felicity, in their several volumes of poetry.

Progressive Poetry

'Abhyudaya Kavitwam' was the direct result of a conscious revolt against the then decadent Romantic poetry. With the changing political conditions all over the world including India, writers in general and poets in particular rejected the subjective love poetry of the Romantic era. Added to this, the economic depression immediately after the world war made the common man's life miserable. The Socialist Revolution in Russia attracted the attention of several intellectuals as the only possible remedy for the ills. It was in this background that the Indian Progressive Writers' Association was started in 1935-36 with Mulk Raj Anand and Sajjad Zaheer as the inspiring torch-bearers and Munshi Premchand as its first President. Its Andhra branch was started in 1943, at Tenali, with Tapi Dharma Rao (1887-1973) as its president.

The Andhra Progressive Writers' Association (Abhyudaya Racayitala Sangham) was the outcome of some native influences as well. Social idealism of Veeresalingam and the literary freedom already achieved by Gurazada Appa Rao gave the progressive writers the much-needed impetus and liberty. The earlier songs of nationalism, especially of Garimella Satyanarayana (1893-1948), inspired them. Unnava Laxminarayana's (1873-1958) mammoth novel, *Mālapalli* (1922), has shown them the perspective. Sri Sri's singular voice revolting against the existing social and literary order has paved the way for its emergence.

There seem to be three distinct stages in the history of A.Ra.Sam. (shortened form of Abhudaya Rachayitala Sangham, especially to distinguish it from a later-day Revolutionary Writers' Association called Vi.Ra.Sam. - Viplava Racharyitala Sangham). The first stage, in fact the most fruitful of the three, was from 1943 to '50. During this time, it brought all the progressive poets on to one platform and established itself as the leader of the literary world, replacing even "Navya Sahitya Parishat", the forum of the Romantic poets. However, when the A.Ra.Sam. was banned by the then Madras Government, its activities were forcibly terminated. It was started again in 1956 but lived only for a short while. In 1970 it was revived again. During the early days, its official journal, *Abhyudaya*, had been the mouthpiece of several important poets including Sri Sri, Arudra, Anisetti Subba Rao and Somasunder. *Telugu Talli, Prajā Śakti* and *Sandēśam* were the other journals that propagated its ideals.

Content or theme had no individual existence in romantic poetry. It came out from the individual's personal perception. It was neither archetypal nor societal. As Romanticism itself was a revolt against the old prosodic features and obsolete poetic diction of the earlier poetry, progressive poetry was a revolt against similar features of romantic poetry. Added to these, of course, it was a revolt against the content of the Romantics as well. An interesting factor, however, is that poets of each new movement called the outcome of their attempts "new poetry". Before 1943, until progressive poetry started, romantic poetry was called "Navya Kavita". When the Progressive Writers' Association was started, the course of poetry was changed from "feeling" to "awakening", from "a personalised emotion" to "a public stance of anger", and from the *sṛngāra* of imagined lovers to *vīra* and *karuṇa* for fellow human beings. Even the leaders of this Movement called their poetry "new". All of them - Sri Sri, Puripanda, Narayana Babu, Arudra, *et al* - were members of "Navya Kavita Samiti" to begin with. The mentors of these rebel poets were not native *ṛṣīs*, but Marx and Freud. Dreams were real - at least, so it seemed for a while. They were exposed to the Cubo-Futurism of Mayakovsky and a play on mere euphony and the sensuous texture of the word at the expense of its semantic aspects. In these early days, Sri Sri, Narayana Babu, Pathabhi, Puripanda and Arudra excelled themselves in these cerebral gymnastics! Pathabhi especially wielded the weapon of futurism in his revolt against Romanticism. He wrote: "Abuse would have served my purpose admirably; only out of friction can progress be achieved". And he was justified in doing so, at the right time.

However, the man who took the proper direction in poetic practice at the right time is Sri Sri, backed up both by his literary friends of the New School and encouraged by two of his mentors - Marepalli Ramachandra Sastry, popularly called "Kavigaru" and the President of "Navya Kavita Samiti" and Ronanki Appalaswami.

Sri Sri

Srirangam Srinivasa Rao (popularly known as Sri Sri; 1910-83) is easily the pioneer of not only the Progressive Movement of Telugu poetry but of the later Revolutionary Movement as well. Under his stewardship a new literary movement was usherd in which not only revolted against the existing one, but brought in a whole new perspective on life and literature. The base of Sri Sri's literary output is his strong derision of established literary modes and acceptance of class struggle as the springboard of all his creative work. An ardent follower of the contemporary trends in English poetry, especially of Spender and Auden, Sri Sri was equally proficient in the masterpieces of Telugu poetry. He found that the contemporary poetry in Telugu had no social relevance at all. On the other hand, the agony of the suffering millions agitated his poetic mind. Sri Sri led a new movement in Telugu poetry to give proper thrust to poetry that was not divorced from the society around.

Sri Sri started his poetic career as a romantic poet. His first published anthology, *Prabhava* (1928) bears ample testimony to this. The first poem in which Sri Sri's progressive ideology found its expression was *Suptāsthikalu*, published in 1929. Even as early in his career as 1933, he was attracted towards the "prose-poem" as is evidenced in *Vidyunmālikalu*, a poem published in the *Āndhra Patrika* (annual). In the same year, he wrote his famous poem, *Jayabhēri* in which he reveals his concern for the common man and the importance of the individual's relationship with the community around him:

I too, to the fire of the world,
Offered a holy stick.
I too, to the rain of the universe
Contributed a tear.
I too, to the din of the cosmos
Added my artless voice.
* * *
During the blazing summer
Was I not scorched like a bat?
When the rainy season lashed
Was I not soaked all over?
In the icy winter that bites into the flesh
Did I not freeze and cry out with hunger?
* * *
Should I withdraw,
Hot winds, rainy clouds and snow-falls
Would be rendered futile.

The myriad stars that peep from the skies
Fall down, vomit blood and explode.
Days would crack and nights crash
And total annihilation would pervade
The whole world.
* * *
Such moments are sure to come
When I, all alone, cover the whole stretch of the earth,
And the world shall enjoy the cool showers
Of my soft musical notes.
* * *
I too shall flower, as a white petal,
Of the lotus of the world.
I too shall be a string
Of the lyre of the universe
And render pleasant melodies of music.
I too shall rise up
As the flag on the mansion of the universe.

Written in a new metre on an entirely unattempted subject, the poem has since become the "heralding song" of progressive poetry. The historical poem *Mahā Prasthānam*, written on April 12, 1934 reveals Sri Sri's poetic creed in which class struggle, revolutionary ideology and leftist thoughts along with a highly inspired voice and an inspiring metrical form found a happy fusion. This poem, entitled *Mahā Prasthānam*, was said to have been the result of several influences on Sri Sri working at the same time: the English poem *New Signatures*, the French

National anthem, Harindranath Chattopadhyaya's poem- *Shurū Huvā Hai Jung*, Nasrul Islam's revolutionary poems and from his own native land, Gurazada's and Kavikondala Venkata Rao's songs. Sri Sri also said that the rhythm of the opening lines of the poem was a close imitation of Adi Sankara's *Bhaja Gōvindam*.

Mahā Prasthānam, the anthology which bore the same name as the poem, is Sri Sri's *magnum opus*. The anthology consists of 41 poems written during 1933-1947, the most important creative period of the poet. The poems from this anthology have since become hallmarks of not only his poetry, but the poetry of the entire Progressive Era. The fusion of a rich poetic voice and an equally meaningful emotional verve made several of these poems the best examples of modern poetry. *Mahā Prasthānam, Jagannātha Ratha Cakrālu, Dēśa Caritra, Adwaitam, Pratijna, Ṛkkulu*, etc. reveal Sri Sri's great mastery of the Telugu idiom and his sense of rhythm.

The title poem calls on the youth to move forward to a new world of hope, leaving behind all those who cannot cope up with the journey:

> Another world, another world calls you
> Move forward, Move on pushing others aside
> Let us move up and up to the heights -

These lines and the following stanzas of the poem sound like a marching song and urge the young and virile to forge ahead conquering all obstacles, while the aged, the rotten and the lazy should mercilessly be left behind. The new world is described, rather abstractly, through symbols. It can be identified through a lake of hot blood like burning oil, the radiance of the fiery crown, the sparkling red flag and the flames of the sacrificial fire.

In *Jagannātha Ratha Cakrālu*, Sri Sri promises the disillusioned youth and the depressed men and women that he would bring to the earth the wheels of the chariot of Jagannatha which are floating in the sky. Sri Sri's promise signifies the need for bringing poetry nearer to the common man and his struggles. He also asserts that the aim of his poetry is to sing of such agonizing, yet earthly stories.

Another important poem in the anthology is *Dēśa Caritralu*. He universalised the 'histories' of all countries: they reveal the never-ending travails of the suffering humanity, trampled under the powers:

> What is there to be proud of
> In the history of any country?
> The history of human race
> Is but a tale of exploitation.

In *Ṛkkulu*, Sri Sri talked about the poetic material to be used and declared: "a puppy, a tablet of soap, and a match stick - none of them is unworthy of poetry". By choosing the ordinary materials in daily use, Sri Sri rejected the earlier practice of the poets who chose imagined lovers and illusionistic materials.

Two short narratives - *Bhikṣu Varṣīyasi* and *Bāṭasāri* - reveal how Sri Sri can feelingly narrate an episode which leaves a permanent and moving impression on the readers. While the former is the story of an old beggar woman, the latter is the tragic episode of the death of a youth who dies of starvation.

In all these poems, Sri Sri sang about the excruciating agonies of the common people with a disturbingly emotional voice. The fastness of the pace of the poems, the imagery used, the internal rhythm employed opened up a perspective altogether new to Telugu readers. His command of the language added to the thundering outcry for ameliorating the downtrodden and the suffering humanity and made Sri Sri the harbinger of socialistic realism into Telugu poetry.

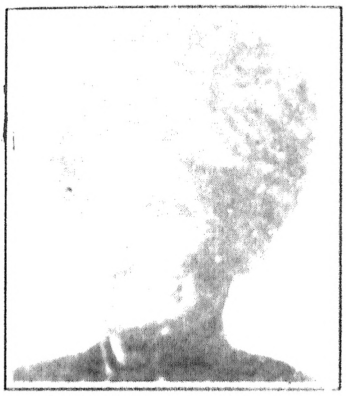
Sir Sri was not always this commanding and this consistent. In another anthology, *Khaḍga Sṛṣṭi*, which contained his surrealistic poetry, Sri Sri employed many linguistic gimmicks to laugh at men and matters. A total rejection of the past traditon seems to have dominated the pieces in this anthology. He continued in the vein in his *Limarikkulu*, another anthology. Some of the poems in both these anthologies contain poems which denote the sub-conscious and dream theories of Freud.

Sri Sri's major contribution to contemporary Telugu poetry lies in his unending struggle against exploitation and slavery, relentlessly championing the cause of the underdog. These, by themselves, would not have made him the leader, but for his authority on the poetic word, his pulsating musical cadences and, above all, his immense creative talent. In whetever genre he expressed himself - let it be a poem, a play, a limerick, a cartoon poem or a stroy in prose - the individual stamp of his genius is obvious. In his later years, he embraced revolutionary ideals and wrote poems which resemble slogans, but even those have been transformed into memorable quotes. Even if Sri Sri rejected the past and the poetry of yester years, he did so with a thorough understanding of the tradition.

Ardent followers of Sri Sri - there are many of them - could only catch the external features of his poetry, but not his intense poetic sensiblity. The wide impact he created is unparalleled in the history of Telugu literature.

Among the other poets who revolted against Romantic poetry and who paved the way for Sri Sri's emergence, mention must be made of Sishtla Umamaheswar Rao, Pathabhi, Srirangam Narayana Babu, Puripanda Appala Swami and Muddukrishna. Sishtla (1906-1965) may be termed as the originator of the prose-poem. He started his poetic career in 1930 and published two volumes - *Navami Ciluka* and *Viṣṇu Dhanuvu* (both in 1930). He called his poetry *prāhlāda kavitwam*, not *bhāva kavitwam*. "This is new poetry, very new poetry", he declared. Pathabhi (Tikkavarapu Pattabhirami Reddy, b.1919), who later became a prominent cinema director with 'Samskara', was another poet who revolted against the traditional use of the metrical stanza as against the romanticist's imitation of the form. In his *Fiḍēlu Rāgāla Dazan* he used the prose-poem with great authority. In two other anthologies *Kayita Nā Dayita* and *Pathābhi Pancāngam*, he wrote about the city and the common man's struggles in that milieu. Pathabhi is abrupt, virile and irreverent. He is an avowed anti-romantic. His diction brings out the inner fastness of his mind. He could be called the first radical, angry young man of Telugu poetry.

EMINENT PERSONALITIES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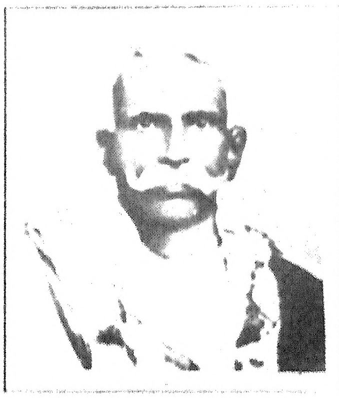
Kolachalam Srinivasa Rao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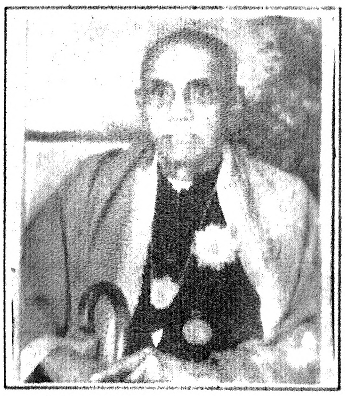
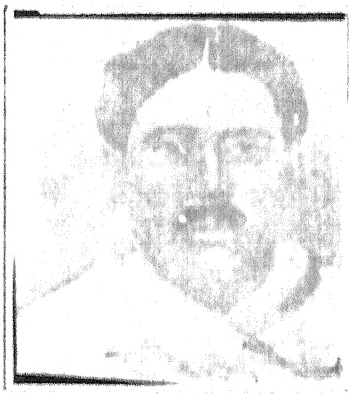
Chilakamarti Laxminarasimham


Sripada Krishnamurthy Sastry

Balijepalli Laxmikantham

Kallakuri Narayana Rao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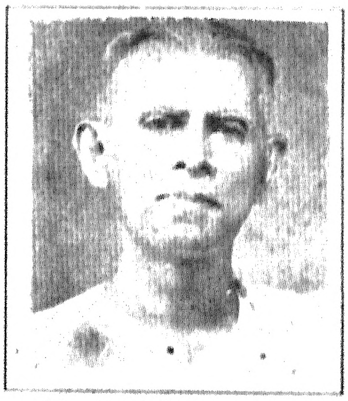
Malladi Viswanatha Sarma (Kavi Raju)

Kopparapu Subbarao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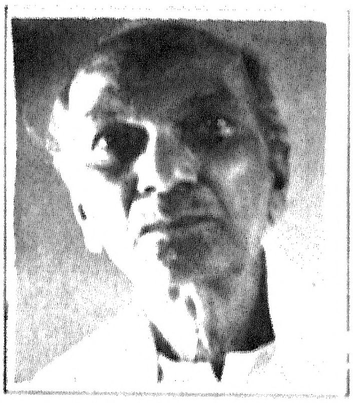
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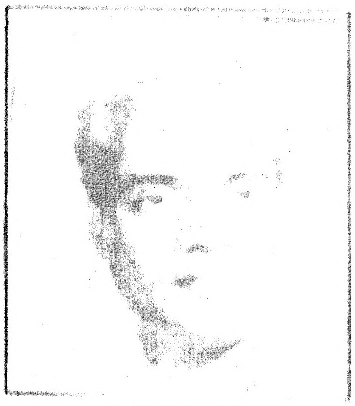
Sunkara Satyanarayana

Vasireddi Bhaskara Rao

P.V.Rajamannar


Acharya Atreya

EMINENT PERSONALITIES

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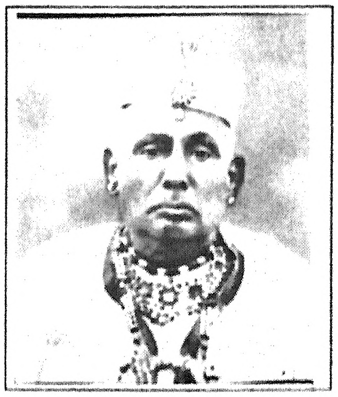
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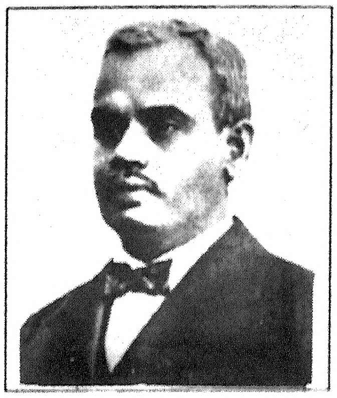
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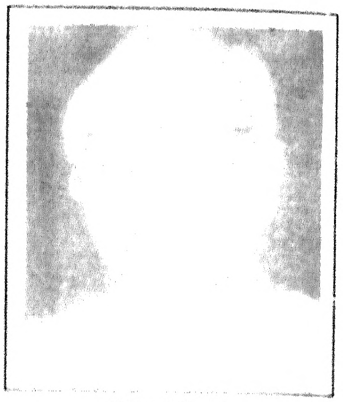
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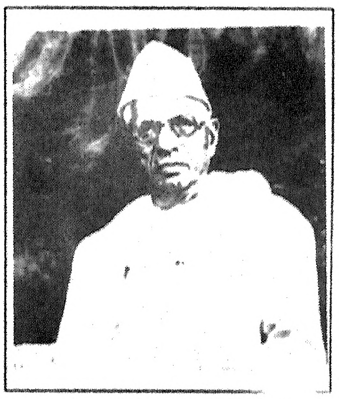
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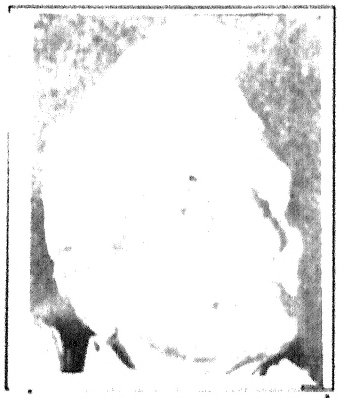
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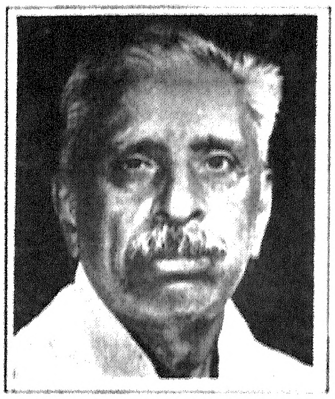
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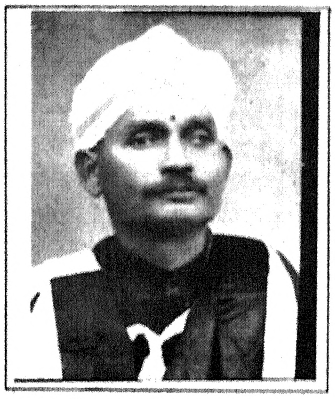
Vavilla Ramaswami Sastrulu

Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu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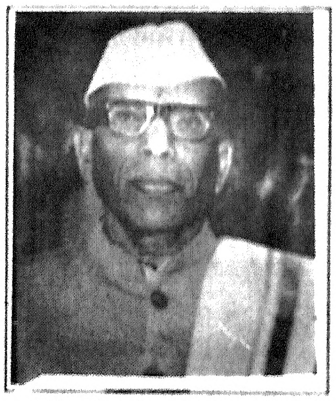
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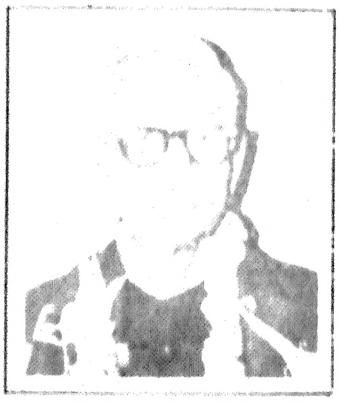
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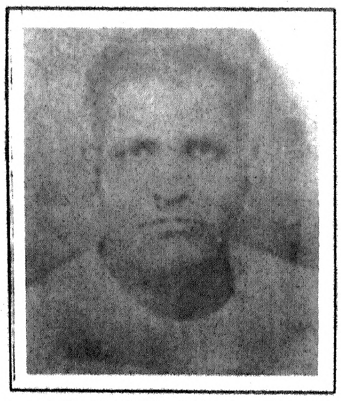
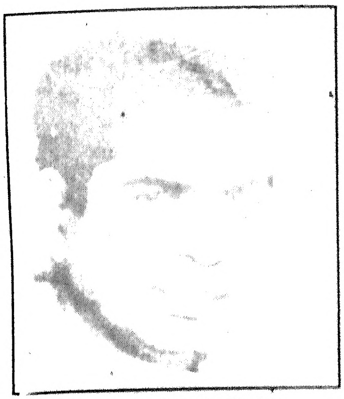

Divakarla Venkatavadhani

G.N.Reddy

Bhadriraju Krishnamurti

Tumati Donappa

EMINENT PERSONALITIES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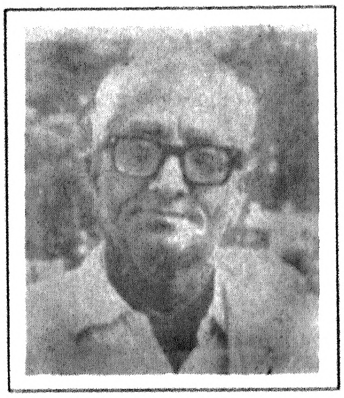
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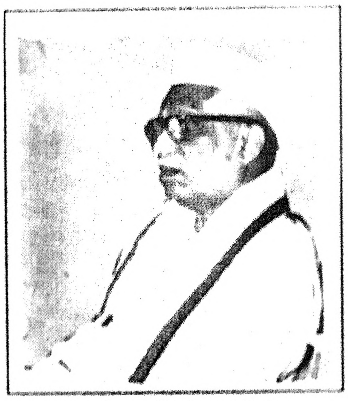
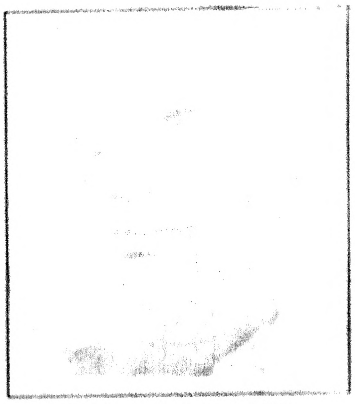
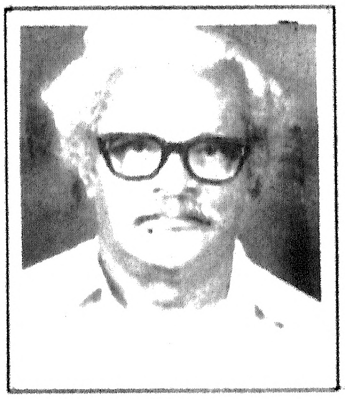
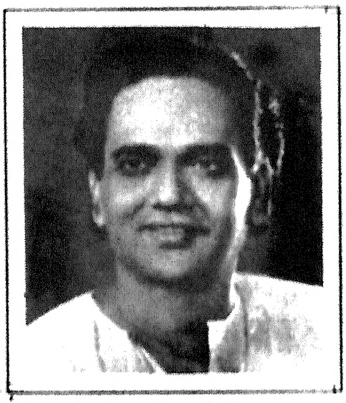

R.B.Rama Krishnam Raju


Pasala Suryachandra Rao

M.R.Appa Rao


P.T.Reddy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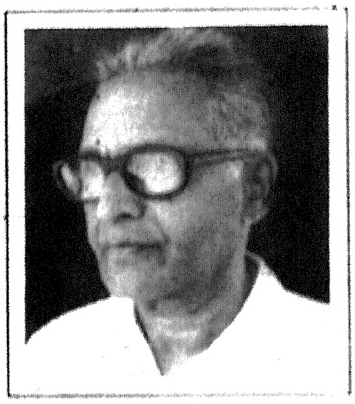
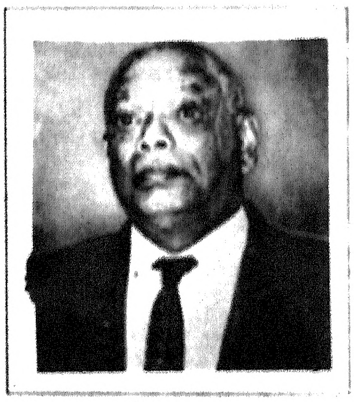

P S R Appa Rao

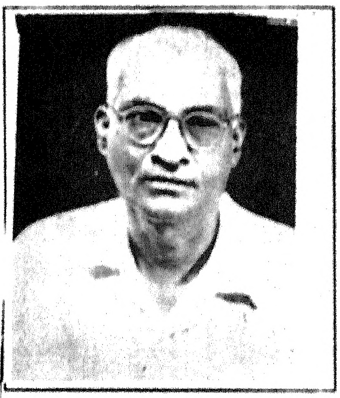
C.Y.Chintamani

K.N.Kesari

Kotamraju Punnaiah


M Chalapati Rao

Mutnuri Krishna Rao

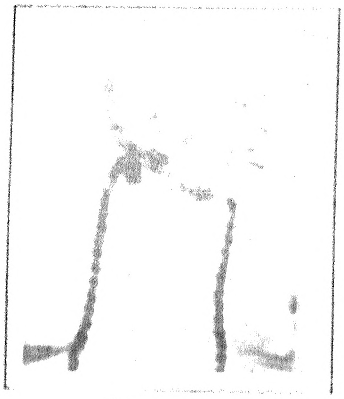

Khasa Subbarao

Narla Venkateswara Rao

Gora Sastry

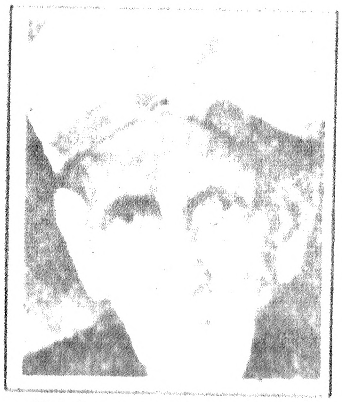
EMINENT PERSONALITIES

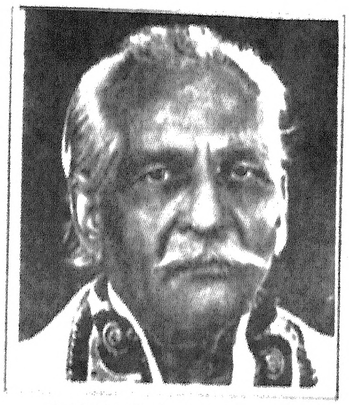
Jiddu Krishnamurthy


Trilingaswamy

Achanta Laxmipathy

Yallapragada Subba Rao


Mokshagundam Visweswaraiah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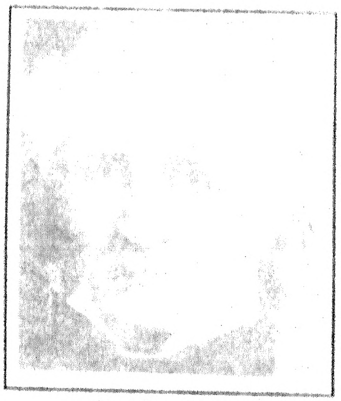
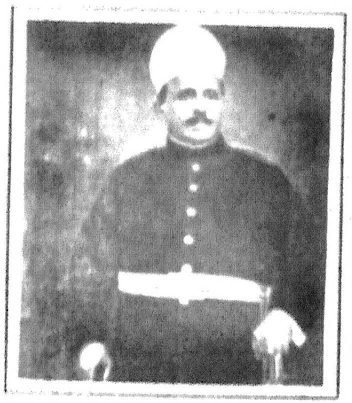

Sir Arthur Cotton

Col.Collin Mackenzie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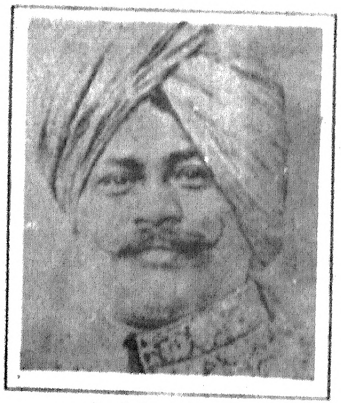
Pingali Venkaiah


Kodi Ramamurthy

C.K.Naidu

Srirangam Narayana Babu's (1905-72) *Rudhira Jyōti* reveals his close affinity to Sri Sri. Like him, Narayana Babu also welcomed a complete deviation from the tradition, highlighting the struggles of the labourers and the downtrodden. He seems to be ahead of Sri Sri in saying that he wants to tune the rifle as a muscial instrument (*mara phirangine mahatigā mīṭi*).

> Tuning the rifle as Mahati
> I'll render the *Kadana Kutūhala rāgam* ...

Narayana Babu's imagist poems like *Bhikṣu Varṣīyasi* and his surrealist poems like *Lenḍoy Ṛṣulu* show that he had wider ease in writing poetry. Muddukrishna (1899-1973) edited the literary journal *Jwāla* which deserves mention in this context because it was he and his journal that gave a great fillip to the progressive movement. He was also a poet of merit. Similarly, Puripanda Appala Swamy (1904-82), in his *Puli Panjā*, containing 40 poetic pieces, severely criticised those who exploited people in the name of religion and god.

That no man is a hero to his valet is proved by the parodies of Jaruk Sastry (Jalasutram Rukmininadha Sastry: 1914-68). He mimed great masters like Viswanatha, Sri Sri, Rayaprolu and Nayani. The closensess and affinity of his idiom to the originals made his parodies very popular.

The Early Progressives

Many contemporaries of Sri Sri, though followed the Romantic traditions first, showed shifts of concern later. Two scholar-poets - Tenneti Suri (1911-59) and Pilaka Ganapati Sastry (1911-83), who have contributed ably to the other genres of literature also, were the earliest poets to write after Sri Sri. Suri's *Aruṇa Rēkhalu* emphasizes social change as its motto and Ganapti Sastry's poems, *Mādākabaḷam* and *Vāna* show his concern for the common man's plight. Suri's *Sāhitya Samavakāram* is a burlesque, which ridiculed the idiosyncrasies of the Romantic and Progressive poets. However, they cannot be called progressives in the real sense of the term.

Anisetti Subba Rao and the other 'Nayagara' poets (who contributed to an anthology entitled *Nayāgarā*), Somasunder, Gangineni Venkateswara Rao, K.V. Ramana Reddy and 'Ajanta' are the most important poets of the Nayagara group.

Two poets contemporary to the Progressives - Bairagi and Boyi Bheemanna - wrote in an altogether different mode. Anisetti Subba Rao's (1922-70) *Agni Vīṇa* is a significant anthology of progressive poetry. In poems like *Yevari Pillalōyi Mīru* (Whose Children Are You?) and *Biccagāḍi Pāṭa* (A Beggar's Song) we find his emotional intensity and his easy, evocative prose-poem. His famous song, 'Bhayam, Bhayam, Bratuku Bhayam', brings out the agonies of common people caught between hopes and utter frustrations. Gangineni Venkateswara Rao, in his *Udayini*, brought out such poems as *Aracētilō Mṛtyuvu* (Death in a Palm), *ŌRātri* (One Night) and *Erra Samudram* (Red Sea) which have become famous as representative poems of the progressive movement, for, in them, he fused leftist ideology with images of suffering. Besides Anisetti, the other poets known as the 'Nayagara Poets' are Bellamkonda Ramadasu

(1923-83), Yelchuri Subrahmanyam and Kundurti Anjaneyulu. In Bellamkonda Ramadasu, one of the editors of their anthology, *Kalpana*, we find a poet of strong poetic and social conviction.

K.V. Ramana Reddy, who later took an active part in "Vi.Ra.Sam." was an able scholar-poet-critic whose *Aḍavi* and *Angāra Vallari* combined a strong political ideology with sanskritised poetic diction. His *Bhuvana Ghōṣa* is an important contribution to the large bunch of poems on the Telangana Movement. Rentala Gopalakrishna's *Sangharṣaṇa* and *Sarpayāgam* have broguht him popularity during the hey-days of progressive poetry. Responsive to even ordinary situations, he wrote moving poems on the 'palanquin-bearers' and the street children during a rainy night.

Somasundar is not only an important poet of this generation, but also one who contributed innumerable critical articles to champion the cause of progressive poetry. His *Vajrâyudham* was on the Telangana struggle and brought him due recognition as a powerful poet, whose inspiration is backed up by proper diction (which cannot be said regarding several others). His *Miṇugurulu, Sōmarasam, Sundara Kānḍa* and *Mēgha Ranjani* have earned him name, not only as a progressive poet but as a poet of nature bordering on mysticism. His *Ūru Mārindi* and *Vennelalō Kōnasīma* describe the beauties of the village life in the Godavari Valley. Though he has a tendency of using sanskritised diction and cliches of Romantic poetry, his free verse has a sonority of its own.

'Ajanta' (Penumarti Viswanatha Sarma, b.1929), who started writing poetry just at this time, is probably the rarest of modern Telugu poets who brought out the inner consciousness of man through telling images most admirably. His memorable portrayals of the middle class man's helplessness in *Ceṭlu Kūlutunna Dṛśyam, Rōjū Cūstūnē Unnā* and *Kotta Samvatsaram* are emotionally vibrant and technically perfect. His 22 poems, long unpublished, are recently brought out in a book form.

As a dramatic irony, Bairagi (1925-78) was writing at this very time with an imagery of multiple fractured complexity while the progressives were settling down for simplicity and directness. He wrote with an intellectual evasiveness, nausea, nostalgia and reverie. His poetry has the sweep of syntactical breathlessness. He cultivated nihilism consciouly. Thus he is the forerunner of many an elitist, stoic, solitary, sensitive, anarchist poet in Telugu. His poems jump from fear to terror and from terror to fear. Pessimism is the positive strength in his poems, giving him 'negative, capability', certitude and confidence. His prayer runs like this:

> Grant me a grain of faith
> And I'll pulvarise the hills
> And throw out the tomato Sun
>   And the pancake Moon
> And make a clean sweep of the sky
> I'll crush the universe in my arms
> And wipe out the destiny of delicate man
>   with a single stroke of my pen.

This is not mere bravado, mere bragging. This was a poet's anguished cry at the empty world which was once full of hopes and faith.

Bairagi died of world-weariness, but so long as he lived he realised a world vision. He conceived the poem as an organic creation becoming an organic metaphor. The poets of the "Digambara" Movement, which came later, owe him a debt in their use of sharpness of imagery, felt-experience, an anthropomorphic thought and the clubbing of life to poetry as an antotelic activity.

Though his early poetry was inspired by Radical Humanism, he slowly turned to nihilism in his major poem, *Nūtilō Gontukalu*, with Hamlet, Arjuna and Rasnalnikov, the indecisive, sensitive souls, as his heroes. That he was always chased by the 'hound of Heaven' is evident throughout the poem - a difficult one, but one which provides a highly rewarding experience, if one can sympathize with his mood.

Boyi Bheemanna, whose major creative work started during this period, is a prolific writer with more than 20 volumes of poetry, covering almost all aspects of human thought - love, nature, philosophy and progress. Though an adept in using the metrical stanza after the traditional poets, he very often chose to write in the free-verse form. *Anādi Kosanuṇḍi Anantatvam Lōki* is an ambitious work tracing the entire human history. His *Tripadalu*, as the name indicates, contains succinct and sometimes ironic comment on contemporary life in the form of a three-lined stanza.

Bheemanna's *Rāga Vaiśākhi* leans towards the earlier romantic attitudes, though his later collection *Guḍiselu Kālipōtunnāyi* brings out his concern for the downtrodden. In later poems, however, there is a satiric dig at the society responsible for the social and economic oppression of the lowly. It is in his *Dīpa Sabha* that Bheemanna used a consistent poetic metaphor in the image of a burning lamp which stands for everything human beings aspire for - their love, their humanism and their desire for freedom. Through his poems Bheemanna urges people to take a realistic and analytical view of life as against the prevailing blind beliefs and superstitions. Pursuing this course, he reinterpreted some of the incidents from the epics in *Rāga-vasistam*, a play and *Aśōka vani lō Rāmuḍu*, a poem.

Gopala Chakravarti, who is known for his humourous writings, is a poet of merit belonging to this period. His *Kalam Kalalu* and *Ānandam Jīvanadi* are fine examples of his able use of the poetic word. He is one poet who can see the world from a humourist's perspective and can present the gravest picture in the most laughable way. His poems, *Sandhipatram*, *Yuvakavi Niṣkramaṇa* and *Yauvanam* will be long remembered by discriminating readers.

Telangana Struggle : the latter Progressive Poets

The freedom struggle to bring Telangana into Indian Union, waged by millions of Telugu people, evoked a tremendous response from poets all over the Telugu land. The Telangana uprise against the feudal dictatorship of the Nizam was an offspring of nationalism and the poets not only participated in it on behalf of Andhra Mahasabha but also opened up their voices in unision against oppression and tyranny. Poets from Andhra joined hands with them to decry this tyranny. The humanist poet Kaloji Narayana Rao (b.1914) became their representative poet. Dasarathi (1927-87) voiced his strong condemnation. Kundurti

Anjaneyulu (1922-82) in *Telangāṇa* and 'Arudra' in *Twamēvāham* gave their unstinted support. Somasundar's *Vajrāyudham*, K.V. Ramana Reddy's *Bhuvana Ghōṣa*, Gangineni Venkateswara Rao's *Udayini*, Rentala Gopalakrishna's *Sangharsana* and Anisetti's *Agni Vīṇa* sang in praise of the people's struggle and against the brutal tyranny. This large output strengthened the progressive movement as well.

Kaloji Narayana Rao, a relentless fighter of any brutal violation against human values, was one of the earliest who reacted vigrorously to the Nizam's oppressive rule. He remained a people's poet eversince. There is something prophetic about his poetry. His poems were published in a series of volumes under the title *Nā Goḍava*, in which he poured out his concern for the people of his region with a humanist's heart and an undaunted pen.

Dasarathi is the finest poet thrown up by the Telangana political struggle. As an ordinary worker in the Andhra Mahasabha and a fearless soldier who stood up against the brutalities of the Razakars, Dasarathi boldly declared: *Nā Telangāṇa Kōṭi Ratanāla Vīṇa* (My Telangana is a lyre of millions of diamonds). His *Agni Dhāra* and *Rudra Vīṇa* contain powerful poems on the people's struggle for freedom. He continued in the same vein in his later volumes, *Timiramlō Samaram* and *Ālōcanālōcanālu*, written in free verse. He also followed the *gazal* form and wrote couplets. He was equally proficient in writing in the metrical stanzaic form as well as in the prose-poem. Several of his short poems are popular with the youth of his day.

If Dasarathi was duly honoured with poet-Laureateship of Andhra Pradesh, C. Narayana Reddy (b.1931) progressed continually in his poetic output and won the Jnana Pith Award for 1989. Closer to the later romantics and nature poets, he made friends with the progressives and remains a humanist. A poet of four decades of standing, Narayana Reddy has to his credit nearly 50 publications whichinclude poems, songs, lyrical plays, ballets, essays, travelogues, gazals - original and in translation - and literary criticism. In addition, he has nearly 3,000 film songs to his credit.

Though all his works do not fall under any one set of labels, it is possible to speak of them as belonging to the different phases of his development as a poet. He started his career as a romantic, moved into writing progressive poetry and then into the humanistic. These are, however, not rigorous lables and only denote the most pronouced feature found in his writings from time to time. There is a deep and sustained faith in the inherent goodness of man in all his poems. Whatever kind of poetry he has been writing, it has always been endowed with lyrical excellence, lilt and word-melody.

In his epic poem, *Viśwambhara*, Narayana Reddy took the story of man through the ages and his philosophical and artistic pursuits. The story unfolds itself in a symbolic language through the eternal journey of the man from his creation to the present day, the dominant feature of which is his quest for the meaning of life and of the nature of the universe.

Arudra (b.1924), a well-known critic, is today known more for his 13-volume *Samagrāndhra Sāhityam*. A nephew and younger contemporary of Sri Sri, Arudra (real name: Bhagavathula Sadasivasankara Sastry) started his poetic innovations with *Twamēvāham*, a poem on the

Telangana struggle, written in a rather difficult and symbolic style. With a care-free use of English words, with references to remote happenings, with complex images not easily discernible, the poem makes a difficult reading. Sri Sri not only wrote an appreciative "Intro" to the poem, but also provided short notes to explain the intricate references in it.

As a constant experimentalist, Arudra wrote his *Sinīvālī* as a prose-poem, some of his *Iṇṭiṇṭi Pajyālu* in metrical stanzas and *Kūnalamma Padālu* in *matrā* metre. Arudra has also translated Harindranath Chattopadhyaya's *Tales of Telangāṇā* into Telugu.

With Kundurti Anjaneyulu, free verse as a poetic medium has come to stay in Telugu. His *Telangāṇā* , first published in 1949 in 16 *parvas*, is a poem on the suffering millions of Telangana due to feudal attrocities. In 1956, after the Police Action, Kundurti added 2 more cantos to it and made it a poem in 18 *parvas* on the model of the *Mahābhāratam*. Kundurti vividly described the causes for the Telangana uprise, the common people's anger directed at the feudal lords and, ultimately, their victory. He gave to the prose-poem, through this narrative, the status of being a proper sustaining medium.

As one of the Nayagara poets, Kundurti started his poetic career as a romantic as is evidenced in his poems written prior to 1940. *Rasadhuni, Amāvāsya* and *Nā Prēyasi* belong to this era. In 1941, influenced by Sri Sri, he wrote poems with leftist orientation, as can be seen in *Jayistundi, Manyam Lō* and especially in the three poems, published in the anthology, *Nayāgara*.

Kundurti's next phase of writing concentrated on life of the urban middle class. He selected an N.G.O., a proto-type of the anti-hero and made him immensely popular. *Nagaram Lō Vāna* and *Yugē Yugē* belong to this type. He also condemned the growing selfishness among people, the attrocities in politics and the never-changing prospects of the middle class man.

Kundurti has authored several volumes of poetry. *Daṇḍī Yātra* describes Gandhiji's journey to Dandi during Salt Satyagraha. *Nālōni Nādālu* is a subjective expression of his poetic ideals and his social and literary credo. Very soft and gentlemanly as a person, Kundurti never minced words in expressing either his personal or social convictions. In his hands, the prose-poem has come of age. He also tried to propagate the use of free-verse, by making it a movement and by instituting a popular annual award for the best poet who wrote in that medium.

Though not as prolific as Kundurti, Devarakonda Bala Gangadhara Tilak (1921-1966), is equally popular. He is a late romantic, in whom the progressive sense of the present is ably coupled with the mastery of the prose-poem. His imagery sometimes reminds one of the best in romantic poetry, but often it has an individual stamp of its own. A rare combination of an aesthete and a proletarian, Tilak had shown equal felicity in writing in traditional metres as well as in prose-poem. The sixty four short poems in his anthology *Amṛtam Kurisina Rātri* published posthumously, recorded both the unrealised hopes and daunting frustrations of the common man. He tried to record the "faceless middle class anti-hero's timid apathy". His poem *Mānifesto* demands close reading. In it he described his poesy as:

> The oceans of moonlight, scintillant
> with the waves of glass,
> The lamps of *attar* spreading
> the fragrance of *Jāji* flowers,
> The pillars of diamond resplendent
> in the enchanted world:
> . . . . .
> The beauty and message of peace:
> These are the sheen of the sword of my poesy.
> . . . . .
> My words are beauteous belles
> playing about under the moonlight.

Tilak met with an untimely death and the great promise his poetry held could not be fulfilled.

Seshendra Sarma (b.1927) is a curious combination of the feudal, neoclassical and scholarly; of the European modernist and proletarian and verse libre and expressionist tendencies. He is one-man army, having established a 'Kavi Sena'. 'Kavi Sena' published a volume of poetry, *Kommalu Cīlcukoni Vastūnna Pūlu*, containing poems by members of the group. Seshendra Sarma's long poem, *Ādhunika Mahābhāratam*, contains all the diverse qualities of this scholar-poet. He is a noted aesthetician who knows the art and artistry of poetry. Utpala Satyanarayanacharya is endowed with a fine poetic insight, mostly writing in the traditional verse form.

Gajjela Malla Reddy, a prominent journalist, published two volumes of poetry - *Mallāreddy Gēyālu* and *Sankhārāvam* - in which a devastating political satire runs as a connecting thread. Satire and irony are his *forte*. Among writers belonging to an earlier generation, Abburi Varadarajeswara Rao made a mark for his tactful use of irony. Avasarala Surya Rao, Sarvari, Narapa Reddy, Sampath, Prayaga Kondandarama Sastry and others enriched the progressive movement with their poetic pieces. Sasanka's *Nayā Jamānā* and *Antargītam* have in them a strong traditional imagery expressed in a progressive mode.

The Song

The song has been recognised as a powerful medium to reach the illiterate. It was during this age that 'song' was ably exploited both for political and literary purposes. Garimella Satyanarayana's songs during the Nationalist era had made a deep impression on the audiences of the time. Similarly, poets and performing artists used the song and other art forms to express themselves during this period. Praja Natya Mandali, a wing of the Communist Party, showed the way. Vemulapalli Sri Krishna, Sunkara Satyanarayana, Pulupula Sivayya and Tummala Venkataramayya wrote songs that were used not only in party meetings, but also in all literary assemblies of the progressives.

However, they are sparse and did not denote a sustained effort of the poets to continue the tradition. Narla Chiranjeevi, Konakalla Venkataratnam, Nazar, Tirunagari Anjaneyulu and a few others wrote songs of merit. Sankarambadi Sundarachari, who wrote the famous invocation song, "Ma Telugu Talliki" deserves notice in this context.

Vidwan Viswam's *Pennēṭi Pāṭa* is the best long poem of the period. It captured the travails of the people in the Penna Valley of Rayalseema. Similarly, his other narratives like *Oka Nāḍu, Virikanne* and *Pāpam* denote Viswam's able handling of a story, with compassion as the major emotion.

All this activity coincided with an important political event - the formation of Andhra Pradesh on 1st of November, 1956. With consolidation of all the Telugu people and a linguistic state, poets should have been happy and contented. But it was not to be so. Hopes were belied. The worst-hit was the middle-class. The new generation of poets also emerged from the middle classes to write about their own fears, confrontations and turmoils. Kundurti was a product of this milieu, at least in his second phase. Arudra wrote on the subject in his *Sinīvāli*, and Balagangadhara Tilak sang their hopes and frustrations in *Amṛtam Kurisina Rātri*. In 1962 the country received a bolt with Chinese agression. Out came a section of the poets with protest poems.

Digambara Kavitwam

In 1965 there came a spurt - a sudden outburst of poets revolting against the existing poetic practices. There was all-round dissatisfaction about poets who merely sang in praise of Visalandhra or in condemnation of China. They were mere external manifestations of opportunist poets exploited by governmental or political agencies. These attempts lacked anything poetic; they were hollow. Out of this morass came a distinct poetic movement, though seemed temporary, has had a more significant direction towards the future.

This one was the movement started by a group of six poets who called themselves the 'Digambara' poets, whose cherished goal was to revolt against the self-effacing poetic attempts of their contemporaries and to engage themselves in a more meaningful ordering of honest self-awareness and self-expression. Entrance of the six young modern poets who renounced their original names which represented caste, community and religion was traumatic, dramatic and thunderous.

The six poets - Nagnamuni, Nikhileswar, Jwalamukhi, Cherabanda Raju, Bhairavayya and Mahaswapna - expressed together their concern for the exploited man, the helpless and the hapless in no uncertain language. They did not mind using abusive and shocking diction and calling the intellectuals, authoritarians, hypocrites, sycophants and the democratically-elected rulers bad names. Their poems were soon translated not only into other important languages of India, but into English and French as well.

Digambara poets published 3 volumes of poetry - *Digambara Kavulu* (on May 6, 1965) *Dik-lu* (on Dec. 18, 1966) and *Nēṭi Kuṣṭụ Vyavstha Pai Digambara Kavulu* (1968). Self-awareness from alientation, naked self-expression against exploitation of all kinds, lively, participatory existence - these are the ideals for which they relentlessly struggled. Prose-poem is their medium; undaunted courage their inspiration. Some of these poets later joined their hands with Revolutionary poets when Vi.Ra.Sam was started in 1970.

"Nagnamuni", who started with the prose-poem, was the real force behind the Digambara movement. Even when his associates frittered away into several camps later, he remained alone, always a force to reckon with. His long poem, *Koyya Gurram* (1977), was a mixture of pathos and anger. He has a fine sense of using powerful imagery, both mythical and contemporaneous.

Bhairavayya directly depicted the poetic images like "somewhere a dry stick snapping with a crack, a crazy giggle dancing in a rigid mouth, a woman's child-birth agony, Jean val Jean's hunger and misery, a widow's stupefied tragedy beyond the ken of intransigent scoundrels and egoists".

Cherabanda Raju who joined the revolutionary writers later, had won the love of all poetry lovers as the champion of the depressed, suffering underdog. One reads him with a worshipful mind and feels an immediate commraderie. He fought death with an invincible courage, but finally succumbed to it on 2nd July, 1982 of brain tumour. Cherabanda Raju's poetry has conquered the aesthetic distance that is believed to be an ever-existing gap between the poet and the ordinary masses. He had identified his 'people' and was always ready with a song on his lips for them. He strove for a state of equity and social justice. Inspired by the compelling voices of two of the ballad singer-poets Gaddar and Vangapandu Prasada Rao, he also took to the ballad form, weaving out folklorist melodies.

Mahaswapna, one of the 'Digambaras' got stuck up like a pin on the radiogram. We have lost a pure poet in his silence. Nikhileswar and Jwalamukhi continue to write and they use poetry as a social tool. They have not invented a new order, but continue to write about an actual society using poetry as social language.

Though the Digambara poets won fame as outspoken singers of contemporary cruelty and hypocrisy, they are also condemned for the use of abusive language and obscene imagery. Their diction, imagery and vocabulary they chose are their strongest as well as their weakest points.

In July 1965, C. Vijayalaxmi (a pseudonym) published *Viṣāda Bhāratam*, a devastatingly frank appraisal of contemporary India in telling images and pronounced anger. The writer's anger was not merely against the rotten imbroglio, but also at the sinister influence of the religious leaders as well - the Babas and their ilk.

Seela Veerraju started writing narratives in free verse like Kundurti. His *Koḍigaṭṭina Sūryuḍu*, *Hṛdayam Dorikindi* and other story-poems reveal his ease in the use of the prose-poem. His subjects, however, range from love to progress and to revolution.

Chetanavarta Poets

In 1967 came another interesting Movement, this time from Warangal. Calling themselves "Chetanavarta Kavulu", four college teachers brought out an anthology of poetry, all professing some basic tenets of life and poetic practice. Their first anthology of poems was in 1967, and their second in 1970. They were enthusiastically received as sober counterparts of the Digambara poets. The four poets - Suprasanna, Sampathkumara, Pervaram Jagannadham and Ve. Narasimha Reddy - declared that a "humane, universal consciouness" is what binds them all. They have chosen wide-ranging themes - from the mundane, day-to-day happenings to abstract and philosophical themes and used a language which, unlike the "naked", abusive, four-letter words of the "Digambaras", is beset with allegory, irony, wit and solemn images.

To start with, they were not confrontationist; neither were they conciliatory. They made their anger transparant enough, their ideals clear enough; but what distinguished them from the 'Digambaras' was their concept of poetry; their approach to it. While "Digambaras" thought that a sane society would emerge only after destruction of the existing rotten system, "Chetanavarta" poets believed in transformation and self-purification. In a way, theirs is a more broad-based creed to cover all aspects of human faith, including the Digambara's, *sans* their 'naked' language.

Not that the 'Chetanavarta' poets themselves have a unified voice. They are as disparate as any two poets could be. Their ways of thinking, their poetic approaches, their thinking processes - are varied, as they should be. But they profess a common goal to be reached by a common medium. Their goal is to see the world through scientific and psychological reality - they called this 'universal consciouness' - and they expressed themselves in the medium of the prose-poem. All of them have great hopes on the potentialities of man.

Pervaram Jagannadham is basically an ironist and used *anyāpadēsa* as a necessary tool. Narasimha Reddy is the most sensitive of these poets - emotional and immensely responsive. His untimely death, in 1973, was a great loss both to the movement and Telugu poetry. Conceding the importance of tradition in the making of man and the humanity, Sampathkumara emphasized the need for a "contemporary consciouness". Suprasanna is more a spiritual poet, though his poetry is not devoid of an assessment of reality. He looks a visionary in his contemplation of a 'unified consciousness' and is akin to the Expressionists in decrying the dangers of a mere scientific development. The prose-poem has attained new poetic heights, in the hands of the Chetanavarta poets though occasionally it is marred by abstract imagery and involved phra- seology.

Outside the 'Chetanavarta' group, Madiraju Ranga Rao is to be mentioned in this context itself, for he is one poet who is relentlessly striving to relate poetry to the higher consciousness of man. A conscious artist, Madiraju is a philosophical poet as is evidenced in poem after poem. They need careful study, for they are endowed with multiple images, not easily comprehensible. Others like Addepalli Rama Mohan Rao and "Ellora" also wrote poetry which upheld humanistic ideals.

Revolutionary Poetry and Vi.Ra.Sam.

The Naxalbury movement was started on the 3rd of March, 1967. There was already a hue and cry when the Digambara poets published their three anthologies. It resulted in poets taking sides. The heated discussion came to a crescendo with the celebration of Sri Sri's *Ṣaṣṭi Pūrti* in 1969. *Sṛjana*, a literary periodical edited by Varavara Rao, indicated its preference to proletarian poetry. The C.P.I.(M.L.) party came into being in April, 1969. "Vi.Ra.Sam", (Viplava Rachayitala Sangham : Revolutionary Writers' Association) was born in the dead of the night on 4th July, 1970 with the blessings of Sri Sri and some other prominent poets, novelists and critics. 1965 to 1970 was a period of many poetic and literary anthologies expounding 'revolution'. At the same time the violence of Naxalbury movement was met with state oppression. Poets who published anthologies of revolutionary poems had to either go underground or turn approvers. The situation was highly volatile, tense and taut.

Digambara poets soon split and joined another group, "Tirugabadu Kavulu" (Revolting poets) which had ten members. They later joined the Vi.Ra.Sam. and after a while some of them came out and formed "Jana Sahiti". In the last two dacades or so, Vi.Ra.Sam. itself had seen many a fall and rise. Heated discussions went on about "commitment" and "involvement". Protest poetry voicing the people's anguish alone can be said to have a unidirectional force. Social background lends authenticity to such poetry.

If Telangana movement (1946-51) inspired the progressive poets, Srikakulam movement (the 'Farmers' Revolt' in Srikakulam District : 1968-72), served as the driving force for the revolutionary poetry. Poetry has started gaining a public dimension, being relevant in the total pattern of life with a futuristic vision. This kind of poetry used 'practical poetics' in an honest language; righteous anger visibly seen.

The anger expressed by earlier poets like C. Vijayalaxmi, Balagangadhara Tilak, the Digambara poets and others was a kind of helpless anger. Those poets recognised the crisis but the critical moment was perpetuated only by the Srikakulam poets inspired by the movement. The period between 1958 and '68 was characterised by the protest of the tribals in that area. During 1968-71 the protest was supported by the politico-poetical rebels. Men who gave such a call were Vempatapu Satyam and Subba Rao Panigrahi in 1967. Panigrahi published his *Agni Kaṇālu* in 1968. He was a performing artist and wrote moving songs. The 'Tirugabadu Kavulu' used the prose-poem, supporting the Srikakulam movement.

Students in Andhra University, in a felicitaion meeting of Sri Sri, demanded that poets should come out and declare on whose side they were. Polarisation started soon and the 'Viplava' (Revolution) poets published their first anthology *March* in July, 1970, followed by other anthologies like *Lē* and *Jhanjha* which were banned. Sivasagar, 'Nizam', Sivudu - all three names for one poet, K.G. Satya Murty - wrote several songs which became extremely popular. This was an age of anonymous poets and underground anthologies.

There was also much of sloganizing and calling names in these poems. There was more of perspiring inspiration than expression of ideas poetically. Revolt was the key-word. Some were even directly inciting. However, the positive value of this poetry lies in transcending the narrow barriers of nationalism, provincialism, striking at the roots of communalism and also emancipation of women from social and familial oppression.

Mostly the same voices of the 70's continued to be heard in the 80's also. There is a proliferation of anthologies of poets, out of which those of 'Nizam', 'Nammu', Varavara Rao, M. Ramulu, K. Rama Mohan Raju, Sagar, Vangapandu, Tripuraneni Srinivas and Vargis were significant.

Of all the protest poets, mighty voices are those of Cherabanda Raju, Varavara Rao, Gaddar, Vangapandu Prasada Rao, Sivasagar and Vargis. A major poet like Sri Sri wrote only a few minor poems for the revolution whereas minor poets (who wrote anonymously) contributed a large bulk. The best part of their achievement lies in making good use of the local myth, image and symbol giving them a shape of collective consciousness.

Siva Reddy is in the mainstream of revolutionary poetry, yet he kept up an individuality for himself. He steers his vehicle of free verse with ease, comfort, grace, verbal force and restraint. Poetry is his very breath and he has been improving upon himself in one volume after another, for the last twenty years.

Poets like Srikanta Sarma, Satya Sreemannarayana and Ismail are wrongly and rather crudely grouped as 'Anubhuti kavulu' (or self-emotion poets). The reason is that these poets of "feeling" believe that poetry by itself cannot make anything 'happen'. They are rather rashly considered as solipsists, preoccupied in their own states of mental inversion, subjectivism and ecclecticism. The argument is that they use symbols as suggestive emblems and that they have a sneering contempt for the social content and so fabricate a kind of poetry which exists in its own being. This group of poets may better be called "experiential" or "existential".

Among these 'stylists', Ismail comes to the forefront with his poetics as pure internalization and poetry as an act of self-discovery. Vazir Rehman's meticulous prose-poems measure the experiential distance between man and the 'creative man'. His sensuality is of a high order. Kotthapalli Satya Sreemannarayana is a poet whose cryptograms have a haunting value. The influence of the great writer, Chalam, is evident on all these poets who believe in the instinct of man and the realization of the self by individualism. Randhi Somaraju wrote in an idiolect, an imitation of the dialect of his region, depicting the ordinary man's struggles. He has a gift of imagery. C.V.Krishna Rao, a poet of the proletariat, has closely observed the poor and the lowly as is revealed in his *Vaitaraṇi*.

Vegunta Mohan Prasad published his *Citi-Cinta* in the 1970's, which established him as a poet of consequence. In late 80's he wrote a series of poems with a pen-name "Mo". In between, he translated Telugu poems into English and published the volume entitled *This Tense Time* (1982), a very creditable attempt not easily possible and goes very often unrecognised in one's own language area. However, Mohan Prasad's Telugu poetry has two important qualities: one, the underlying tragic element that pervades all his poetry and two, the effective freedom he takes in using the prose-poem. In both, he has achieved a rare individuality.

Poetry in the '90s

Two important elements can be deducted from the latest trends in Telugu poetry. The 1970's and 80's saw poets broadly taking distinct sides: revolutionary and non-revolutionary. During this decade this categorization seems to have almost vanished. Not that 'Viplava' poets stopped writing revolutionary poetry. But they also started looking at life and the various experiences and made them their subject matter. On the other hand, even poets who do not subscribe to the Viplava ideals are slowly drawn towards the need for poetry to be socially relevant. Sympathy for the underdog has become a common feature, the only change being the extension in the connotation of the 'underdog'. All suffering people, not necessarily those that suffered political oppression, became subjects of poetry. Thus the barriers of 'Viplava' and 'non-Viplava' denominations are slowly being eroded and all poetry is getting concerned about all human problems - especially of those unfortunate beings who cannot protest against the attrocities committed against them. There is also a conscious attempt at synthesizing poetic content with technique, which was hitherto ignored.

'Devi Priya', who is also in the proletarian group, published two volumes of poetry - *Amma ceṭṭu* in 1979 and another *Nīṭi Puṭṭa* in 1990. Devi Priya's poetry is full of rich metaphors. Though, occasionally, it falls flat and becomes commentary-like, he can evoke an emotion and picturize a whole scene with his images. Like Devi Priya, N. Gopi also shows a painter's perfection in drawing colours, light and shade and vivifying the picturesque quality of a secne as is evident in his recent anthology *Citra Dīpâlu*.

The 80's really belong to youngsters - and there are several of them. Afsar, Prasen and Seetharam formed a team to publish their poems. Each one has an individuality of his own. The density in Afsar's poems, the tragic intensity in Seetharam's and the newness of imagery in Prasen's bring a fresh feeling of sensitive understanding and careful observation of human life. Sikhamani's personifications in *Muvvala Cêtikarrạ* have a telling effect. Sivasankar shows an existential and experiential poetic sensibility, yet not away from social reality. Other impressive poets of this decade are Yakub, Aranya Krishna and Yelidandla Sudhakar who can create word pictures with rare imagination. Varavara Rao's and Sivasagar's works continue to appear and inspire all lovers of poetry.

In this general broad-based framework of the creative environment, poetry written by women occupies a dominant position. This can be said to be the single achievement of this decade. Women poets, started writing on subjects as far and wide as the men poets alone wrote until then and established for themselves a prominent place in the contemporary literary history. Their poems are innovative and refreshing. What is particularly striking is their wide choice of varied subjects. Though all of them have written poetry which may be called "feminist", they have also transcended that label and looked at whole life, its nuances and its joys and sorrows from a feminine sensi- bility.

The first among them is Vani Ranga Rao, who published her earliest anthology *Dīpam* in 1977. She was the first feminist poet who daringly used some sexual symbols, though much of her poetry shows compassion for the suffering. Revati Devi's poems were anthologized as *Śitālōlita* in 1981 after her untimely demise. Vimala stands as the best revolutionary poetess. Her *Aḍavi Uppongina Rātri* (1990) contains poems which are inspirational. She has an ability to see oppression even in sea waves and forest trees. She also speaks of the exploitation of woman in day-to-day living conditions. Jayaprabha, in her five volumes of poetry published so far, has established herself as the foremost feminist poet, though she has also written some good experiential poems, at times sensitive and at other times daringly outspoken - but always innovative.

Kondepudi Nirmala's two volumes of poetry *Samdigdha Sandhya* and *Nâḍicê Gâyâlu* brought her recognition as a poet using daringly imaginative word-pictures. In poems like *Labour Room*, *Hṛdayāniki Bahuvacanam* and *Mother Serious* she describes three feminine experiences very poetically. Ghantasala Nirmala's *A Call-girl's Monologue* and *Jugal Bandi* and Rajani's *Abortion Statement* have been recognised as poems of extreme merit and especially demonstrate a strong feminine point of view, expressed ruthlessly. There are also men who wrote evocative poems on feminine oppression. Sivareddy is one such poet.

Though it is too early to evaluate these recent poets, and too difficult to do so because of the extensive numbers of practising poets, some of them have shown extraordinary powers at poeticising situations in a language that is significant and commanding.

Some poets initiated a new trend by writing 'Mini Kavita', a very short poem, usually in four lines. This is like the earlier *câṭu padyam*, which at best brings out a flash of an idea succinctly. Nearer to "Cartoon Kavita", it has been used for political commentary with advantage. To the former category belong Gajjela Mallareddy, 'Devi Priya' and Narasa Reddy and to the latter, Alisetti Prabhakar.

Poetry during this decade has achieved something unique: new modes of expression by new writers with an imaginative capability comparable to that of any earlier generation and new areas of thrust have enriched poetry. These poets, including some women, wrote on anger, freedom, compassion and revolution offering fresh insights and points of view.

TOPICAL VERSES AND POETIC SKILLS

Catuvu

Stray verses of some poets, called *câṭuvulu*, have gained currency by oral transmission from generation to generation. Often these verses are context-oriented and serve as reflections of sensitive poets towards striking incidents or places, situations or personalities. They present the poet in his social milieu.

Srinatha of the 15th c. was a poet who had travelled all over the Telugu land and had described, in his *câṭuvu-s* many things he saw. Most of his *câṭuvu-s* show him an unbridled Romantic, which created a popular image of this poet as a 'libertine'. Pen-portraits of women from varied classes of society who roused his interest are found in these poems. There are also poems of biting satire as is evidenced from his comment in a verse addressing a donkey in which he alludes to the common features of external appearance of both a donkey and a poet, in Kondavidu, and wonders whether the donkey is also not one of the poets. Whether all the stanzas ascribed to him are genuinely his or not, a specific point that emerges is that he had a playful, humorous approach to life around him.

Vemulavada Bhima Kavi was an earlier poet who is believed to possess divine powers. Two stary verses indicate that, cross with a king, Kalinga Gangu, Bhima Kavi pronounced a curse on him as a result of which he lost his kingdom and later regained it through the poet's blessing.

There are also several *cāṭu* verses which show the sparkling wit and humour, along with a poetic flash. A large number of such verses are attributed to the court poets of Srikrishnadeva Raya. Tenali Ramakrishna is said to have stunned an egotistic scholar who boasted of his extraordinary speed in taking dictation of poems. Ramakrishna started a verse with onomatopoeic sound ('twbur' - a sound made to goad the cattle) as a word to mean Siva's bull. Describing the Raya's fame, Ramakrishna composed an extempore verse in a fascinating style to say : The Raya's rare fame is as pleasant as *karibhit giribhit kari karibhit giri giribhit karibhit giribhit turanga*. It is a poetic convention to compare fame with white objects. In this stanza, the comparison is with Siva, Iravata, Kailasa, Vajrayudha, Nandi and Ucchaisrava, Indra's horse.

Some of these *Cāṭu padyams* consist of parodies, poetic exaggerations almost bordering on riddles and pleasant rebuffs.

Samasya Puranam

A literary pastime as well as an acid test for the poetic abilities of a poet is *samasyâ pûraṇam* in which the last line of a stanza is given and the poet has to complete it. Usually the last line contains an improbability or a seeming contradiction and sometimes even an obscenity. The poet has to complete the poem setting right the improbability or the contradiction or eliminating the obscenity by reinterpreting the words. *Samasyâ pûraṇam* occupies an important component of *avadhānams*.

Avadhanam

Avadhānam means attention or concentration. As literary feats, *śatâvadhānam* and *aṣṭāvadhānam* have been very popular in Andhra. *Śatâvadhānan* means paying attention to a hundred things or persons. A hundred people pose problems to the poet, called *avadhâni*, and seek poetic answers to them. The problems include a *samasya* or a request for a description of a particular object in a specific metre, etc. The avadhani goes on delivering one line of the stanza in each round and completes the avadhanam in four rounds. The avadhani has to remember the specific requests of the questioners and also the line or lines that he has already composed for each one of them. Finally he recapitulates each completed stanza. Innumerable poets have earned laurels for their mastery in this literary feat. In the modern times Tirupati Venkata kavulu and Kopparapu brothers popularised it.

Aṣṭāvadhānam is another amazing feat which is not merely literary in nature. The avadhani in this has to concentrate on eight aspects simultaneously. The items may be selected from the following : *āśu kavita* (extempore poetic compositions), *vyastākṣari* (ordering of jumbled syllables of a poem to be arranged meaningfully), *aprastuta praśamsa* (meeting the challenge of irrelevant diversions of talk), playing chess, explaining the intricacies of an excerpt from a classic, keeping the count of flowers given to him or beats of a gong done intermittently, *niṣiddhākṣari* (composing a stanza, syllable by syllable, avoiding any particular syllable at each stage as required by the questioner), *datta padi* (using the given words in a stanza as specified by the questioners), *samasyā pūraṇam*, etc.

Tirupati Venkata kavulu are also famous for *aṣṭāvadhānam*. It is heartening to note that several poets of the present generation also have taken to these *avadhânams*. Mention must be made of Subbanna Satavadhani, Medasani Mohan and Nagaphani Sarma.

Among such other feats are *nētrāvadhānam* (conveying a message through the movements of eyelids and pupils) and *Sahasrāvadhânam* (association of a thousand items in their sequence). These two have no connection with literature.

Dr. Dhara Ramanatha Sastry conceived *nāṭyāvadhānam* and since 1960 has given numerous performances. He also trained many in the art. *Nāṭyāvadhānam* consists of presenting dramatic episodes on the spot as requested. The avadhani has to view a situation and present it with dialogues and monologues composed ad-lib. Minor improvisations of make-up and dress go along with it.

GENERAL PROSE

The word for non-metrical prose of unspecified length in Sanskrit is *gadya*. The present-day equivalent of the term in Telugu is *vacanam*, which was not in vogue until the 12th century. Nannaya used the term for "something that is spoken". The word, however, was used in the sense of *gadya* in Kannada in the 11th and 12th centuries by Saiva saint-poets like Devara Dasamaiah and Basaveswara. Perhaps this practice of using both *gadya* and *vacana* synonymously was an influence of the Kannada saint-poets on Telugu literature.

Vamana, the author of *Kāvyālankāra Sūtra Vṛtti* divided *gadya* into 3 types - *vṛttagandhi*, *cūrṇika* and *utkaḷika*, whereas Pottapi Venkataramana, a Telugu rhetorician of the 17th century divided it into five types - *gadya* (ornate prose), *birudu gadya* (honorific prose), *cūrṇika* (inornate prose), *vacana* (aphoristic prose) and *vinnapam* (prose used for devotional entreaties). *Vacana*, which was obviously one of the five types, later on gained currency due to its importance and became synonymous with *gadya*.

Inscriptions

The earliest examples of prose compositions in Telugu go back to pre-Nannaya period and are available in the inscriptions on stone slabs and on copper plates. The first inscription now available is Renati Chola King, Dhananjaya's *Kalamaḷḷa Śāsanam* (575). Both this and the later inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries denote a strong Prakrit influence. By the 9th and 10th centuries, there was a marked difference in the style and diction used in the inscriptions with the introduction of a strong sanskritised diction and at times even the *maṇipravāḷa* style. As is evidenced in the Koravi inscription of the 10th c., the prose style used in it resembles the one used by Nannaya in his *Mahābhāratamu*. The language of the post-Nannaya inscriptions maintained a close affinity with the spoken word of the people. The inscriptions reveal the life of the people of the respective periods and also of the kings and their rule. The use of regionalisms and well-rounded sentence structure marks the later inscriptions of the 14th and 15th centuries. During the later part of the 16th c. foreign words from Urdu, English, French and Dutch languages were freely used in the inscriptions. However paper and ink had replaced the inscriptions since the advent of the English.

Campu Kavyas

Besides inscriptions which used prose was the *Campū Kāvya*, a metrical poetic text interspersed with prose. Nannaya himself was the originator of this style. He used prose specifically for passages that needed no poetic embellishments and for common-place descriptions. The former type contained prose nearer to the common idiom and the latter sanskritised and full of *alamkāras*. Sometimes his prose passages start almost in a poetic rhythm and follow the *vṛttagandhi* style. He also made use of *āśvāsānta gadya*, a prose passage at the end of each canto, announcing its completion. Nannaya also used prose for short dialogues, for giving out a proverb, for bridging two episodes, and for providing the genealogies of kings.

Later poets, including Tikkana and Errana, followed the same pattern laid down by Nannaya with a few modifications to suit their genius and creative need. While Tikkana used less prose than Nannaya, he made use of more native words. Errana used it especially for lengthy descrptions. His elaborate description, in prose, of Narasimha coming out of the *stambha* (usually referred to as *stambhōdbhava gadya*), closer in style to *utkaḷika*, contains ornate sentences with long-winding word-compounds and alliterations. This style was followed by a large number of prabandha poets. Inclusion of at least one such prose passage in ornate style has become obligatory with later poets. Nachana Somanatha used prose mainly for descriprtive purposes. His prose is more ornate and sanskritised. While Pothana used prose for long descriptions and for explaining difficult philosophical and spiritual ideas, Srinatha used it both for descriptive and dramatic purposes. While his descriptions are ornate, his use of easy prose for dialogues is especially noteworthy.

During the prabandha period, prose was used for elaborate descriptions. With the use of alliteration, of rhythm and of long-winding word-compounds, prose of this period has become poetic prose. Occasional variations can also be seen in this area, as, for example, its use for narrating humourous episodes. In Krishnadeva Raya, this usage is sporadic, whereas in Pingali Surana it is obvious and conscious. By the later prabandha times, the use of prose has slowly lessened, presumably because prose as a separate literary genre was being developed.

Commentaries and Explanatory Prose

Several prose commentaries of difficult poetic texts appeared by the 16th c. Muddaraju Peda Ramanna wrote a commentary of *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyamu* (1575), a *dwyarthi kāvya* yielding two sets of meanings throughout the poem. Chitrakavi Anantha's commentaries of *Āmuktamālyada* and *Hariścandrōpākhyānam* (1580) and Chitrakavi Venktataramana's commentaries of *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyam, Vasucaritra* and *Āmuktamālyada* were written in prose.

Similarly, the explanatory parts of several grammatical and prosodic texts were given in prose. Mention must be made of Elakuchi Balasaraswathi's commentary on *Āndhra Śabda Cintāmaṇi* in this context. Other texts like *Appakavīyam* and *Sarva Lakṣaṇa Sāramu* contain explanatory notes in prose as is evidenced by the manuscripts available.

The *Kaifiyats* (local histories), were all written in prose by village officers. These *Kaifiyats*, containing valuable historical and sociological information, were collected by Mackenzie and Brown.

Devotional Compositions

By composing devotional eulogies on Vishnu as early as in 13th c., Krishnamacharya became the originator of prose literature in Telugu. His devotional compositions are known as *Kriṣṇamācārya Samkīrtanalu* or *Simhagiri Narahari Vacanamulu*, as they were eulogies addressed to the Lord of Simhagiri. Unlike the prose in *campū kāvyas*, the *vacanams* of Krishnamacharya contain easy musical prose. Tallapaka Chinnanna, a later writer who wrote in the same genre, called such compositions *cūrṇikas*. They are all emotional outpourings of a devotee. To the same tradition belong Peda Tirumalacharya's (son of Tallapaka Annamacharya) *Venkatēśwara Vacanamulu*. Written in musical prose, they were set to music and were sung.

Like the Vaishnava *vacanams*, there are also Saiva *vacanams*. Following the Basaveswara *vacanas, Bhavāni Manōhara vacanas*, popularly known as *Śankara vacanas*, were written by Sankara Kavi (16th c.). *Kāśikādhīśwara vacanas* (also known as *Śiva yōgi vacanas*) and *Gangādharayya vacanas* are the other notable contributions to this type of literature. *Vēdānta Vyavahara Sāra Sangraham* was rendered into prose by Dattatreya Yogi in the middle of the 16th c. and is considered the first commentary on *Brahma Sūtras* in Telugu.

Historical Works

Besides devotional and metaphysical works there are some 'historical' works in the same medium. At least three such works need to be mentioned here. The first one is *Pratāpa Caritra* (16th c.), written by Ekamranatha, which contained the history of the Kakatiya kings, with special emphasis on Prataparudra II. The prose used in the *Caritra* is in the local idiom and closer to the one used in inscriptions of the time. The second one is *Siddhēśwara Caritra* of Kase Sarvappa which contains both stanzas and prose. The first part is in *dwipada* metre and narrates Siddheswara's story and the second part which describes Prataparudra's story (following Ekamranatha) is in prose. The third work is *Rāya Vācakamu* written by one "Sthanapati" (an official) in the court of Viswanatha Nayaka of Mathura and celebrates the life and achievements of Krishnadeva Raya. This must have been written in the latter half of the 16th c. Except for 23 poems and 3 *slōkas*, the entire text is in prose and is largely narrative in style. It also contains several Urdu and Kannada words.

Epics, Puranas and Ksetra Mahatmyams

During the *Dakṣināndhra* period (17th and 18th centuries), a greater need for writing books in prose had arisen. They were aimed at the common people, especially those residing in the non-Telugu areas, and were written in *saraḷa grânthika* (easy, classical prose).

Vijayaranga Chokkanadha (1706-32) had written two prose works - *Śrīranga Mâhâtmyam* and *Māgha Māhātmyam*. The former is the first prose *Kṣêtramâhâtmya* in Telugu (a descriptive work on a holy place). The second one is a story-based descriptive work. Linganamakhi Kameswara Kavi's (17th c.) *Dhēnu Māhātmyam* and Kaluve Nanjaraju's (18th c.) *Hâlâsya Māhātmyam* belong to the same category.

Several Puranas also appeared in prose during the period. *Bhârata Sâvitri*, an anonymous work, contained in easy prose stories from the Puranas intended for women and semi-literate people.

Samukham Venkatakrishnappa Nayaka's *Jaimini Bhâratamu* is a major work of this time and was dedicated to Vijayaranga Chokkanatha. He followed both the Sanskrit text (which contained only the *Aśwamēdha Parva*) and its Telugu rendering in the *campû* style by Pillalamarri Pina Veerabhadrudu. His prose is full of *anuprâsas* but written in easy *grânthika* style. He also rendered into prose Chemakura Venkatakavi's *Sârangadhara Caritra*.

Kaluve Vira Raju's *Bhāratam* is also an important work, of which only the *Sabhâ* and *Bhīṣma parvas* are now available. Vira Raju's text is a close rendering of the Vyasa *Bhâratam* into Telugu. He was helped in this work by Tupakula Ananta Bhupala.

Among the Ramayana renderings, Syamaraya Kavi's *Vacana Râmâyaṇam* (18th c.) is the earliest. In contrast with all these works which were written in *grânthika* style, some like *Uttara Gōpuramu* and *Uttara Rāmāyaṇamu* were in colloquial prose. *Visnupurânam* and *Bhagavadgīta* of Tupakula Ananta Bhupala belonged to this period.

During the latter half of the 19th century general readership increased due to the changed circumstances ushering in modernity. As a result, suitable literature in regional languages had become a necessity. The Christian missionaries started printing religious literature in the beginning, but later took to publishing literature of the regions - in the local languages. Their activity - (spanning over roughly two centuries - from the beginning of the 18th c. to later years of the 19th c.) may be divided into 3 periods from the point of view of the prose-style. (1) the period of spoken idiom *(vyâvaharika)* (2) the period of simplified *grânthika* and (3) the period of subtle and artificial *grânthika*.

After an initial spurt of religious works, and especially of Bible, there soon came stories of common interest. These were written in the colloquial idiom. Among them, the notable ones are *Gō Vyāghra Caritra, Vikramârkuni Kathalu, Pancatantra Kathalu, Bhêtâḷa Pancavimśati*, etc. Such works were needed by the British officers learning Telugu.

This tendency of using the spoken language continued until the middle of the 19th c. It was used to explain metaphysical and religious treatises, medical and astrological works, and even treatises on poetics. *Sāttvika Brahma Vidyā Vilāsamu, Vedānta Sāra Sangrahamu, Siddhānta Sāramu* and *Vyavahāra Darpaṇamu* are some of the other books written in *vyāvahārika* style. The Old Testament was rendered into spoken Telugu. So was a vaishnava religious work, *Sakala rahasya sarvārtha sāra sangrahamu.* (The word *Sangrahamu*, occuring in many titles, indicates that the material was being presented briefly.)

But things changed quickly with the introduction of English education in schools. Pandits, who were in charge of the school and college education, laid down regulations that such Telugu works that followed the grammatical rules of the *grānthika* literature should alone be prescribed as text-books. And the *grānthika* style of literary language was strictly adhered to at least in the university and college text-books. Even during the early days of the introduction of the literary language, books of popular interest continued to be written in the spoken idiom. Puduri Seetharama Sastry's *Pedda Bāla Śikṣa* and other books such as *Mahammadu Caritra* and *Jān(u) Banyanu Caritra* (story of John Bunyan) bear testimony to it. Several travelogues of the early period like *Kaśīyātrā Caritra* were in chaste regional idiom.

However, with the establishment of the University of Madras in 1858 and with the introduction of Telugu as one of the subjects to be studied at the University level, there was a new impetus to the study of Telugu. Since there were no books available for study written in the grammatically tenable *grānthika* style, Paravastu Chinnaya Suri (1809-62), as the first senior Telugu pandit at the Presidency College, took upon himself to fill in the gap. He translated the first two parts of *Pancatantra* as *Mitra lābhamu* and *Mitra bhēdamu* in an ornate literary style. Though a scholar both in Telugu and Sanskrit, Chinnaya Suri was an ardent believer of the classical style which he followed. His prose was verbose, ornate and full of long-winding compond sentences, though he sustained in it a natural rhythm. Two other scholars who later translated the rest of the *Pancatantra* parts, *Sandhi* and *Vigraham*, Veeresalingam Pantulu and Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu followed Suri's style. Several scholars championed the cause of *grānthika* and vehemently opposed the use of *vyāvahārika*. Even *Pancatantra Kathalu*, written in the spoken language and published in 1834, was completely changed into the classical, literary language when it was published again in 1870.

Chinnaya Suri pioneered the *grānthika* movement not only by his own literary efforts, but also by formulating rules for writing the literary language in his *Bāla vyākaraṇamu* (a grammar for the beginners). A campaign for the use of the *vyāvahārika* style both for educational and creative purposes was started by Gidugu Ramamurthi Pantulu between 1930-40.

After Chinnaya Suri's death, the post he held was occupied by Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu, who was a more aggressive champion of the *grānthika* school. Then came Veeresalingam into the same post. Though he started his career as an ardent admirer of Chinnaya Suri, he slowly adopted an easier variety of *grānthika*. In his adaptation of *Gulliver's Travels* as *Satyarājāpūrvadēśa Yātralu* and in his *Rājaśēkhara Caritra* and also in his innumerable essays and biographies, he used the *saraḷa grānthika*, which is direct, effective and lucid. His *prahasanas* were mostly written in the *vyāvahārika*, sometimes bordering on the regional idiom. His effective use of the language gained for him the title, 'gadya Tikkana'.

Several other writers used the same *saraḷa grānthika* style for their literary essays. Rallapalli Ananthakrishna Sarma, Cuttamanchi Ramalinga Reddy, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Venkata Parvateeswara Kavulu and Panuganti Laxminarasimha Rao used more or less a prose style which, though written according to the *grānthika* canons, was closer to the spoken idiom and could easily communicate the writers' views to the common reader.

The Vyavaharika Movement

The movement for using the *vyāvahārika* language in creative as well as critical writing was spearheaded by Gidugu Rama Murthy Pantulu (1862-1940) and was staunchly supported by Gurazada Appa Rao. He left no stone unturned in repudiating the *grānthika* school and even showed 'incorrect' expressions in their own writings according to their own professed norms. Gidugu's books revealed, both by precept and practice, the nature and utility of the spoken word. Practioners of fiction gave the spoken word stability and wider acceptability. Unnava Laxminarayana, Chinta Deekshitulu, Chalam, Sreepada Subrahmanya Sastry, Munimanikyam Narasimha Rao and many others used the spoken word as a vehicle for their fictional writings and thus *vyāvahārika* came into its own in the creative works of the writers, though *saraḷa grānthika* continued for some more time as the medium of critical and literary works, including those the early phases of modern poetry. The credit for a universal acceptance of the spoken word for both creative and critical works goes, to a large extent, to the periodicals.

VYASAMU, THE ESSAY

The essay, another product of English education, has not reached the heights it attained in England. However, it has gained the variety as elsewhere. Samineni Muddu Narasimha Naidu, the first known essayist, called his essays *pramēyamulu* and published them under the title *Hita Sūcini* in 1862. Paravastu Venkata Rangacharya (1822-1900) called his essays *sangrahamulu* (1872) and Jeer Suri of Bangalore, who wrote in simple, idiomatic prose, called his essays on women's education *(Strī Katha Kallōlini) Vacana kāvyam*. These early exponents, though writing on matters of common interest, still explored the moral needs of the people and their essays can be called "Moral essays".

In the able hands of Kandukuri Veeresalingam, who called his essays *upanyāsamulu*, the Telugu essay attained popularity as an acceptable medium for analysing, with brevity and comprehensive coverage, a chosen subject. Veeresalingam wrote essays on a wide variety of subjects - ranging from moral and ethical instructions to social reform and from scientific writings to biographical sketches.

Among his successors who wielded the essay with competence were Rayasam Venkata Sivudu (1870-1952), Dasu Sreeramulu (1846-1908), and Achanta Venkataraya Sankhyayana Sarma (1864-1933) who wrote on social, religious and scientific subjects respectively.

In the second phase of essay-writing, Gurazada occupies an important position. His 27 essays, collected in *Vyāsa Candrika* and *Māṭā-Mantī*, denote a deep-thinkging mind and a closely analysing intellect. Some of them were originally written in English and translated later by Avasarala Surya Rao, who eidted his works posthumously. Some of his essays deal with literature. Seminal among them are his essay on 'mutyalasaram', his criticism on Kandukuri's 'prahasanams' and on Rabindranath Tagore's life and letters. There are personal essays and ruminations on the psychology of boys and girls, the funny things that happen in public meetings and on nature as an eternally valuable book. There are also essays on political and educational topics and on language. In fact, Gurazada wielded the essay with such facility as he wielded the drama or the poem.

The essay became an established literary form by the end of the 19th century and essayists exploited the new medium for any subject they wanted to treat briefly and succinctly. As such, the essay can be treated under several heads - the literary, the personal (or the periodical), the historical, the scientific, the political and the religio-moralistic.

The literary essay occupies a sigficant place and has been treated under literary criticism. So the other important types of essays will be dealt with here.

The periodical essay came into existence with the starting of periodicals. One of the earliest periodicals, *Satyadūta* (1835), contained news and essays of Christain interest. The *Vartamāna Taranginị* contained features and essays on civics and social, educational and literary value.

Similarly, the literary periodical, even from the *Āndhra Bhāṣā Sanjīvini* (1871), used to publish essays and notes on literary topics ; journals on social and religious reform like *Vivēkavardhini* (1874), though occasionally contained literary essays, mainly concentrated on topics of public interest. It was only after the *Āndhra Patrika* was started (1908) that the periodical essay gained popularity.

The *Sākṣi* essays of Panuganti Laxmi Narasimha Rao are the best- known examples of the periodical essay. Inspired by Addison's *Spectator* and Steele's *Tatler*, Panuganti published his essays first in *Suvarṇalēkha* (1913) and later in *Āndhra Patrika* (1920-22; 1927-28; and 1933) These essays (totalling 143) cover a large variety of subjects - social, literary, religious, cultural, etc. On the model of the Spectator Club, Panuganti also established a 'Sakshi Sangham' in which Janghala Sastry, Vani Dasudu, Borrayya Setti, Kalacharyulu, besides Sakshi, who often leads the deliberations, were members. Most of these essays are in the form of lectures delivered by the most vociferous of them, Janghala Sastry.

The *Sākṣi* essays are in *saraḷa grānthika*. They blazed a new trail with their treatment of a subject in a humourous vein. Extremely readable, they comment freely on any subject that came under their purview, and there was no subject that did not come under their scrutiny. With his mastery of the dramatic element, Panuganti infused the essays with dramatic and narrative skills, which made them instantaneous success with the reading public.

Chellapilla Venkata Sastry's (1870-1950) *Kathalu-Gāthalu*, totalling about 170, contain essays on different topics and are the best examples of the personal essay. The poet published his essays in almost all the journals and they reveal his total personality. While Panuganti's essays tend to objectify even personal experiences through his characters, it is the subjective stamp of a great poet, a *guru* of many eminent poets, that appears before the readers in Chellapilla's essays. They are intimate and conversational. Some of them are reflections on comtemporary literary battles in which he and his other twin-poet, Tirupati Sastry were involved.

Bhamidipati Kameswara Rao's essays reveal his humorous attitude towards things and Tapi Dharma Rao's essays (in *Kottapâḷi* and *Sâhitya Mormarâlu*) are sober deliberations on literary and social topics. Digavalli Venkata Siva Rao also published *Kathalu-Gâthalu* in 4 volumes (1944-47) which contain essays on his reflections on social and literary subjects and his varied experiences in life.

Though there were several imitations of the *Sâkṣi* lecturers, none could contain public interest, until Narla Venkateswara Rao started his *Mâṭâ-Manti* in *Andhra Prabha* in the early fifties. Both this and the essays in his *Piccā-pāṭi* covered political, social and literary subjects in simple, lucid spoken word. They are at best the "musings" of a learned man-of-the-world on subjects far and wide. Chalam's *Musings* are more personal expressions on human relations. His *Strī* and *Prēmalēkhalu* are similar emotional and frank outpourings on man-woman relationship.

Several features in weeklies and monthlies became popular. Among them the most prominent ones are : *Vāram Vāram* (Sri Sri), *Sâhiti Sugatuni Swâgatam* (Tirumala Ramachandra) *Pān-supāri, Bātākhānī, Panilēni Mangali, Vinâyakuḍi Vīna,* (Gora Sastry) *Kurcīlô Kûnirâgâlu, Kalaksēpam, Ūhāgānam, Āṣā-Māṣī* and *Illâli Muccaṭlu*. Among the writers that made these features - short musings on men and matters - Nyapati Narayana Murty, Vidwan Viswam, Gora Sastry, Ravuri Satyanarayana Rao, Dasu Vamana Rao and Puranam Seetha are popular.

Among the moderns who wielded the periodical essay dexterously, 'Buchibabu' *(Antaranga mathanam)*, Sanjeeva Dev *(Rasarēkhalu, Tējōrēkhalu)*, Amarendra *(Bhâva vīṇa)* and Darisi Chenchaiah *(Nā divya smṛtulu)* are prominent.

Several women writers wrote essays of notable merit. Earlier, women essayists mainly wrote on matters of devotional interest, but contemporary ones write equally well on all matters of common interest, including literature. Among the earlier generation of essayists, Bandaru Achamamba *(Abalā saccaritra ratna Māla)*, Kotikalapudi Seethamma *(Upanyâsa suma mālika)*, Pulugurti Laxminarasamamba and Vadrevu Jogayamba made notable contributions to the art of the essay and mainly wrote on subjects that interested the women folk. Among modern writers, Utukuri Laxmikanthamma and Illindala Saraswathi Devi are prolific. Lata, Malati Chandur, K. Ramalaxmi and Puranam Seetha have written essays in the columns of journals like *Āndhra Patrika* and *Āndhra Prabha*.

Mutnuri Krishna Rao, a towering personality and an influential editor, wrote essays on several subjects including art, literature, politics and social life. The two volumes that contain his essays *(Lō velugulu* and *Samīkṣa)* show how Mutnuri endears himself to the readers and shares his opinions with them. He is capable of presenting any subject lucidly and succinctly

The editorials, if they are considered as essays of topical interest, form part of the contributions made by him and other eminent editors like Khasa Subba Rao, Nyapati Narayana Murthy, Narla Venkateswara Rao, Gora Sastry and Gajjala Malla Reddy.

The Historical Essay

If the periodical essay, by and large, is a subjective expression of a personal experience, the historical essay is objective, analytical and informative. Writing such essays lucidly has been developed as an art (and also as a science) by eminent historians of Andhra.

The most notable among them is Komarraju Venkata Laxmana Rau Pantulu (1877-1923) who was one of the leaders of the Renaissance in Andhra. As the founder of 'Vigjnana Chandrika Granthamala' and as the editor of *Āndhra Vigjnāna Sarvasvamu*, he rendered great service to Telugu studies in general and historical studies in particular. His essays (collected under the title *Laxmana Rāya Vyāsāvaḷi*) show his erudition, his power for illustration and logical argument.

Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao (1872-1939) comes a close second to Komarraju. His *Āndhrula Caritra* and his biographies of Tikkana and Srinatha are models for later research work in Andhra history. Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma (1891-1963) is yet another historian who wielded his pen with might. His multifaceted genius - as an editor of *Bhārati*, as an honorary professor at Andhra University and as an authority on Reddy kingdom and Buddhist History of Andhra - is reflected in his essays, *Cāritraka Vyāsamulu*. Nelaturi Venkataramanaiah, Suravaram Pratapa Reddy and Maremanda Rama Rao are the other prominent essayists who wrote mainly on Andhra History. Bhavaraju Venkata Krishna Rao edited *Rāja Rāja Narēndra Paṭṭābhiṣēka Sancika*, and Rallabhandi Subba Rao edited *Kaḷinga sancika* which speak of the hard work and methodical approach of these editors and the writers in making them as reference volumes on the subjects chosen. Adiraju Veerabhadra Rao's essays on the history of Telangana, Cholleti Nrisimha Sarma's on Sardar Paparayudu and Madanna, Vattikota Alwaru Swamy's *Telangana* are the most notable contributions to the understanding of Telangana history.

Translations of essays from other languages

Translation of essays from other languages made the readers aware of the genius of the original writers. Susarla Ananta Rao was the first such translator who brought into Telugu 20 of the 58 essays of Francis Bacon as *Bēkanupanyāsamulu* (1903). Valluri Jagannadha Rao and Malladi Venkataratnam were the others who translated some lectures into Telugu. Konduri Kumaraswami and M. Padmanabha Sreshthi translated James Allen's *As a Man Thinketh* (1915, 1917). Mahavadi Venkataratnam translated the writings of Vivekananda and others in his *Vivēka Candrika*. K. Radhakrishna Murty's translation of M.N. Roy's essays, Jasti Jagnnadham's translation of Jawaharlal Nehru's lectures, Bellamkonda Ramdasu's translation of Tolstoy's essays (as *Jīvitamu-matamu*) are other important essays and lectures rendered into Telugu from English.

Translations from Bengali, Hindi and Kannada also find an important place. *Ravīndra Vyāsāvaḷi* by Mallavarapu Viswaswara Rao and Rayaprolu Subba Rao, Mahidhara Jaganmohana Rao's translation of Tagore's literary essays *(Kâvya Jagati, Sâhitya Jagati)*. Unnava Laxminarayana's translation of Bipin Chandra Pal's lectures, Nannapaneni Subba Rao's translation of Sarath's essays are notable contributions. Premchand's essays and Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad's letters are also brought out into Telugu.

Essays on Science

Achanta Venkataraya Sankhyayana Sarma is a pioneer in writing popular essays in easy, intelligible Telugu prose. He started two journals - *Sujana Pramôdini* (1881) and *Kalpalata* (1903) for the purpose of popularising science. He himself authored essays on physics, chemistry, geology, zoology and astronomy. Vissa Appa Rao wrote on physics. On science in general, Vasantharao Venkata Rao wrote *Âdhunika vijnânamu*. *Âdhunika vijnâna vikâsamu* by B. Viswanatham and *Viśwa rūpam* by Nanduri Rama Mohana Rao are commendable works in this area. Vemaraju Bhanumurthy's essays on physics, Kalipatnam Kondayya's and A.V.S. Rama Rao's work on astronomy, (*Viśwa rūpam* and *Vinu vi dhi* respectively). R.V. Sesaiah's on *Jantu śâstramu* (zoology) and Gali Balasundara Rao's *Manamu-mana dêha sthithi* (on health) are other important works.

Letters

Letter-writing is an intimate, person-to-person exchange of views, often expressed in emotionally-tinged language. The earliest-known in the field are the love-letters (*Môha Lêkhalu*) written by Raja Mantripragada Bhujanga Rao (1904). These imaginary letters are in two volumes, the first volume containing imaginary letters written by mythological heroes to the heroines and the second volume letters written to the "aṣṭa-vidha nayikas".

Among others of the same period, Bethapudi Bhagavantha Rao needs special mention. His *Upanyāsa manjari* (1913) appeared in two volumes and many of the essays published in them were based on his earlier lectures. His main aim in writing them is to educate the Telugu man and so he concerned himself with fine and performing arts, farming and commerce, education and science. He was in fact the first essayist who defined the essay and analysed its components and also carefully distinguished it with the format of the lecture. These essays are written in an intimate style as though the essayist is talking to the audience.

Kasibhatta Brahmayya Sastry also used the format of lecture for his *Upanyâsa Payônidhi* (1910) and used the essay for encountering the non-traditional religious ideas propagated by Veeresalingam and others. Attili Suryanarayana and O.Y. Dorasamaiah are the other important essayists of the period.

Chitravarapu Narayana Murthy translated *Lord Chesterfield's Letters to His Son*. Magant Annapurna Devi not only translated Aurobindo's letters to his wife, but also published her letters to her husband, Maganti Bapineedu, written while he was studying in the U.S. *Chalam Uttarâlu* written by Chalam to his mentor, Chinta Deekshitulu, tell us about the transitional view-point i the writer when he was slowly becoming a convert to Ramana Maharshi's philosophy. Ver powerful prose and enticing arguments are the characteristics of these letters. Gopichand'

Pōṣṭu Ceyyani Uttarālu is a new experiment. Ravuri Bharadwaja's direct addresses to his deceased wife like *Nālōni Nīvu* belong to this genre and are highly evocative.

BIOGRAPHY

Biography is a prose genre, portraying a person "in his time". It tries to place a worthy person in his or her environment, dealing not only with his life history, but the influences of others on him and his influence on other persons as well. Though there are innumerable biographies in Telugu, both short and extensive, none except a few fulfil the characteristics of the genre. In many cases they are mere life histories, factual or mostly eulogistic.

What little biographical details there are in the poetic texts since the days of Nannaya, the first known poet in Telugu, are mere eulogies of their benefactors who commissioned the works. Occasionally they included the descriptions of their personalities, their achievements and their lineage in a concise way. However, even these details are expressed in highly poetic exaggerations. A poet of the 13th c., Palkuriki Somanatha, wrote two biographies in the *dwipada* metre, *Basava Purāṇam* and *Paṇḍitārâdhya Caritram*, on two Saiva saints - one on the propounder of 'Virasaivism' and the other, of 'Aradhyasaivism'. Even they cannot be treated as biographies as personal details of their lives were not given.

Early specimens of biography can be found in the two performing arts - *hari-katha* and *burra katha*. Started as a musical discourse on the legends of gods and goddesses, Hari-katha later included themes on the lives of saints and composers like Tyagraraja and Ramadas.

Similarly, several modern poets opted to write the biographies of great warriors and national leaders in the traditional poetic form. Durbhaka Rajasekhara Satavadhani's *Râṇâ Pratâpa Simha* (1934), Gadiyaram Venkata Sesha Sastry's *Śiva Bhâratam* (1943) on the life of Sivaji, Viswanatha Satyanarayana's *Śivārpaṇam* (1974) on Sivaji, Sannidhanam Suryanarayana Sastry's *Vivēkānandam* (1949) on Vivekananda, and K.P. John's *Āndhra Kêsari* on Tanguturi Prakasam, Mudigonda Veerabhadra Murthy's *Āndhra Kêsari* (1950) on Tanguturi Prakasam, Joshua's *Krīstu Caritra* (1963) on Christ are commendable exercises.

Since one of the major qualities of contemporary biography is its medium - prose - these poetic biographies, though they form a part of the genre - do not strictly belong to it.

Though Kandukuri Veeresalingam is considered the first of the modern biographers, there were attempts made in this direction much earlier. Even as early as in 1838, Enugula Veeraswamaiah's biography was written by Komaleswarapuram Srinivasa Pillai and was incorporated in the former's prestigious travelogue, *Kasī Yatrâ Caritra*. By 1866, Vinjamuri Krishnamacharyulu translated *Life of Mohammad* from English *(Mohammadu Caritramu)* and published it in *Sṛjanaranjani*, a journal edited by Bahujanapalli Seetharamacharyulu. In 1894 came the biography of Veeresalingam written by Toleti Venkata Subba Rao.

Veeresalingam's biographies are much larger and written in simple *grânthika*, as he intended them for the newly-literate women readers. The most important of his life histories are those of Queen Victoria (*Victoria Mahārāgjni Caritra*, 1884;1897), of Raja Rama Mohan Roy (1896) and of Jesus Christ (1894-1913). He also wrote several biographies of great women from other countries and published them in his *Satya Vādini*. Written in simple style, these biographies contained factual information about the great savants, along with Veeresalingam's comments on their life and work, which, he thought, should serve as models. He did not fail to comment on the need for social reform in India when he talked about the conditions both in this country and abroad. He also condemned the super-human, illogical deeds ascribed to some of the people who are referred to in the course of these biographies.

These biographies also tell us about the way in which Veeresalingam dealt with the art of biography. He systematically traversed through the biographical details of each of these personalities, talked about their ancestry, about their achievements and their over-all impact on the life of their contemporaries. These are all original and contained carefully culled out information. While dealing with the life of Ramamohan Roy, he ascribed Roy's greatness to his mother, Tarini Devi. The biography of Jesus Christ took nearly twenty years to be completed and the style of the book, especially that part containing Jesus' teachings, appears to be a translation from some source.

Besides these, Veeresalingam also wrote several short biographies, either published in journals like *Satya Samvardhani, Satya Vādini, Satī Hitabôdhini* and *Telugu Janânâ*. The five short biographies of great women are about Grace, Jean of Arc, Elizabeth Fry, Lady John Gray and Mary Carpenter, published in *Telugu Janânâ* (1904-1905). In addition to these, he also published the biographies of several others, given originally as lectures. They include the biographies of Sankaracharya, and contemporaries like Basavaraju Gavarraju, Makarla Subbarao Naidu, Desiraju Peda Bapaiah and Eswara Chandra Vidyasagar.

All these efforts prove Veeresalingam's cosmopolitan outlook, his reformistic zeal and more than these, his intention of providing reading material of an ideal nature, especially for the newly literate - the women and the youth.

Chilakamarti Laxminarasimham, an ardent follower of Veeresalingam, wrote short biographies of over forty people and brought them out in three volumes. These biographies, called *Mahāpuruṣula jīvitamulu* (1911), are devoted to people from important towns of India. The third volume, which deals with biographies of people from Madras, contains valuable information about the leaders of Madras' social and literary world. His *Siddhârtha Caritramu* (1919) is his best biographical work in which he talked about the Buddha's life and his transformation from the life of a royal family to that of a preacher.

Earlier biographies, worth mentioning in this context, of preachers, of politicians, and of women who made a name for themselves in the world are Saraswathi Rangacharyulu's biography of Ramanujacharya (*Srīmad Râmānuja Caritramu*, 1930), Pasumarti Sreenivasa Rao's biography of Benjamin Franklin (1913) and the three volumes of *Abalâ Saccaritra Ratna Mâla*, containing short biographies of Indian women (1917) belonging to three types mentioned above.

From 1920 onwards, the writing of biographies took a new turn, as Indian social and political life demanded. Greater interest in contemporary happenings both in India and elsewhere in the world, prompted biographers to resort to bring to the readers the life histories of those that made history, that led their countries to independence, that worked for the spiritual emancipation of mankind or for their general well-being. Thus, biographies on religious men, social workers, political leaders and literary men came in abundance.

Interestingly, a considerable number of these biographies are concerned with the lives of poets and writers. In trying to write a chronological history of Telugu literature, both critics and historians - right from the times of Veeresalingam - wrote brief biographies of poets, either as part of a general scheme of a book on History of Telugu poetry or as individual studies. All research work on individual writers, in later years, contained some biographical data, though the main emphasis in such works is to evaluate the writer's work. In addition, pen-portraits of writers with some interesting anecdotes in their lives have been focussed by some critics as in Madhunapantula Satyanarayana Sastry's *Āndhra Racayitalu* and Tekumalla Kameswara Rao's *Nā Vāngmaya Mitrulu*. However, as all these different types of biographical writings have been discussed in the chapter on "Literary Criticism", attention must be paid to biographies on other types of personalities.

Biographies on political figures and those that fought for the country are perhaps the largest in number. The earliest in this category are Komarraju Laxmana Rao's *Sivāji Caritramu* (1917) and Rachakonda Ayyanna Sastry's *Bājīrāyani Caritra* (1923). There were biographies on *Kēvaru pradhani*, the Italian leader, by Kolavennu Ramakoteswara Rao (1921), Gadde Lingaiah Chowdary's *de Velara*, the Irish nationalist (1933), and Kilambi Rangacharyulu's *Mustafa Kamāl Pāṣa* - all these written to make Telugu readers aware of the nationalist movements in other parts of the country and the world over and the leaders who led those movements. To the same category belong short biographies of ancient and contemporary heroes who fought for our country. There are at least eight major biographies on Sivaji alone. There is an authentic, well-translated biogaphy of Ramadasa Swamy, Sivaji's guru who inspired the leader, originally written by Kiranchandra Mukherji and translated into Telugu by Nisthala Rama Murty (1928).

Among the biographical sketches on such heroes, mention must be made of Suravaram Pratapa Reddy's *Haindava Vīrulu* (1938). Based on the analogy of Leonidus of Greece who fought against Georgin at Thermopylae, he originally called these *Haindava Thermopōlīlu*. But, as the title is not easily understood, he changed it to *Haindava Vīrulu* and included in it short biographies of Amarsingh Rathod, Bhallu Singh, Baji Deshpande, Guru Govind Singh, Somanadri and Sadasiva Reddi, whose battles against their opponents were symbolic of the nationalist struggle. Similarly, Gadde Lingaiah, in his *Viplava vīrulu* (1951) wrote about 22 terrorist-nationalists who sacrificed their lives for the cause of Indian independence. Chilakamarti's *Guru Govind Singh* (1919), like his other works, is written in lucid style. Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao's *Aḷiya Rāma Rāyalu* (1931) is one of the finest written on Telugu kings.

The lives of the nationalist leaders have been the constant and inspiring subject for biographies for a long time. The best among them are Komanduru Sathakopacharyulu's biographies of Gandhi, Nehru and Maulana (1948) in which their personalities have been projected almost amounting to hero-worship. Kolla Subba Rao's *M.N. Roy* (1926) is a well-documented biography, especially about the latter's political ideology. Katuri Venkateswara Rao's translation of Mahadeva Desai's *Maulana Abdul Kalâm Azad* (1959) needs special mention for its idiomatic translation.

Books on contemporary Telugu leaders is a recent phenomenon, especially inspired by their centenaries. Among those that received unstinted praise from biographers was, of course, Tanguturi Prakasam Panthulu, the first Chief Minister of Andhra. The best among these are Yerramilli Narasimha Rao's *Āndhra Kêsari Prakâśam* (1962) and K. Venkateswara Sastry's *Āndhra Kêsari* (1966). Both of them describe vividly a poor boy's ascendence to popularity and unrivalled leadership. Similarly Duggirala Gopalakrishnaiah, a poet turned politician, who spearheaded a no-tax campaign against the British, has been the subject of at least three well-written biographies. The first one by Gummididala Venkata Subba Rao, the leader's disciple, entitled *Āndhra Ratna Duggirâla Gōpalâkriṣṇaiah* (1954) is authentic. Another with the same title, written by Kanak Pravasi (Chamarti Kanakayya, 1968) has a better literary flavour. Karyampudi Nagendrudu's *Śrī Duggirâla Gōpâlakriṣṇaiah Jīvita Caritramu* (1976) is more informative and covers the whole gamut of the colourful and multi-faceted life of Gopalakrishnaiah.

Among the more recent ones, Madala Veerabhadra Rao's *Dêśabhakta Jīvita Caritra* (1966) on Konda Venkatappaiah, M.L. Narasimha Rao's *Swâmi Râmânanda Tīrtha* (1980), on a much honoured leader of the erstwhile Hyderabad State, Ravuri Venkata Satyanarayana Rao's book on Pattabhi Seetharamaiah (*Mana Paṭṭâbhī*, 1980), Ummettala Kesava Rao's *Bûrgula Râmakṛṣna Rao* (1983) and D. Ramalingam's *Mâḍapâti Hanumanta Rao* (1985) have valuable information. All of them have an understanding of what a biography should be, though their works border on an attitude of hero-worship.

The next important category of biographies is concerned with spiritual leaders and saints. The earliest ones among these were Kandukuri's *Jīsasu Caritra* (1894-1913). Saraswathi Rangacharyulu's *Śrīmad Rāmānuja Caritramu* (1903) and Chilakamarti's *Siddhartha Caritra* (1920). Chilakamarti also wrote such biographies as *Guru Govinda Singu Caritra* (1919) and *Guru Nānaku Caritra* (1938). Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and Vivekananda have been subjects of several biographies, all of them bringing out the spiritual intensity of the fomer and the spiritual messages of the latter. The earliest among them was *Śrīkṛṣna Līlâmṛtamu* (1929) by Vedurumudi Krishna Rao and Kandukuri Mallikarjunam, based on a biography on Ramakrishna Parahamsa in English. Then came Bulusu Venkateswarlu's *Vivêkânanda Swâmi Jīvitamu* (1933), rich in language and devotional fervour.

The best among them, in fact in all biographical literature in Telugu, are the two books on Ramakrishna and Vivekananda by Chirantananda Swami, written in simple *grânthika* style, and have a secured place in Telugu literature for their objective, yet inspiring narrative style. Devoid of difficult words and technical terminology, both the biographies unravel before the reader the marvellous lives of both the teacher and his disciple.

Mataji Tyagisananda is the author of three biographies *Mana Râmakṛṣnulu, Mana Vivēkānanduḍu* and *Mana Sāradāmāyi* - all written in 1953 for easy reading by children. "Anubhavananda Granthamala" started by Anubhavananda Swamy published several books on Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and their teachings, written both by the Swamiji and others. Roman Rolland's biography, *Swāmi Vivēkānanda* (1966), was translated into Telugu by Rayaprolu Subba Rao for the Sahitya Akademi.

Ramtirtha Swami, a saint of high spiritual order, is the subject of several biographies. The earliest one was *Rāmatīrtha Swāmi* (1918) by Panganamala Venkata Ranga Rao. Then came Mudiganti Jagganna Sastry's *Rāmatīrtha Swāmi Jivitamu* (1933) and Kesavatirtha Swamy's work, *Bhagwān Srī Rāmatīrtha* (1950).

Similarly, Sri Aurobindo had also inspired several followers to write about his life and teachings in Telugu. Notable among them is Chaturvedula Venkata Krishnaiah's *Śri Aravinda Jīvitamu* (1948) which has a detailed account of the several phases of this politician-turned saint's momentous life.

Among the religious leaders, the life of Adi Sankaracharya has been chronicled by several biographers. "Sadhana Granthamandali" of Tenali is doing creditable work in this direction. Palanki Venkata Ramachandra Murti has written the life histories of Sankarara, Ramanuja and Madhwa acharyas (1968) in simple Telugu for children. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya's book, *Jagadguru Śri Śankarācārya* was translated into Telugu with the same title (1983) by Puripanda Appala Swami. *Jagadguru Candraśēkhara Saraswati* (1974) is a biography on the Kanchi acharya, known to be the saintliest of the saints.

Gorrepati Venkata Subbaiah is easily the most prolific among contemporary biographers. He wrote about twenty biographies of great men whose contribution to the intellectual life of Andhra has been noteworthy. Among his biographies, *Calam Jīvitam, Sâhityam* (1958) on the writer Chalam, *Dr.C.R. Reddy* (1963), *Nava Mēdhâvi Nârla* (1975), *Rasa Tapasvi Krishna Rao* (1972) on the well-known editor of *Krishna Patrika*, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, *Sangha Samskarta Unnava* (1977) on Unnava Laxminarayana and *Sāradhi Râmabrahmam* (1980) on producer-director Gudavalli Ramabrahmam are well-documented. But he is more known as the biographer of Sarath Chandra Chatterji, who is affectionately called 'Sarath Babu' by Andhra. The biography, called *Śarat darśanam* (1956) has gone into several editions.

Gorrepati's painstakingly comprehensive work is often a combination of eulogy and biography. His contention that a biography is read for what the 'hero' of that biography has achieved and so must largely contain the achievements of the person and to throw light on his or her total personality in view of one's achievements should be the motto of the biographer. All his biographies bear testimony to this ideal.

There are many anthologies containing brief life-sketches of great men and women. The most noteworthy among them, besides the works of Chilakamarti and Bhandaru Achamamba, are: *Āndhra vīrulu* by Seshadri Ramana Kavulu, *18- Vaṇijya pūjyulu* by Andra Seshagiri Rao, *Āndhra sacivōttamulu* and *Daṇḍanāyakulu* by Kona Venkataraya Sarma. *Bhârata Ramanīmanulu* by Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry, *Bhârata Nârimaṇulu* by Kota Krishnavenamma (1979) and *Mahānāyakulu* by Turlapati Kutumba Rao.

A few biographies are of a specilized nature, throwing light on some less well-known personalities or less known areas of human endevaour. Those that are prominent in this area are - Gadde Lingaiah's short biographies of 22 terrorist-nationalists (*Viplava virulu*, 1951) and Andra Seshagiri Rao's *18-Mandi vāṇijya pûjyulu* (on 18 industrialists). *Sôcratis jivitamu* (1972) by Charla Ganapati Sastry, *Nāyana* (1958), on Ganapati Muni by Gunturu Laxmikantham, Akurati Chalamaiah's translation of Devendranath Bhattacharya's biography on *Maharṣi Dêvêndranâth* (1934) and Komanduri Sathakopacharyulu's *Tâtâ Caritramu* (1936), on Jamshedji Tata, the well-known industrialist - philanthropist.

Biographies on Telugu scholars, musicians, musicologists, composers and practitioners of other arts have been very few but noteworthy. Yamijala Padmanabha Swami's scholarly work *Purāṇa Puruṣuḍu* (1979) on the life of Ajjada Adibhatla Narayandas, a well-known exponent of *hari-katha*, though bordering on hero-worship, brings out the many-faceted personality of Adibhatla. K. Venkateswara Sastry's *Ândhra Kêsari Tangutûri Prakâśam Pantulu* (1966) is another well-written biography on the Lion of Andhras. Kalluri Suryanaryana's biography, *Giḍugu Rāma Mūrty*, reputed linguist and champion of spoken Telugu. Nidadavolu Venkata Rao's work, *Cinnaya Sūri* (1962) and K. Veerabhadra Rao's *C.P. Brown* (1963) are authentic biographical and analytical works on the respective scholars.

Jonnalagadda Satyanarayana Murthy's *Mahâbhakta Vijayamu* is a collection of biographies of several saint-devotees. Panguluri Veeramadhavudu's *Ândhra Bhakta Vijayamu* centres its attention on Telugu saint-musician-devotees. Among its forty nine biographical sketches, which include those of famous musician-devotees Tyagaraja and Bhakta Ramdas, it mostly contains several biographies of lesser known devotees like Dudekula Siddayya, Tungaturti Buchayya and Guntur Nalla Masthan.

Thus Telugu biographical literature is very varied and the out-put extraordinary. Several prose works (and occasionally poetic works) appeared on writers, local leaders, philanthropists, saints and devotees which do not reveal literary merit but only the authors' appreciation or admiration for them. It may be said that biography has been a well-contributed area in modern times. But only a very few of them can be called biographies in the real sense of the term. At best they are life-sketches of the great people, whose lives can be set as models for others to emulate.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Autobiography, as a literary genre, is of recent origin in Telugu and can be credited to English education. It is true that all poetic texts contain some references to the poets' genealogies, and, in some cases, the genealogies of their patrons also. But, in most cases they are exaggerated accounts of self-adulation. Even when they are reliable, they are sketchy and give us scanty information regarding the poets' times and their views on contemporary men and manners.

There are, however, autobiographies written in the poetic medium in recent years. Gurram Joshua and Penmatsa Satyanarayana Raju wrote their life histories *NâKatha* and *Tenugu Rāju* respectively in traditional poetic form. Much earlier, Mandapaka Parvateeswara Sastry (*Hari Harēśwara Śatakam* or *Ātma Paryāya Carya*), and Kokkonda Venkataratnam (*Bilvêśwara Śatakam*) wrote poems in an autobiographical vein that tell us about a particular phase of their lives. Similarly, Tirupati Venkata Kavulu's *Jātaka Carya* is autobiographical in content. All these laudable efforts have combined in them a modern concept of writing about themselves and an old poetic form. They must be taken as genuine attempts at narrating some personal experiences in the first person, without the chronological importance of the events and their influence on the writers concerned.

In the strictest sense of the term, as an author's personal life written by himself and in the sense that it is a modern medium often written in prose, Veeresalingam's *Swīya Caritra* becomes the first autobiography in Telugu. It appeared in two volumes (1911 and 1915). A third volume was said to be in preparation when he died in 1919. Veeresalingam's multi-pronged activities in social reform, literary experiments and in education found their place in this work. In a way, the work is both a faithful mirror of and a succinct comment on contemporary society and throws light on the viscicitudes of all those that work for a change of the existing social order.

Four younger contemporaries of Veeresalingam, who were eye-witnesses to the changing social order, also wrote their autobiographies. Rayasam Venkata Sivudu's autobiography, *Ātma Caritramu* (1933) reflects his life as a teacher, as editor of *Telugu Janânâ*, an excluisve journal for women, and as a social reformer. Valluri Suryanarayana Rao called his autobiography *Sūryanārāyaṇīyam* which contains interesting anecdotes from his profession of a lawyer and life in central coastal Andhra. Rambhatla Jagannadha Sastry also called his autobiography *Ātma Caritramu* and, like Valluri's work, depicts the life of an advocate. It also describes the social life of the middle classes in the northern coastal Andhra districts of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram.

Chilakamarti Laxminarasimham's autobiography, *Swīya Caritramu* (1944), is focussed mainly on literature and social life. Both Kandukuri's and Chilakamarti's autobiographies serve as social records of contemporary times. Chilakamarti's work covers all the areas that were undergoing a sea-change in the early part of this century - especially the Library movement, the reformist movement, and the professional theatre activities. Another disciple of Veeresalingam, who, in later years, parted ways with him, Gokulapati Veeresalingam, wrote a short autobiographical essay, revealing the agonizing events that led to their estrangement. His *Eḍabâṭu* (1912) describes the circumstances that led him away from the reformist movement and his strong conviction against it. It is a document depicting the conflict between personal loyalities and religious convictions and presents the excruciating mental tensions that young followers of the reform movement had undergone.

Several political leaders found time to write their autobiographies which reflect the odds under which they worked during the British period. The best one among them is Tanguturi

Prakasam's *Nā Jīvita Yātra* (1946). A towering figure in Andhra politics and the first Chief Minister of the Andhra state, Prakasam was a dare-devil in politics. His autobiography mirrors, not really the life of this man, but the man in a specific milieu. The petty politics of the local bar, the aspirations of the nationalist movement, the background of English education in England (he was called to the bar) and his experiences as an actor in an important local company, in which he took up the roles of female characters - the autobiography describes all these with a frankness that was the hall-mark of Prakasam. It is unfortunate that only the first volume of his autobiography was published (The unfinished part was later completed by Tenneti Viswanatham, his close follower).

Another important autobiography is that of Konda Venkatappayya Pantulu, who belonged to the first generation of the idealist politicians in Andhra. A purist in personal life as well as in his profession, Venkatappaiah's public work concerning contemporary politics, spread of Hindi and the Andhra Movement is reflected in this autobiography. It also brings to light his early school education during which time he participated in the newly-emerging theatre activity at Guntur.

Two other public figures also wrote their autobiographies which mirror the local politics of Vijayawada and the rational, radical politics respectively. Peddibhotla Veeraiah's autobiography depicts his work as a lawyer in Vijayawada, his dealings with European officers and the local politics. On the other hand, in *Nênu-nâ dêśam*, Darisi Chenchaiah, a rebel-fighter belonging to the Gadar group, ably presents the portrait of "the making of a rebel" - how in California he and the other fellow Indian students were inducted into the spirit of freedom, and how after coming to India he was inspired by the Gadar movement and how he and his fellow rebels fought for Indian independence. It also describes the social and economic conditions of the less-developed Andhra areas such as Darsi, Kanigiri, Podili and Kandukuru.

In contrast with the autobiographies of these politicians, K.N. Kesari's *Cinna nâṭi Muccaṭlu* shows how a person from a humble background can make a mark in the world with perseverance, strong will and hardwork. In Madapati Hanumantha Rao's *Telangâṇâ Ândhrôdyamam*, which is more a history than an autobiography, there are glimpses of the man who stood as a towering figure in the freedom movement in Telangana. Similarly, Madiraju Ramakoteswara Rao's *Swīya Caritra* is also a history of the Telangana movement. Besides, it also brings into focus the social conditions of the Hyderabad state along with certain interesting episodes like the Musi floods. Another stalwart from Telangana, Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy, wrote his autobiography. Though short, it contains valuable reflections on contemporary politics both in Hyderabad State and in Andhra Pradesh.

Another well-written autobiography is that of Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao. *Nâ Jīvita Katha : Navyāndhramu* (1959) is a short compendium of contemporary social, political and literary movements in Andhra. It depicts life in villages, the new trends that were slowly changing the rural life, the establishment of the 'Vigjnana Chandrika Grandhamala', Unnava's *Mâlapalli*, All India Congress meetings and the Pedanandipadu Tax-rejection movement. Kaleswara Rao's concerns stretched right from the village to the wider sphere of the state and the nation.

Not many literary figures preserved their experiences through autobiographies. Among the few available ones, Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry's *Anubhavālu-Jnāpakālu* (3 vols.) reads almost like a novel and presents his life with a frank and upright sincerity that is rare to find. It also mirrors a middle-class Telugu Brahmin's social and familial life during the first half of this century. Sripada Krishna Murty Sastry's *Śrikrişṇa Caritra* depicts his literary escapades in the samsthanams and his pilgrimages to several holy places. Chinnaya Suri's *Swīya Caritramu*, a thin volume, came during this period.

The autobiographical aspects in Tirupati Venkatakavulu's *Kathalu-gāthalu* are extremely readable documents of contemporary literary battles. Sringarakavi Sarvarayudu's *Sucaritra*, Gidugu Venkata Sitapati's short autobiography and Puttaparti Narayanacharyulu's autobiographical writings reveal the great potential that the genre would have provided, if only they were complete and exhaustive. Similar is *Prajnā Prabhākaramu*, the unfinished autobiography of that multi-faceted genius and literary giant, Veturi Prabhakara Sastry.

To a later period belong the two extremely pleasant autobiographical volumes of Achanta Janakiram - *Nāśmṛti Patham lō* (1960) and *Sāgutunna Yātra* (1963), which are concerned with his friendships with literary men of the times. Especially interesting are the details he gave of the earliest days after the establishment of the All India Radio at Madras in which he was an employee. Sanjeeva Dev, artist and art critic recorded his reflections in *Nā smṛti Bimbālu* and novelist and short-story writer 'Buchibabu' in *Nā Antaranga Kathanam*. Buchibabu's autobiography, true to its nature, presents the portrait of 'the making of a writer'.

Three autobiographies of political figures deserve mention here : Gottipati Brahmayya's *Nā Jīvata Nauka*, Prativada Bhayankarachari's *Anḍamān Jīvitam* and P. Tirumala Rao's *Gaḍacina Rōjulu*. The autobiographical writings of women are few but are of a special nature. Basavaraju Rajyalaxmamma, herself a Gandhian and wife of Basavaraju Appa Rao, wrote her memories in *Appa Rāo gāru-Nēnu*, in which she writers, with a delicate sensitivity, about the social conditions of Andhra, especially the undivided families, about their family friend 'Andhra ratna' Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya and about their travels all over northern India. Sangam Laxmibayamma's *Nā Anubhavamulu* and Yellapragada Seethakumari's *Swīya Caritra* are other important autobiographies.

Others who recorded their personal experiences either in the form of essays or short autobiographical writings include Nellore Venkatarama Naidu, founder of *Zamīn Raitu*, a periodical, Achanta Laxmipati, the well-known doctor and public figure, Sthanam Narasimha Rao, the inimitable actor who performed female roles for half a century to enthralling audiences and Dasari Laxmana Swamy, another actor of repute. Somanchi Yagnanna Sastry, a playwright, recently produced his reminiscences in the form of prose-poem under the title, *Smṛtulu* (1992).

Several autobiographies of eminent people both from India and abroad were translated into Telugu from other languages. The most important among them are Tummala Seetharama Murty's poetic rendering of Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography, *My Experiments with Truth* as *Ātma Katha* and Krovvidi Linga Raju's translation of Jawharlal Nehru's *An Autobiography*.

Poranki Dakshina Murty recently translated into Telugu *An Autobiography of a Yogi* with subtle understanding and sensitivity which the original demanded.

INFORMATIVE WRITING

Encyclopaedias

As early as in 1913, Komarraju Venkata Laxmana Rau (1877-1923) pioneered the publication of the first Telugu encyclopaedia. Modelled on the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, this Telugu encyclopaedia - *Āndhra Vijnāna Sarvaswamu* - was the imaginative child of Komarraju, a scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu, Marathi and English. Unfortunately, the project came to an end when he passed away and only three volumes, covering the first letter in the alphabet, could be published (1915, 1916 and 1917). The project was continued by Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao, the editor of *Āndhra Patrika*. Instead of continuing with the preparation and publication of the rest of the volumes, Nageswara Rao, himself a scholar and patron of letters, deemed it fit to revise the already published volumes, by adding new matter and maps and illustrations. Two revised volumes were published in 1932 and 1934. Death snatched him away and the project was abandoned.

The second venture in preparing an encyclopaedia was made by Kandukuri Prasadaraya Bhupaludu, Zamindar of Devidi, who, single-handedly, prepared and published a 7-volume encyclopaedia, *Srī Āndhra Vijnānamu*, between 1938 and 1941. Though it was the work of a single invidiual, it has presented a wide range of information, especially on ancient Indian thought. However, the editor-compiler deemed it appropriate to publish some articles on modern scientific subjects in English and thus limited the scope and use of a Telugu encyclopaedia.

During the same period, there appeared some works of encyclopaedic nature, each one devoted to a specific subject. *Pūrva Gāthālahari* (in 2 volumes) by Varanasi Srinivasa Rao provided information on Hindu myths, epics and legends against entries of mythological characters and is a reference work of great importance. Another work is *Āndhra Sarvaswamu* (in one volume, 1942) edited by M. Bapineedu, which contains a profile of the Telugu land.

In the wake of independence in 1947 came the Telugu Bhasha Samithi which took upon itself the publishing of an authentic, 15-volume encyclopaedia in Telugu as its major activity. Under the able supervision of B. Gopala Reddy as president and Moturi Satyanarayana as secretary, it was decided that each volume of the encyclopaedia, *Vijnāna Sarvaswamu*, should be devoted to one specific subject or a group of allied subjects (such as literature, history and politics, medicine, engineering, etc.). G.V. Sitapati, M.V. Narasimha Swamy and M. Somasekhara Sarma were entrusted with the work of compiling the volumes. The first volume appeared in 1954 and the 14th in 1979. The work done by the Samithi is commendable in commissioning and publishing articles on all the major aspects of human knowledge by various specialists in the field, and thus making the volumes really encyclopaedic in nature. Bhasha Samithi's work is now undertaken by the Komarraju Venkata Laxmana Rau Vijnana

Sarwaswa Kendram of the Telugu University and it is engaged in publishing revised editions of the old volumes and also preparing new ones. The revised scheme aims at updating the information and publishing a 36-volume encyclopaedia.

Other institutions also undertook to prepare encyclopaedias of a limited scope. The first among them is the *Sangraha Āndhra Vijnāna Kōśamu* (Concise Encyclopaedia in Telugu) in 8 volumes, edited by Khandavalli Laxmiranjanam (1958-1971). As its very name indicated, it is concise in nature and occasionally lacks precision. The editor was ably assisted by his brother, K. Balendusekharam and others in the preparation of the work.

Andhra Rachayitala Sangham brought out an Encyclopaedia of History and Geography of Andhra Pradesh - *Āndhra Dēśa Caritra - Bhūgōḷa Sarvaswamu* - in 3 volumes (1971). Andhra Saraswata Parishat brought out *Prapanca rājya sarvaswamu* (An Encyclopaedia of the Nations of the world) in one volume in 1976. The Telugu Akademi's *Sāhitya Kōśamu* (An Encyclopaedia of Literature-1980) and A.P. Sahitya Akademi's *Vijnāna dīpika* in two volumes (1976 & 1984) devoted to humanities and sciences respectively are the other notable attempts in this direction.

LITERARY CRITICISM

Literary criticism, in the sense of critical analysis of either a period, author, genre or book, is a relatively recent phenomenon, inherited to us along with other modern forms like novel, drama and story after the advent of English education in India. Not that critical perspective was absent in the ancient period, but it was limited to the generalities of aesthetics and essential poetic concepts embedded in books on "alankara sastra". Subtle expression of one's own views on the art of poetry ran invariably as a prelude to any poetical work in Telugu. Called, an *avatārika* (literally, an opening-up), it formed a necessary introduction to a poetical work, containing in it a salutation to the early poets and a summation of the poet's thoughts on poetry. Thus Nannaya, Tikkana and other great poets defined and described the sailent features of their own poetry, thereby indirectly commenting upon the qualities of good poetry. Books on aesthetics and rhetoric were mere translations from Sanskrit, an indication that earlier aestheticians approved what was said in the originals, with a corollary that the same tools of excellence be applied to the native works as well. For cogent and constructive literary criticism of books, authors and liteary periods, we have to turn to the modern age.

Technological development including communication facilities, the printing press and the resultant publication of journals paved the way for a systematic critical approach to books and authors. The role played by liteary journals like *Cintāmaṇi* is significant in this regard. With the introduction of new forms into Telugu literature, critical opinions on them and on the genres to which these books belong had become necessary. Criticism, analysis, collection and commentary on poetic as well as non-poetic works soon followed. Publication of old manuscripts with introductions was the first step in this direction. The work done by western scholars in this area is commendable. Colonel Collin Meckenzie was the first of such orientalists in Andhra who left no stone unturned to collect local records and manuscripts. The Kavali brothers (Borraiah, Laxmaiah and Ramaswamy) assisted him in this project. Based on the materials collected, Kavali Ramaswamy published his *Biographical Sketches of Deccan Poets* (1829) in English, the earliest record of 108 Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and Marathi poets, among whom 46 Telugu poets found place.

The most noteworthy western official who augmented a revival in Telugu studies is Charles Philip Brown (1798-1884) whose monumental work includes collection of several manuscripts of ancient Telugu poetical works, collating them with the help of pandits like Juluri Appaiah Sastry and publishing them. Most of the classics including *Manu Caritra* and *Vasu Caritra* were brought out by him. He also laid the foundation for "textual criticism" in Telugu. Another work that influenced a rethinking on the origin and development of Telugu language was Caldwell's *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*. But as all these efforts were in English, Telugu criticism had yet to have its beginnings with the arrival of that great reformer-literateur Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu on to the Telugu literary horizon.

One of the pioneers in ushering in several new forms of literature incluidng novel, drama and essay, Kandukuri Veeresalingam was also the first Telugu critic who authored a critical work entitled *Vigraha Tantra Vimarśanamu* (1876), containing an evaluation of a prose work by Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu, translated from Sanskrit. Veeresalingam dealt at length with the translator's use of language which he found inappropriate. His *Ândhra Kavula Caritra* in 3 volumes, was the first attempt in Telugu in compiling critical biographies of Telugu poets in a chronological order. His unstinted lashing at the creative lapses of the poets and his objective assessment of their work gained for him the title, the "Father Telugu criticism".

During this time, several journals started publishing literary articles in the form of reviews, rejoinders to writers' opinions, publication of old, hitherto-unpublished classics and also commentaries on them. Major journals whose contribution to the furtherance of the cause of literary criticism are: *Sujanaranjani, Ândhra Bhaṣâ Sanjīvani, Puruṣârdhapradâyini, Vivēkavardhani, Cintāmaṇi, Vyjayanti* and *Amudrita Grantha Cintâmaṇi*. Great critics and pandits including Bahujanapalli Seetharamacharyulu, Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu, Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Panappakam Srinivasacharyulu and Poondla Ramakrishnayya were the editors of these journals. Their commitment to literature and ideas helped the casue of litearry criticism in the next twenty years which addressed itself to literary principles based mainly on the use of language and norms of interpretation.

With the impetus given by journals, there started a series of critical works on individual Telugu poets. Such was P. Dakshina Murty's *Pingaḷi Sûrana* in 1892, followed by another work on the same author: V. Rangacharyulu's critical study, *Pingaḷi Sûranâmâtyuḍu* (1914). Another branch of such critical evaluations is that of comparative study of classics within the domain of Telugu poetry in order to ascertain their relative merits. Studies, especially of *Manu Caritra* and *Vasu Caritra*, attracted the attention of scholars as two distinguished *prabandhas* of the Krishnadeva Raya period. Venneti Ramachandra Rao's *Manu-Vasu Caritra Racanâ Vimarśanamu* (1899) was the first book belonging to this type of comparative critical analysis, quickly followed by Kasibhatla Brahmaiah Sastry's *Vasu-Manu Prakâśika* (1902).

Brahmaiah Sastry will also be remembered as a critic of modern literature. His critical work on Veeresalingam's novel *Rājaśēkhara Caritra* has contributed the term "navala" (Novel) to Telugu critical vocabulary and has stayed in use eversince. He ably contrasted *Rājaśēkhara Caritra* with Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* on which the former novel was modelled, thus initiating the now popular area of comparative criticism. Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, a scholar of great insight, published several critiques on texts edited by other contemporary scholars under the title, *Śaradā kāncikalu*. His commentaries on *Āmuktamālyada* and *Sringāra naiṣadham,* paved the way for textual criticism based on objective ananlysis. Gurazada Srirama Murty and Poondla Ramakrishnayya had contributed to history and criticism of ancient Telugu poetry respectively.

During this period the major emphasis was laid on such generalities of literary criticism as determining the time of poets, the dates of writing *kāvyas*, examination of the places of origin of poets, influence of earlier poets on later-day poets, comparative critical practices · especially between Sanskrit and Telugu, discussions on poetic goals and their conceptual bases, *alaṇkāra* and *tārkika* concepts and their use in poetry and the appropriate use of words and phrases. All this critical activity seems to have led to at least five major trends: 1. An attitude towards research 2. a historical perspective in evaluating literary works. 3. realization of a need to write a History of Literature 4. building critical methodology on the basis of aesthetic and "alankara sastra" concepts and 5. comparative evaluation of literary texts.

In the last quarter of the 19th c. there was a concerted attempt on the part of scholars to publish classics with commentaries. Juluri Appaiah Sastry, who was associated with C.P. Brown, wrote commentaries on *Vijaya Vilāsamu* and *Kavikarṇa rasāyanamu*. Similar commentaries, sometimes even with word meanings, came from the scholarly pens of Garimella Venkaiah, Paidipati Venkata Narusu, Mulupaka Buchanna Sastry, Mallampalli Mallikarjuna Sastry, Ravipati Gurumurti Sastry, Sishtu Krishna Murty Sastry, Paravastu Chinnaya Suri and Vaiyakaranam Ramanujacharya. The short commentaries provided by Tanjavuru Tevapperumallayya ('Tam Te') to several classics published by Vavilla Ramaswamy Sastry and Sons need special mention in this context. On the other hand, the voluminous commentaries ably provided by Vedam Venkataraya Sastry to classics like *Āmuktamālyada* and *Vasu caritra* have become models for later critical editions.

Komarraju Venkata Laxmana Rau Pantulu's pioneering work in editing a Telugu Encyclopaedia has paved the way for further work in this direction. Attempts were fruitfully made to bring out histories of the lives of poets. Gurazada Srirama Murty's *Kavi jīvitamulu*, Kandukuri's *Āndhra Kavula Caritramu* and Vanguri Venkata Subba Rao's *Āndhra Vāngmaya Caritramu* brought an awareness among researches for an impending need for writing a chronological history of Telugu literature. 'Kavitvavedi's *Āndhra Vāmgmaya Caritra* paved a new path in this area by combing literary history with social history.

Several scholars made valuable contributions towards writing such histories of literature. Mention must be made of Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao, Bhogaraju Narayana Murty (Kavitva vedi), Khandavalli Laxmiranjanam, Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, Nidadavolu Venkata Rao, Sishtla Ramakrishna

Sastry, Divakarla Venkatavadhani, Tekumalla Achyuta Rao, Nelaturi Venkataramanaiah and Pingali Laxmikantham, in this period and the following one. Many others wrote extensively in the early journals such as *Vivēka vardhani* and *Cintâmani* on matters of textual criticism. Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu, Kasibhatla Brahmayya Sastry and Kandukuri himself were some of the scholars of this type. Penneti Ramachandra Rao, P. Dakshinamurti, Puduppakam Subrahmanya Iyer, Vinjamuri Rangacharyulu, Burra Seshagiri Rao, Puranam Suri Sastry and others brought into Telugu some of the western concepts and applied them to different genres of Telugu literature.

With the publication of Cuttamanchi Ramalinga Reddy's *Kavitva tattva vicâramu* (1914) Telugu criticism entered into its second phase. This is an age when individual poets and their works are studied, not for their own sake but for what they want to convey - their concept of literatrure, their worldview, so to say. C.R. Reddy's work is mainly based on Pingali Surana's *Kaḷāpūrṇōdayamu*, an original poetical work which is a narrative poem containing important norms of narrative poetry. Reddy's emphasis was not on the use of language, its embelishments (alamkaras), etc. (as the earlier critics emphasized), but on the story and its powerful narration, all the other ingredients serving the cause of the narrative mode. He also used Tikkana's rendering of *Mahâbhâratam* as his ideal. He proposed, during the course of his discussion, that imagination, unity in plot, the relationship between social conditions of the day and their influence on literary genres, the equal importance of story and style in a text, propriety in characterization, mutual relationship between the story and the several descriptions that go into it and the dramatic quality of the dialogues - are the important characteristics of a *kāvya*. These new ideas, many of them brought into litearary criticism of the west during the Arnoldian era, have been made applicable to Telugu poetry and, by doing so, Dr. Reddy ushered in the modern age into literary criticism.

Among several others that followed Dr. Reddy's new approach to criticism, mention must be made of Rallapalli Anantakrishna Sarma (*Vêmana*, 1919 and *'Nigama Sarma akka'*). In the former he tried to see Vemana and his contribution from a sociological angle, stressing on the character of the poet and the influence of the society on him and his works. In 1923 came an article on the just published *Mâlapalli*, a novel by Unnava Laxminarayana, by Vinjamuri Rangacharyulu which ably tried to place *Mâlapalli* in its milieu. In all these critics, the dictum of Matthew Arnold that "Poetry (literature) is the criticism of life" held supreme.

A towering figure in Telugu critical field is Viswanatha Satyanarayana whose contribution in to area of literature is as outstanding as his contribution to other fields. What he did to Telugu criticism was to harmoniously blend the eastern and western approaches to literary criticism, without ever overtly suggesting that he was doing so. While approving the norms laid down by C.R. Reddy that imagination is at the root of all creative work, he went further to establish that each writer is to be studied for what he aimed at achieving and in what way his achievements are unique both in terms of his narrative and descriptive powers, his use of language and style and his comprehensive treatment of the subject, including his ability to evoke the appropriate *rasa*. Besides four works on Nannaya, Allasani Peddana, Nachana

Somana and Kalidasa, Viswanatha has written innumerable articles on all the major poets including Krishnadeva Raya and Ramarajabhushana. He proposed that in a great poet both theme and form go in unision with each other and technique (*śilpam*) is the means to achieve "Kavyarasa".

Viswanatha belonged to the age of romanticism populary called "Bhava Kavitwam" in Telugu. Many contemporaries tried to define and describe the nature and function of "Bhava Kavitwam". Mention in this regard must be made of the essays of Indraganti Hanumatchastry, Nori Narasimha Sastry, Sivasankaraswamy, Boorgula Ramakrishna Rao, Paranandi Jagannadha Swamy and others. Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao's criticial articles, while endorsing the basic tenets of modernism, showed a sense of sympathy while writing about modern poets. Kuruganti Sitaramayya's (later, with Pillalamarri Hanumantha Rao as the joint author for the revised edition) *Navyāndhra Sāhitya Vīdhulu* (1942), is of great value for its information on the genres and movements of the literature between 1857-1940, though its value is occasionally lessened by its subjective approach.

The most important critical work on the new poetry was Akkiraju Umakantham's *Nêti Kālapu Kavitwam* (1928), containing a scathing attack on "Bhava Kavitwam". His attack was mainly on the nature of this poetry: he called it "cheap love poetry". His main examples came from Nanduri Subba Rao's *Yenki Pāṭalu*, love poems written in a rural dialect, depicting the love of Yenki and Nayudu bava. Verbal extravagance, unnecessary elaboration and lack of clarity are some of the blemishes he had seen in this poetry. For the next thrity years, poets and critics, when they had to evaluate this poetic movement, invariably meant it as an answer to Umakantam's work. Whatever be its conceptual validity, Umakantham's argumentative and reasoning prower coupled with his use of simple, idiomatic prose has provided a model to later critics.

During this period, the official journal of the Navya Sahitya Parishat, *Pratibha*, rendered considerable service to criticism with articles by and on several romantic poets. Other journals which helped the movement to grow were *Udayini*, *Śārada* and *Vīṇa* - the first one edited by Kompalli Janardan Rao, the second by Viswanatha and the last one by Patibanda Madhava Sarma.

Though progressive trends depicting new social tensions started from 1930 onwards, the movement had consolidated itself only by 1942-43. In poetry, Sri Sri's *Mahāprasthānam* appeared with Chalam's "Intro" in 1942. The 'Nayagara' anthology came in 1944. In 1943 the Progressive Writers' Association was started. *Abhyudaya*, its official organ appeared in 1946. During the early years appeared the plays of Rajamannar (1930) and Atreya (1945). In novel, Kutumba Rao, Buchibabu and Gopichand represent three different streams of social and psychological consciousness. Literary criticism, naturally, followed these movements closely.

Chalam's "Intro" to Sri Sri was a masterpiece. It was a romantic rebel's welcome to a literary rebel. Sri Sri himself wrote some perceptive critiques on literary men and matters. His *Mana Gurazāḍa* tried to place Gurazada and his contribution in their right perspective, bereft of sectarian considerations.

Arudra proved to be a better-known critic than he is known as a poet. Besides several research articles on folklore and contempary poetry, his *Samagra Āndhra sāhityam* in 13 volumes, proved to be a worthy attempt to objectively present the history of Telugu literature. *Gurazāda Gurupeeṭham, Vēmana* and *Prajā Kaḷalu* are his other criticial works.

Gurazada's creative work inspired several critical books on him. The best among them are K.V. Ramana Reddy's *Mahōdayam* and Sardesai Tirumala Rao's *Kanyāśulka Nāṭaka Kaḷa*. Another work into which great efforts have gone is Bandi Gopala Reddy's (Ban. Go. Re.) *Kanyāsulkam* in which he collated and documented materials to show how the play in its second edition (1909) improved upon its first edition (1897). Rachamallu Ramachandra Reddy, another perceptive critic, reviewed books and movements in his own journal, *Samvēdana*, with insight and authority. Similarly Kundurti's work on *vacana kavita* tried to give a conceptual base to the free-verse front.

Among the traditional institutions that encouraged literary and lingusitic criticism, the universities are the foremost. But, here, the output is due to professional compulsions and so it is likely that genuine critical work does not find place very often. However, both in formulating traditionally valid critical apparatus and applying it to several ancient and modern texts, some university researchers had done tremendously good work. Mention must be made of Divakarla Venkatavadhani, K.V. Ramakoti Sastry, K. Suprasanna, P. Madhava Sarma, V. Ananda Murty, T. Koteswar Rao, Dhulipala Srirama Murty, K.V.R. Narasimham, Korlapati Sreerama Murty, Timmavajjhala Kodandaramayya and G.V. Krishna Rao. All these have written theses which contributed either to the theory or the practice of criticism of ancient texts.

Several other institutions all over the Telugu land did yeoman service in inculcating a healthy literary taste among people. The first noteworthy institution to be mentioned in this context is the Andhra Sahitya Parishat at Kakinada which also published a scholarly journal, *Āndhra Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrika* which, for long, served to establish great literary standards. Under the patronage of the Maharajah of Pithapuram, Surya Rao Bahadur, and the constant guidance of Jayanthi Ramayya Pantulu and Chelikani Latcha Rao, it published ancient classics edited by reputed scholars. It also published the *Sūryarāya Āndhra nighaṇṭuvu*, an authoritative multi-volume dictionary. Another institution which concentrated on the study of Tikkana is the Andhra Bhashabhivardhini Samajam of Nellore under the patronage of Tikkavarapu Rami Reddy. Andhra Saraswata Parishat stands first among such institutions in Telangana. Under the stewardship of Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao, Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma and others, it brought a momentum in popularising Telugu studies. Especially noteworthy are its popular lecture-series on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* which were later brought out in book form. Yuva Bharati is doing good work by regularly holding meetings on popular literary subjects and publishing them. The critical anthology covering the quarter century after independence - *Mahati* - is a comprehensive survey of literature and other allied fields of that time. Sahiti Bandhu Brindam of Warangal does a similar work. Pervaram Jagannadham's *Abhyudayānantara kavitā dhōraṇulu* was published under its aegis.

Several scholars worked on modern literature as well. Among them the research studies of C. Narayana Reddy on tradtion and experiment in modern poetry, P.S.R. Appa Rao on Telugu drama, B. Rama Raju, S.V. Joga Rao, Nayani Krishnakumari, T.V. Subba Rao and R.V.S. Sundaram on different aspects of folk literature, K. Gopala Krishna Rao on Telugu *śataka* literature, M. Kulasekhara Rao on Telugu prose literature, S.V. Rama Rao on Telugu literary criticism, G. Nagaiah on dwipada literature in Telugu, K. Enoch on the Telugu essay, P. Dakshina Murty on the short story are commendable works. Many of them are and remain to be seminal works in their areas. It is during the second stage of university research that attention was focussed on modern authors and their contribution. M. Veerabhadra Sastry's work on Panuganti, A. Ramapathi Rao's work on Veeresalingam, Ganagappa's work on Kolachalam are of high quality, both in terms of the material presented and the method of presentation. One book that stands out for its original criticial outlook is Velcheru Narayana Rao's *Telugulō Kavithā Viplavāla Swarūpam* which proposed some interesting criteria for distinguishing each poetical 'revolution'.

In fact, the teachers of the earlier generation, who were researchers of great calibre also tried to inculcate in their students critical acumen. Among these teachers, Pingali Laxmikantham, Bhupati Laxminarayana Rao, Khandavalli Laxmiranjanam and Nidadavolu Venkata Rao have contributed to lay down fundamental principles in critical methodology based on their own experience, and also on scientific, investigative methods, and their encouragement to new researchers was unique and noteworthy. Among these, Pingali Laxmikantham made commendable effort to enlarge and publish his lecture-notes on Telugu literature and critical methodology in two volumes - *Andhra sâhitya caritra* and *Sâhitya śilpa samikṣa*.

Research work on language also gained momentum. Earlier works of Chilukuri Narayana Rao, Gidugu Venkata Rama Murthy and Korada Ramakrishnayya are of great importance in this regard. Bh. Krishnamurti initiated studies on Telugu language based on linguistic methodology. Others who made noteworthy contributions to Telugu language are G.N. Reddy, T. Donappa, Korada Mahadeva Sastry, B. Radhakrishna, Chekuri Rama Rao, P.C. Narasimha Reddy, V. Prakasam, V. Akkireddy and J. Venkateswara Sastry.

Two other institutions - the State Sahitya Akademi and the Central Sahitya Akademi have served the cause of literary criticism by holding competitions or by selecting critics whose contributions got them the national and state Akademi's prizes. Among those that were adjudged best in competitions on a given subject, Srivatsava's *Uṣhah Kiranâlu*, G.V. Subrahmanyam's *Vīra rasamu*, T. Donappa's *Telugu samsthânamulu-Vângmaya pôṣaṇa*, Ravuri Doraswami Sarma's *Telugulô tiṭṭu kavitvamu* and A. Ramapathi Rao's *Vyâvahârika bhaṣâ caritra* are of particular importance. Similarly P.S.R. Appa Rao for his *Nâtya śâstramu*, Rajanikanth Rao for his *Āndhra Vâggêyakāra Caritramu* and Tapi Dharma Rao for his commentary on *Vijaya vilāsamu* received central Akademi awards.

Along with the work of the state Sahitya Akademi the Sangeeta Nataka Akademi and the Children's Akademi also did commendable work. *Nâṭya Kaḷa*, under the aegis of the Sangeet Nataka Akademi, published not only articles on individual playwrights, but brought out special issues which are comprehensive treatises on the subjects. It also published a few monographs on important playwrights.

Among the histories of literature written, Chaganti Seshaiah's work with regard to the History of Poets needs special mention. In a project, conceived in 33 volumes, to write the History of Telugu poets (*Āndhra kavi taranginī*), Changanti could finish only 12 volumes (1944-53). His method may be broadly designated as 'historical-literary'. He made a stupendous effort to present the historical background of the ancient and medieval poets with incisive comments on their poetry. In 1950 came Madhunapantula Satyanarayana Sastry's *Āndhra racayitalu* with biographical and critical comments on about 100 poets of this and the last century. Bulusu Venkataramanaiah's *Āndhra kavi sapta śati* contains brief, yet succinct comments on 700 Telugu poets and their work. Utukuri Laxmikanthamma's *Āndhra kavayitrulu* dealt with the contribution of women to the enrichment of Telugu literature. G. Nagaiah's history of Telugu literature in 2 volumes, *Telugu sāhitya samīkṣa*, presents a vast information and is specially intended for advanced students of literature.

Madras University started a project to bring out a comprehensive History of Telugu Literature but only 2 volumes appeared in the series: Sistla Ramakrishna Sastry's *Āndhra vāngmaya caritra - sarwaswamu (Vol I)* and Nidadavolu Venkata Rao's *Dakṣināndhra sāhityamu*. While the former traced the history of Telugu literature upto the end of the 13th c., the latter dealt with the contribution of the Tanjavur and Madhura kings and poets. Arudra's monumental 16-volume book, *Samagra āndhra sāhityam* the last three volumes of which are yet to be completed, shows his meticulous care in collating the vast materials he collected.

Critical introductions to classics (sometimes with commentaries and word meanings) constitute an important aspect of literacy criticism. After Vedam Venkataraya Sastry's pioneering work in this field, several other scholars contributed their mite to the better understanding of poetic texts. In the earlier phase, Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao's introduction to *Āndhra vāngmaya sūcika* is a major survey article. Nagapudi Kuppusamaiah's and Tanjanagaram Tevapperumallaiah's prefaces to several classics, Veluri Sivarama Sastry's introduction to Errana's works, Akkiraju Umakantham's introduction to *Palnāṭi Vīra Caritra*, Cuttamanchi Ramalinga Reddy's preface to Duvvuri Rami Reddy's *Kṛṣīvaluḍu* are major critical contributions.

Among introductions to modern works, mention must be made of Chalam's 'Yogyatapatram' to Sri Sri's *Mahāprasthānam* and Sri Sri's introductions to Pattabhi's *Fiḍēlu rāgāla ḍazen* and Arudra's *Twamēvāham* and Devulapalli Krish Sastry's introductions to *Basavarāju Appā Ravu gītālu*, Pingali Laxmikantham's critical edition of *Palnāṭi Vīra Caritra*, Veturi Prabhakara Sastry's introduction to *Krīḍābhirāmam* and *Basava purānam* and Nidadavolu Venkata Rao's introduction to *Śabda ratnākaram* are commendable works of great critical acumen and insight.

Both Vavilla Ramaswami Sastrulu and his son, Venkateswara Sastri, published a number of Sanskrit and Telugu classics, with commentaries provided by great scholars, under the banner of their once-popular publishing house, Vavilla & Son. Under a scheme of the state Sahitya Akademi a number of classical works were published with introductions by eminent critics. K. Laxmiranjanam's edition of *Hara vilāsam*, K. Mahadeva Sastry's *Kumâra sambhavam* and Marupuri Kodandarami Reddy's *Karṇa parvam* are laudable ones. Tapi Dharma Rao, a towering literary figure, edited *Vijaya vilâsamu* of Chemakura Venkata Kavi with an exhaustive commentary.

Among such introductions to modern poems Chaitanya Bharati's *Mahâ sankalpam* (1975) which contains critical notes in the new dimensions on Telugu poetry and Ronaki Appala Swamy's and K.V. Ramana Reddy's introductions to V. Mohan Prasad's *Citi-Cinta* and introductions provided to the three volumes of *Digambara Kavita* need special mention for their pervasive overview of contemporary trends in Telugu poetry.

Criticism contained in introductions to books and entries in encyclopaedias, in literary biographies and in review articles is voluminous. Among writers who made a special attempt in bringing out critical biographies, Gorrepati Venkata Subbaiah, Tripuraneni Subba Rao and A. Ramapathi Rao are to be particularly mentioned.

The literary essay has gained prominence with the advent of journals like *Amudrita Grantha Cintāmaṇi*, *Cintâmaṇi* and *Saraswati* in the early phase; *Śârada*, *Kaḷa* and *Prabuddhândhra* in the second phase, and later *Bhârati* and *Ândhra Patrika* (annual) for over five decades. *Jayanti*, *Sravanti*, *Sṛjana* and the literary supplements of dailies like *Ândhra Jyôti*, *Ândhra Prabha* and *Udayam* in the recent years have continued the tradition. Several literary battles were fought in them and enriched the readers' understanding of literature. The literary debate on the authorship of the last part of *Âraṇya Parva* (*Bhâratam*) between Vedala Tiruvengalacharyulu and Deepala Pichaiah Sastry; on *Râmâyaṇa Kalpavṛksham* between the follwers of Viswanatha and his opponents, on Sri Sri's *Khaḍga Sṛṣṭi* between K.V. Ramana Reddy and Tripuraneni Venkateswara Rao and the *Kanyâśulkam* controversy over its authorship have incited heated debates, bordering on personality conflicts. The annual reviews of 'Srivatsava' (Yendamuri Satyanarayana Rao) published in *Swatantra* were very popular. Among the innumerable critical reviews that appeared in journals and dailies, those written by Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao, Rachamallu Ramachandra Reddy, Indraganti Hanumatchastry, Ramamohan Roy and Chekuri Rama Rao are of high order.

Several historians of great repute turned their attention to literature by way of interpreting either inscriptions or historical and sociological data regarding literary periods and texts. Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, Nelaturi Venkataramanaiah, Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, Bhavaraju Venkata Krishna Rao and Nidadavolu Venkata Rao belonged to the first phase of such scholar-historians. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry and B.N. Sastry did good work on Telugu inscriptions in recent times. Suravaram Pratapa Reddy's *Ândhrula sânghika caritra* is a meritorius work which throws light on the sociological aspects of Telugu literature in the various phases of its development.

Books on individual genres started appearing early. Vanguri Subba Rao's *Śataka Vângmaya Caritra* was the first to appear and paved the way for several other such studies. Nidadavolu Venkata Rao's *Udâharaṇa vângmayamu* is yet another genre-study of a special field. K. Gopala Krishna Rao's *Ândhra śataka sâhitya vikâsamu* is an authoritative treatise on the 'sataka' literature in Telugu. S.V. Jogarao's thesis and several articles on Yakshagana literature in Telugu is the best among several folk genres discussed by critics. Similarly G. Nagaiah's *Dwipada vāngmayamu*, Tangirala Venkata Subba Rao's *Vīragâdhâ kavitvam* and Kolakaluri Enoch's *Telugu vyāsa pariṇāmam* are commendable works on specific areas of literature. Munimanikyam Narasimha Rao, the humourist, also wrote a fairly exhaustive book, *Mana hâsyamu*, which reflects his thorough understanding of the subject. Somasundar's work on modern poetry, R.S. Sudarsanam's critiques of various movements and writers, Nagabhushana Sarma's book on the Telugu novel, and several works on Telugu drama and Theatre, Mikkilineni's book on Telugu actors, R.V.S. Sundaram's, B. Rama Raju's and Nayani Krishna Kumari's works on Telugu folklore are to be mentioned in this context.

Translations of books on *alamkâra śâstra* are few, but they served a great need in understanding the classical approach to literary criticism. Sannidhanam Suryanarayana Sastry's *Kāvyālamkāra samgraham* is a comprehensive edition of poetics. So is Vedala Tiruvengalacharya's book, *Dhwanyālōkam* which, not only contained a translation of the original Sanskrit work, but supplied several examples from Telugu poetical texts. G.V. Krishna Rao's *Jê ganṭalu* brings to the Telugu reader Plato's attitudes to the art of poetry. P.S.R. Appa Rao's edition of *Nātya śāstram* is a commendable work in this area.

Specialised studies of a distinct nature which are not easily classified into established categories are also to be mentioned in this context. For example, Nidavalu Venkata Rao grouped all the Saivite poets in his erudite work on them. So did Bandaru Tammayya in his *Vyāsāvaḷi*. Another daring example is Gunturu Seshendra Sarma's *Kavisêna manifesto* which reveals his uncommon perception of classical critical models as well as modernist dialectical polemics.

Some of the journals in the pre-independence as well as post-independence era played a positive role in laying firm foundations to Telugu literary criticism. *Āndhra Patrika*, *Bhārati* and *Kṛṣṇā Patrika* in the earlier decades of this century did yeoman service in this regard. *Āndhra Sâhitya Parishat Patrika*, *Pratibha*, *Trilinga*, *Sâhiti*, *Kaḷa*, *Śârada*, *Jayanthi*, *Āndhra Bhūmi*, *Prabuddhândhra*, *Kinnera*, *Udayini*, *Nâtya kaḷa*, *Vīṇa*, *Abhyudaya*, *Pariśôdhana*, *Sravanti* and recently *Sṛjana* and *Samvêdana* and the literary supplements of almost every daily and weekly paper have contributed both topical and thought-provoking critical reviews.

NOVEL

Telugu novel, like other literary forms of the modern times, was the product of the exposure of the Andhras to English education and their familiarity with English literature. The first full-fledged novel in Telugu was *Râjaśêkhara caritra* (1878) by Kandukuri Veereslingam Pantulu, who introduced various genres till then unknown in Telugu. In fact, Narahari Gopalakrishnama Chetty wrote *Śrī Rangarâja caritra* (1872) earlier, but it was an amateurish attempt at mirroring social customs without much of a strong story line. *Râjaśêkhara caritra*, though based on Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*, was in all respects an independent work and is main objective was social reform by satirizing social evils and superstitions. It is interesting to know that this novel was translated into English under the title *Fortune's Wheel* and was even reviewed in *The Times* of London!

In the first two decades after its emergence, the novel was called *vacana prabandham* - a prose narrative with a fictitious story. It was the critic Kasibhatta Brahmayya Sastry who, in a review article on *Râjaśêkhara caritra*, suggested the term "navala" to this genre, which means 'new'.

A reputed journal, *Cintâmaṇi*, conducted competitions in the writing of new novels and it insisted that the theme should be social and it should reflect contemporary social life of Andhra. That explains why early Telugu novels dealt with social life as their themes. The most important novelists that came out of the competition were Chilakamarti Laxmi Narasimham (1867-1946; *Râmacandra vijayamu*; 1895) and Goteti Kanaka Raju (*Vivêka vijayamu*; 1894). Their model was certainly Kandukuri's pioneering work.

An early deviation from this trend was the historical novel. Todd's *Annals of Rajasthan* gave stories of several heroes and illustrated the heroic deeds of the many kings and princes of Rajasthan. Stories from the *Annals* became sources for these historical novels. The most noteworthy among them were Chilakamarthi's *Ahalyâbai* and Bhogaraju Narayana Murthy's *Vimala*. The popularity of the historical novel enhanced when a prestigious literary body like 'Vignana Chandrika Grandhamala' held competitions exclusively in historical novels and published the prize-winning ones. These novels indirectly gave vent to the nationalist aspirations of the writers and the readers, then under alien rule.

Very soon, scholars, critics and poets also turned to novel-writing. Ketavarapu Venkata Sastry, Akkiraju Umakantham and Venkata Parvateeswara Kavulu, the twin-poets, set the tone for elaborate historical novels followed by other writers who excelled in writing novels on pseudo-historical subjects. Venkata Parvateeswara Kavulu's *Mâtṛmandiram*, a social novel, had for its theme the scourge of untouchability - a subject which gained the attention of Gandhiji several years later!

Telugu translations of Bengali novels written by Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Sarath Chandra Chatterji became very popular and even influenced the Telugu novelists. Sarath Chandra, popularly known as Sarath Babu, is a household name in Andhra. The credit for bringing these novels into Telugu goes to several eminent writers like Sivasankara Swami, Veluri Sivarama Sastry and Puranam Kumara Raghava Sastry. Years later, all Sarath Babu's works were brought into several volumes by Bondalapati Sivaramakrishna and Sakuntala Devi.

Even the suspense-thrillers of Bengal were brought into Telugu and found very enthusiastic reading public. Panch Khadi Dev was such a writer. Venkata Parvateeswara Kavulu's trilogy - *Māyāvi, Manōrama* and *Vāḍē vīḍu* had run into multiple editions. These detective novels, though lacked literary merit, at least created a reading public from among the newly educated middle classes.

Mālapalli (1922) by Unnava Laxminarayana, is the greatest novel that Andhra gave to Indian literature and is a monumental work of high literary merit. The novel deals with various political and social issues of the time, mainly touching Gandhiji's non-co-operation movement, the status of the untouchables, the great October Revolution and even economic issues like the exploitation of the agricultural labour by the landlords. Prophetic in nature, it even created two characters - sons of the protagonist who is an untouchable - representing moderate and extremist thoughts. The protagonist's trials and tribulations have been depicted on a large canvas in a realistic manner. This novel, predominantly reflecting Gandhian thought (the novelist himself was an avowed Gandhian), but presenting all aspects of Indian rural life has been hailed a 'dharmetihasa' ('an epic of *dharma*'). Unnava wrote the novel while serving a prison term as a *satyāgrahi*. As soon as the novel was out, the British government banned it as it was revolutionary both in its content and message. Perhaps, Unnava's was the earliest-ever attempt made in Indian languages at successfully capturing the spirit of nationalism in fiction.

Along with such notable writers, there also appeared on the scene Kovvali and Jampana (Kovvali Venkata Laxmi Narasimha Rao and Jampana Chandrasekhara Rao) who, with their prolific writing of light reading material, came to be known as 'Railway novels', succeeded in popularising the novel among the reading public in spite of the elitist reader's contempt for them. Their thin novels were so catergorised because they were mostly sold on railway platforms and in the compartments and enthusiastically read by the travelling public.

In the 30's appeared four great novelists who were contemporaries, but whose work is diverse, reflecting different attitudes to life. Each one was prolific and laid a personal imprint on the history of the Telugu novel. The first one is Viswanatha Satyanarayana (the first Jnanapith award winner from Andhra), who stands as a colossus in the Telugu literary field. *Vēyi paḍagalu* (1934) was his *magnum opus*. A champion of the age-old Indian traditions, Viswanatha wrote his novels mainly to uphold those traditions. The novel running into a thousand pages records comprehensively the several significant aspects of the period of transition from the old order to the new. However, he presented the tradition in a glorifying way, while pointing out the drawbacks in the new order. His *Celiyali Kaṭṭa* (1932) emphasises the far-reaching consequences of borrowed ideas from the west regarding man-woman relations. His structurally well-balanced novel *Ēkavīra* (1925-29) is a delicate romantic tale wrought in a memorable historical setting. Viswanatha is an eminent craftsman and even his shortest novels deserve special consideration. He also wrote a series of novels to establish, fictionally, a kind of a mythico-historical lineage of ancient Indian kings in his 'Purana Vaira Granthamala', consisting of a set of 12 novels.

Adavi Bapiraju (1895-1952), an idealist, poet and painter, wrote *Nârâyaṇa Râu* (1934), which shared the first prize from Andhra Unviersity along with Viswanatha's *Vêyi paḍagalu*. Bapiraju's Narayana Rao is a Gandhian. The novel presents the conflict between two different social strata, arising out of the relationship between a Zamindar's family and a middle class family to which the hero, Narayana Rao, belongs. Bapiraju's other novels like *Kônangi* deal with similar class conflicts and the impact of the nationalist movement. His idealistic world-view is nowhere better seen than in his historical novels *Himabindu* (1924) and *Gôna Gannâreḍḍi* (1946). His was a creditable account in fictionalising all the major phases of Andhra history.

Gudipati Venkata Chalam (1894-1979) - popularly known as 'Chalam' - was a romantic rebel, a rebel against traditional social norms in general and against the instittution of marriage in particular, which, according to him, reduced women to the position of slaves. He wanted total freedom for women and advocated free love between sexes. But the women characters he created in his novels such as *Amīna* (1924), *Aruṇa* (1939), *Maidânam* (1928) and *Daivamiccina bhārya* (1923) do not have an individuality of their own to act freely and assert themselves as independent entities with a strong personality of their own. They are mere rebels and they fade away as romantic idealists.

The fourth one in this group, Nori Narasimha Sastry (1900-78), a late entry into novel-writing, specialised in writing historical novels based on Andhra history. His *Nârâyaṇa Bhaṭṭu* (1949), *Rudramadêvi* (1951) and *Mallâreḍḍi* (1962) describe the three major phases in the history of the making of the Telugu *Mahabharatamu* and the lives of the poets responsible for its Telugu rendering: Nannaya Bhattu, Tikkana Somayaji and Errapragada. Munimanikyam Narasimha Rao (1898-1974), though more well-known as a humorous short-story writer with his *Kântam Kathalu*, has writtern four novels depicting the emotional conflicts in traditional middle class families, in a serious vein. His *Dīkshitulu* and *Rukkutalli* are moving tales of affection and separation.

During the late thirties and early forties came the novels of Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao (1909-80) who had a fine insight into the Andhra middle class life and a good understanding of class conflicts in a society where economic inequalities rule the roost. Though primarily known as a short-story writer, Kodavatiganti's contribution to the Telugu novel is substantial. His novel *Caduvu* (1946) realistically presents the life of a middle class youth whose educational career in the background of financial crises and pulls of nationalist movement has been delicately drawn. In later years, however, Kutumba Rao portrayed class conflict from a Marxist's point of view. Kutumba Rao has the unique quality of narrating an intricate story with a deceptively simple style.

Contemporary to Kutumba Rao are three novelists who tried to look into the inner life of individuals to understand their external relations with society. Psychological aspects have become predominant in their novels. Gopichand (1910-62), in novel after novel, studied the individual's aberrations in social life and attributed them to his psyche and his environment. In *Asamarthuni Jīva Yâtra* (1947), he dealt with the failings of an educated married youngman who failed to adjust himself with a society fast undergoing changes. The author, who was a votary of New Humanism propounded by M.N. Roy, seemed to have examined his main character in the laboratory of contemporary life.

Buchibabu (1916-67), known more as a short-story writer, was also the author of a novel, *Civaraku migilêdi* (1946), in which he presented a young, educated idealist's inability to love anyone because of his mother-fixation and the deep psychological disturbance he had regarding the character of his mother. The novel, however, affirms that the best course for such a man is to reconcile with the realities of oneself and go ahead, thus adding a philosophic dimension to the novel. Rachakonda Viswanatha Sastry's (1922-93) *Alpajīvi* is based on the theory of Adler's inferiority complex and, accordingly, its main character is shown so frail mentally that he is incapable of opposing anyone. His problem is liberation from fear. He encounters the truth about his existence and this existential outlook forms an important aspect of this work. Viswanatha Sastry's later novels such as *Râju-mahiṣi* and *Rattâlu-Râmbabu* lean more towards class conflict and the life of the oppressed in society. Another major novelist of the time is G.V. Krishna Rao (1914-79), whose *Kīlubommalu* had its impact on successive generations of writers in dealing with contemporary politics and its influence on rural life. The major issue presented in the novel is concerned with people's utter submission in the face of political authority and how, in the process, self-esteem, righteous conduct, sincerity and other virtues are forsaken. The author designed the work as a portrayal of a crisis arising in human relations when people become puppets in the hands of extraneous forces. Other novels which dealt with the rual scenario are Hitasri's *Antarvâhini* and Manjusri's *Nūru śarattulu*.

The social and emotional aspects of middle class life were ably presented by several writers. Among them Kommuri Venugopala Rao *(Penkuṭillu)*, Puranam Surya Prakasa Rao *(Jīvana ganga)* and Pothukuchi Sambasiva Rao *(Anvêṣana)* are notable. Sarada, whose real name was Natarajan and who worked as a hotel server, wrote *Manci-ceḍu* and *Apaswarâlu*, two moving novels regarding trials and tribulations of lower middle classes in adjusting their lives to the fast-changing life-style in the small towns of Andhra.

Among the several experiments made in narrative technique, Uppala Laxmana Rao's *Atadu-āme* is a notable one, written in the form of diaries of a man and his wife, projecting two conflicting points of view regarding social, political and familial life in a metropolis like Madras. Ravuri Bharadwaja's *Pākuḍu Râḷḷu* is a successful attempt at writing the naturalistic novel, portraying the environment's influence on an actress's life.

Tenneti Suri's (1911-59) *Chenghiz khan* (1956), belonging to this period, is a note-worthy historical novel depicting the exploits of the great invader, who is presented here as an astute politician and a hero rather than a cruel despot. The creditable achievement of the novel depends to a large extent on the recreation of the historical atmosphere through succinct descriptions of the Gobi desert and the trouble-torn lives of the tribes there.

While Malladi Vasundhara's *Tanjâvūru patanamu* and Dhulipala Sreerama Murty's *Bhuvana vijayamu* depicted more of fictional incidents than historical ones, Sreenivasa brothers in their 'Vidyanagara Navala Malika' (novels based on the history of Vidyanagar) narrated history more vividly than a story.

Among recent novelists who specialized in writing historical novels, mention must be made of Mudigonda Sivaprasad, whose *Srīlêkha* is justly popular.

Among those who translated Sarath's novels into Telugu, Chakrapani occupies an important place. His translations of *Bada dīdī*, *Parīṇīta* and *Vâgdatta* in the 'Yuva Publication' series have succeeded in bringing the delicate human relationships in the original novels into chaste Telugu.

Among the many others who translated novels from Bengali, mention must be made of Maddipatla Suri (*Pathêrpâncâli, Kâḷindi* and *Mâyâmṛgam*). Similarly several translations of Rabindranath Tagore were brought into Telugu. Venkata Parvateeswara Kavulu's *Gôrâ* was one of the earliest. Srinivasa Chakravarti, Dandamudi Mahidhar, "Virinchi" and Nannapaneni Subba Rao are the others who translated Tagore's novels.

Premchand is another popular novelist with the translators. Pitcheswara Rao's translation of *Gôdân* stands apart from others for its faithful rendering of the original into colloquial Telugu. Dandamudi Mahidhar was very prolific. Aluri Bhujanga Rao (*Nirmala*) and Lallan (*Varadân* and *Manôrama*) are known for their translations.

From among the several novels translated from Russian (through English, of course) *War and Peace* was translated as *Samaramu-śânti* by two writers - Bellamkonda Ramadasu and Sivam. Sivam also translated Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* as *Nêramu-śiksha*. Sailendra translated Tolstoy's novels and Sreenivasa Chakravarti Turgenev's.

Almost all classics from American, French and English have been translated into Telugu. The contribution made by Nanduri Rama Mohana Rao (*Tom Sawyer, Huckleberry Finn, The Prince and the Pauper* and *Treasure Island*), Tenneti Suri (*Renḍu mahânagarâlu : A Tale of Two Cities*), Tulika Bhushan (Lókam : *David Copperfield*), Surampudi Seetaram (*The Count of Monte Christo*), Bellamkonda Ramadasu (*Bījalaxmi : Good Earth*) and V.D. Prasada Rao (*Kaṣṭa jīvulu : Le Miserables*) have not only introduced the great novels to Telugu reading public, but, thereby, helped to enlarge the readership of the Telugu weeklies, especially that of *Andhra Patrika*.

Contemporary political movements received due attention from the Telugu novelists. The feudal set-up and anti-people's regime in the erstwhile Hyderabad state formed the subject-matter of some pioneering works. Vattikota Alwaruswamy's *Prajala manishi*, Darasathi Rangacharya's *Cillara dêvuḷḷu, Môdugu pûlu* and *Janapadam*, Bollimunta Sivaramakrishna's *Mṛtyunjayulu* and Mahidhara Ramamohana Rao's *Ônamâlu* are some of the memorable novels on the subject. Ramamohana Rao also wrote a novel, *Kollâyi gaṭṭitê nêmi?* which ably depicted the impact of the nationalist movement on the Andhra countryside.

The emergence of women novelists in Telugu was a significant development. Among these, Vasireddi Seetha Devi stands apart with a number of novels invariably with a social purpose. *Samata*, dealing with corruption in high political circles; *Marīcika*, touching the impact of the Naxalite movement and *Maṭṭi manishi*, portraying peasant life are some of her more well-known novels. Muppala Ranganayakamma is another such writer who, with her trend-setting novels like *Balipīṭham, Pêkamêḍalu* and *Krisṇavêṇi*, contributed to the progressive ideology. K.Ramalaxmi and Malati Chandur are two prominent novelists whose subtle portraits of men and women have gained the recognition and appreciation of the discerning reader. Dwivedula Visalakshi with her family sagas, Yeddanapudi Sulochana Rani and Kausalya Devi with their romances were favourites of housewives. Late Dr. Sridevi, late Bina Devi and Ananda Ramam wrote especially on human relations in a changing familial and social set-up. These and several others including Illindala Saraswathi Devi, Kavilipati Vijayalaxmi, Vedula Sakuntala, Komala Devi, late Madireddi Sulochana and Parimala Someswar made a mark as fiction writers. Some of them are very prolific and their novels, serialised in weeklies and monthlies were largely responsible for Telugu novel's success with the reading public.

The individual's existence, his problems of mind and heart formed the themes of Vaddera Chandidas's *Hima jwāla* and R.S. Sudarsanam's *Samsâra vrikṣam*, in which self-search of the protagonists is crucial. The eternal values of life and man's inability to uphold them under excruciating circumstances is the theme of Seela Verraju's *Myna*, Vinukonda Nagaraju's *Tāgubōtu* and Sudarsanam's *Maḷḷi vasantham*. Bhaskarabhatla Krishna Rao's *Yuga sandhi* and *Velluvalō pūcikapullalu* employed the technique of stream of consciousness. Naveen's *Ampaśayya* is a successful novel in the same genre.

Among the humourists who became popular during 60's Mullapudi Venkataramana achieved a significance of his own. His creation of Budugu, a young boy, in whose language the novellette *Buḍugu - ciccula piḍugu* - is narrated, has become a house-hold name for over two decades. His *Iddarammâyilu- muggurabbâyīlu* is an ordinary love story, but told in such verbal humour that Venkataramana achieves through the use of word-clusters.

There was a second spate of detective novels during 50's which were now called "mystery" novels. Kommuri Sambasiva Rao, G.V.G. Krishna, Viswa Prasad, and Tempo Rao had each written scores of novels. Some of the serious writers also took to the detective novel. Arudra and Sarada are two such examples. Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao, under a pseudonym of T.V. Sankaram, pooh-poohed the genre in a burlesque, *Detective Śankaram*.

Dr. Kesava Reddi's *Incredible Goddess* is a powerful novel dealing with the life of a Harijan in the lonely setting of a forest. The novelist finds fault with the slavish dispostion and inferiority complex (which are the demonic forces in the novel, and hence the title) of the oppressed classes. The novel, with its symbolic significance, is pregnant with a message for the civilised society. Boya Jangaiah's novel *Jâtara* stresses the importance of a rationalist outlook in this age of science and technology, as against the prevailing superstitions, especially in the villages.

Recent trend, especially in the hundreds of serialized novels, is not, however, very healthy. Mystery, fantasy and crime have earned an upper hand. Yandamuri Veerendranath and Malladi Venkatakrishna Murthy have been prolific in their output and are very popular. N.R. Nandi has produced some notable novels in the category of science fiction.

Telugu has very few humorous novels. Among them, Chilakamarthi Laxminarasimham's *Gaṇapati* in the early phase, Mokkapati Narasimha Sastry's *Barrister Pârvatisam* and Viswanatha Satyanarayana's *Hāhā- hūhū* , during the 30's, Padmaraju's *Bratikina college*, Ravvuri Bharadwaja's *Karimingina velagapaṇḍu*, Ranganayakamma's *Sweet home* and Nanduri Parthasarathy's *Karkhānākyānam* have considerable literary merit. The 'dialect' novel, unlike the 'dialect' play, is not popular. Poranki Dakshina Murthy's is an engaging experiment in this genre.

Though every weekly, monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly publishes serials (and they total to an astonishing number), the output is significant in numbers, but not in quality. Suspense-ridden novels dominate the scene. Many serials look like film scripts with all the 'masala' necessary - idealistic romance, fights, comic scenes, etc. Good novels, however, appear occasionally and are few and far between.

SHORT-STORY

Unlike modern Telugu drama and novel, which are obviously of recent origin after the introduction of English education in India, short-story, in one form or the other, existed here for ages. The folk tale originated along with man's ability to express himself. Oral epics contained several short stories, explaining the valiant deeds of either the mythological or historical heroes. Early poetry consisted of many cycles of stories either translated from Sanskrit or of native origin. While Kethana's *Dasakûmara Caritra*, Koravi Goparaju's *Simhâsana Dwâtrimśika* and others belong to the former category, Kadiripati's *Śuka Saptati* and Narayanamatya's *Hamsa Vimśati* belong to the latter.

Ravipati Gurumurti Sastry's translation of *Vikramârkuni Kathalu* (1819) and *Pancatantra Kathalu* (1834) were the first stories made available to Andhra readers through the prose medium. During the same period Paturi Ramaswami Sastry collected *Śuka Saptati Kathalu* (1840) together and published them. Stories from oral lore such as *Bêtâḷa Panca Vimśati Kathalu* and *Kâmbhôja Râju Kathalu* appeared in print in 1847 and 1849 respectively. C.P. Brown translated into English 'Tatacharya' stories narrated by Tatacharlu, a pandit working with him. Similarly *Paramânanda Guruvula Katha* and *Arabian Nights Kathalu* were published. Erramilli Mallikarjunudu's *Cârdarwêṣ Kathalu* (1863), Chadalavada Seetharama Sastry's *Daccanu Pûrva Kathalu*, Veeresalingam Pantulu's *Satyarâjâ Pûrva Dêśa Yâtralu* are all adaptations of either Persian or English originals.

Barring these translations and publication of old tales, original short-stories in Telugu seem to have appeared in 1903 when Achanta Venkataraya Samkhyayana Sarma published *'Lalita'* in his own journal, *Kalpalata*. However, the story is amateurish and its language artificial. The credit for writing the first original short-story with all the necessary ingredients - namely, theme, appropriate form and technique and colloquial language - goes to Gurazada Apparao. Appa Rao had already written that astonishingly original comedy, *Kanyâśulkam*, in chaste spoken Telugu. His *Diddubâṭu* was first published in 1910 and since then he had written four other short-stories: *Mî Pêrêmiṭi?, Meṭilḍa, Pedda Masîdu* and *Samskarta Hṛdayam*. The last mentioned story was, in fact, written in English as "Stooping to Rise" and was much later translated by his editor, Avasarala Surya Rao, into Telugu.

With his five stories Gurazada brought into the genre themes that are socially relevant with a technique, style and form that are suitable to a modern sensibility. The intelligent young wife who could transform her wayward husband in *Diddubâṭu*, the blind belief in religious rituals in *Mī Pērēmiṭi*, a young wife's tumultuous life with an aged husband in *Metilḍa* are subjects that were contemporaneous and show how Gurazada handled a socially relevant theme in a colloquial idiom against the currents of the time.

In the second decade of this century, journals like *Ândhra Bhârati*, *Trilinga* and *Suvarṇalêkha* published short-stories and encouraged writers to take to this relatively new medium. Panuganti Laxminarasimha Rao published his stories in *Suvarṇalêkha*. Though he is known as a playwright and an essayist, and his early stories published in that journal are sketchy, his later stories published in *Bhârati* are of universal appeal. Another playwright-novelist was Chilakamarthi, whose translation of Todd's *Annals of Rajasthan* as *Rajasthâna Kathâvaḷi* set the tone for several historical stories to come in the next two decades, besides inspiring several novelists and playwrights to adapt stories from it for their creative work.

Madapati Hanumaṇtha Rao's *KathâGuchamu* (1915) contains stories of delicate human relations written in a poetic style. He was the first to bring Premchand's stories into Telugu.

During these first two decades, short-story had found a firm footing in literature with varied subjects, mainly with social relevance. Except Gurazada, all the others chose to write in the *grānthika* (written) style rather than the spoken, colloquial one. This was also an age which initiated translations both from historical books and stories from other languages.

The next twenty years saw the emergence of the Romantic age, which was very rich and varied in several literary forms, including the short-story. *Sâhiti*, the literary magazine that was the mouth-piece of the new trend, encouraged the genre. One of the major trends of this age was that well-established poets had also written short stories. Sivasankara Swamy, Viswanatha Satyanarayana, Nori Narasimha Sastry and other such poets had shown their mettle in this field also.

But the best of them - Chinta Dikshitulu, Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry, Chalam and Munimaṇikyam are basically writers of prose fiction. Dikshitulu is a master story-teller. His stories *Śyāmala, Cinna, Cencu Rāni* and *Dâsari pâṭa* show his craftsmanship. He created several memorable characters - Suri, Siti, Venki, Vati Rao, and Bhairava Sastry who represent the Andhra ethos of both the rural and urban middle class. The ever-vibrating spoken word in which he wrote his stories added a native lustre and authenticity to his stories. Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry, whole short stories are long enough to be novelettes, is a master craftsman. His delicately humorous stories on the middle on the class Brahmin life as well as on the happenings in the erstwhile zamindaris house-holds have an uncomparable native flavour.

Among other major romantics, Viswanatha in *Mâkli Durgam lô Kukka*, Adavi Bapiraju in *Bhōgīra Lōya*, Mokkapati Narasimha Sastry in *Śilpi Dwayam* and *Bhikshuvu*, Nori Narasimha Sastry in *Gūlabi puvvu* and Kodavatiganti Venkatasubbaiah in *Pratiphalam* and *April Fool* provided ample indications that the short-story had come of age. Their stories showed that both in their choice of subjects and in adapting a proper narrative style for them, they retained their humanism.

Veluri Sivarama Sastry (1892-1967), a great scholar and nationalist, wrote the first story on the nationalist movement, *Ôbayya*, the story of an illiterate man who joins, along with the millions of Indians, the non-violent struggle. Kavikondala Venkata Rao (1892-1964) is known as *Kathaka Cakravatri*. His three short-story collections - *Maṭṭela Ravaḷi*, *Kala-Kaḷḷu* and *Muggula Ratham* - contain stories on the illiterate rural people and their joys and sorrows, narrated in a folk-tale style.

Another important writer in the age is Chalam (1894-1979) - an un-orthodox writer who championed the cause of the suffering woman, with telling simplicity and directness. His stories, like his novels and plays, reveal his mastery of a powerful style which helped him to influence several youngsters, even of later generations.

Munimanikyam Narasimha Rao (1898-1973), well-known for his humorous writings, mainly wrote stories based on family life: the small bickerings between husband and wife and their happy reunion and stressed the "sweet home" concept. He created a memorable character 'Kantam' as a personification of the intelligent wife. In sheer familial humour and repartees, he is unsurpassed. Bhamidipati Kameswara Rao (1897-1958), popularly called "Hasya brahma", comes a close second.

Malladi Ramakrishna Sastry (1905-65), another stalwart in wielding the story, is an adept at native idiom and old folk-tale-like narrative technique. Through several stories he brought out the beauties of a romantic life, from the point of view of the character of an old man. The double perspective - the author's and the narrator's - sometimes coalesce as in *Veladi-Vennela*, but several other times differ as in *Sarva Mangala* amd *Rasamanjari*. He is a master craftsman and a creative genius.

Others, whose contributions are significant and whose themes centre round the suffering, opperessed classes are : Karuna Kumara (1901-56) and Srinivasa Siromani (1899-1968), who excelled in the traditional classical narrative style, Vajjha Babu Rao, who wielded the pen and the brush with equal eloquence and Puripanda Appala Swamy (1904-82) who translated some of the best stories of the world into Telugu. Suravaram Pratapa Reddy's (1896-1953) stories were translated into Hindi, Urdu, Kannada and Marathi. His *Mogalâyī Kathalu* were serialized in his own *Gôlconḍa Patrika*. Several women writers started writing stories during this period. Kanchanapalli Kanakamba and Kanaparti Varalaxmamma are noteworthy among them.

In the next phase, from 1935 to 1960, came a rich crop of short stories, written by intellectuals who were also prolific writers. There was a wide variety in themes and the techniques they had adopted which were innovative and were comparable to those of the best writers of the world.

Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao is easily the most widely read among them. Author of over a hundred stories, his main thrust was the uneven social, political and familial relations. Covertly ironical, he hides his irony in his over-simplistic, unornamental narrative method. His concern for the common man and the underdog, in later years, provoked him to be a committed writer. His stories like *Lēcipōyina Manişi* and *Âḍajanma* relate the helplessness of the woman in society, while his later stories are more provocatively anti-establishment.

Some writers like Konakalla Venkataratnam, poets like Indraganti Hanumatchastry, Pilaka Ganapati Sastry, Boddu Bapiraju and columnists like Ravuru Satyanarayana Rao and 'Srivatsava' have also written some memorable stories.

Two writers whose stories remain classic examples in both the variety of themes they wielded and in narrating them with appropriate technique are, Palagummi Padmaraju and Buchibabu. Padmaraju (1913-85) wrote only a few stories, but has received international recognition for his story *Gâli Vâna*, 'Cyclone'. Interested in the behavioural aspects of his characters and their causal relationship with their psychological framework, Padmaraju often writes in first personal narration.

Buchibabu (Sivaraju Venkata Subba Rao) is a stylist to the core. His *Aḍavi Kâcina Vennela, Mēḍa Meṭlu, Nannu Gurinci Katha Vrâyav* and other stories speak of his narrative technique slowly unravelling the story with artistic perfection. His *Antaranga Kathanam* is written in the stream of consciousness technique and is a worthy experiment.

Gopichand in his anthology *Dharma Vaḍḍi* and Illindala Saraswathi Devi in *Panḍuga Bahumānam* have published notable stories. Gopichand is especially noteworthy for showing the influence of economic and political problems on the lives of the common people.

Several writers started writing stories in dialects. Among them Madhavapeddi Gokhale tops the list. In such stories as *Ballakaṭṭu Pâpaiah, Mûga Jīvâlu, Pâlem lô Tirunâḷḷaku* and *Abhimānam*, Gokhale showed the lives of the downtrodden people and their aspirations and sufferings. Iriventi Krishna Murthy, Yasoda Reddy and Suramouli excelled in using the Telangana dialect.

Among the next generation of short-story writers, Dhanikonda Hanumantha Rao, Bhaskarbhatla Krishna Rao, Jamadagni, Angara Venkata Krishna Rao, Veluri Sahajananda and N. R. Chandur extablished their individuality either in their approach to life as shown in their stories or in their treatment of it.

Rachakonda Viswanatha Sastry easily stands out as a trend-setter in short-story writing, for he coupled in them a rare social (and political) consciousness with poignant narrative technique. He is an adept in depicting the lives of the oppressed, narrated sometimes with pungent irony and some other times with moving tragic inevitability. His *Merupu Merisindi, Cōrner Seat, Jarī Ancu Tella Cīra, Pipīlikam* and the stories in *Âru Sârâ Kathalu* reveal the strikingly telling language he made use of to narrate an equally striking story. His use of the Visakhapatnam dialect is particularly effective when he narrates the stories of the deceived and the deceitful.

Another writer who stood as an upholder of the underdog and championed the cause of the oppressed by narrating their woes in a moving way is Kalipatnam Rama Rao. His *Châvu, Yagjnam* and *Bhayam* narrate in vivid detail the farm labourer and the working class.

"Cha So" (Changanti Somayajulu) showed a keen eye for detail in stories like *Vâyulīnam, Empu* and *Dummala Goṇḍe*. Bommireddipalli Surya Rao and "Poo Bha" (R. Venkata Ramana Murthy) have written memorable stories. Gangineni Venkateswara Rao wrote stories on the martyrs of Telangana arms struggle.

Another writer who showed great technical skill is Ravuri Bharadwaja whose experiments in *Lakka Bommalu, Īḍoccina Katha* and *Kumâra Sambhavam* are still pointers towards what a short-story can achieve within a short space. Hitasri (M.V.N. Prasada Rao) has a keen sense of artistry.

In the hands of Madhurantakam Raja Ram, contemporary Telugu story has come of age. The variety of themes he has chosen, the simple yet powerful narration and the idiomatic language he has employed reveal his mastery of the art of story-telling. *Kâṭukakaṇṭi Nīru, Dharma glâni* and scores of others are examples of his story-telling abilities.

Puranam Subrahmanya Sarma's short stories are delicately drawn word-pictures, evoking a sense of humanism. From his utterly fascinating family story of cowardice and tact represented by a husband and wife respectively in *Samsâram* and his more sobre study of human love in *Nīli* (the latter adjudged as the best Telugu story in a world short-story competition), he shows a deep concern for the meek.

Avasarala Ramakrishna Rao with his penchant for amusing, yet thought-provoking stories (*Nalla Pilla, Gandhīgâri Kharīdu*, etc.), Mullapudi Venkataramana, who created that inimitable young brat in Budugu, with his light, humourous stories, Vakati Panduranga Rao, revealing a philosophical outlook on life expressed in a sardonic tone coupled with a deep sense of empathy, (*Pâmula Nicchena, R. Chakrârâo Katha*, etc.), "Kanak Pravasi" with a keen eye on the art of narration, Usha Sri with a concern for middle class moralities, Polapragada Satyanarayana Murthy with his varied themes of family life - made the short-story the most representative medium of Telugu ethos. In their hands, Telugu short-story has carved for itself a niche in the history of world story.

Several women writers also helped to keep the flag flying. Vasireddi Seeta Devi's social concerns, Kalyana Sundari Jagannath's artistic concerns, K. Ramalaxmi's psychological concerns and Malathi Chandur's humantistic concerns have given a rare breadth and depth to the genre. P. Sridevi, Muppalla Ranganayakamma (more known as a successful novelist), Nayani Krishnakumari and P. Yasoda Reddy have widened the scope of the story through their thematic and linguistic experiments. "Lata" (Tenneti Hemalata) has created for herself a large readership through her romantic-rebel image. Bhanumati Ramakrishna's stories centring on the character of a typical Telugu mother-in-law (*Attagâri Kathalu*) and her whimsicalities are received well. Achanta Sarada Devi, Sivaraju Subbalaxmi, P. Sarala Devi, Dwivedula Visalakshi, Ananda Ramam, Turaga Janaki Rani and Komala Devi have enriched the Telugu story with their characteristic individuality.

Satyam Sankaramanchi wielded his powerful pen in bringing out human emotions in the background of a native milieu in his *Amarâvati Kathalu*. MuRaYa (Munimanikyam Raghunatha

Yajnyavalkya) wrote stories on a wide variety of subjects with an emphasis on human relations in middle class life. Icchapurapu Jagannadha Rao has created a memorable character "Sujatha" and through her delineated a multi-coloured universe as ably as a master-painter would do.

In the long list of short-story writers during the sixties and seventies, three writers stand out for their special qualities. "Manjusri" (Akkiraju Ramapathi Rao), delicately delineated human emotions with a rare expression of humanistic concerns (*Vânalô Taḍustunna Maniṣi, Mancukurisina Rātri*, etc.). Seela Veerraju is a painter, poet, novelist and story-writer in one and the influence of his poetic sensibility and his artistic excellence can be seen in his portryals of human beings in his stories like *Paga Minus Dwêṣam, Athukupadda Saundaryam*, etc.). Bhamidipati Ramagopalam is a writer of rare depth and breadth. In stories like *Vanṭoccina Magāḍu* and *Mūḍu Gôḍalu* he exploits an odd situation to comment on a universal truth. But in stories like *Anubhavâniki Haddulu* and *Break-down* he shows a deep concern for the tragic undertones of human life, all the time not allowing his sense of proportion to be vitiated or under- mined. Vallampati Venkata Subbaiah has a keen eye on characterization.

Talluri Nageswar Rao, Kommuri Venugopala Rao, Pothukuchi Sambasiva Rao, Dandamudi Mahidhar, Kondamudi Sriramachandra Murthy, Isukapalli Laxminarasimha Sastry and Dakshina Murthy, Poranki Dakshinamurthy, Tadigiri Potharaju, Dasarathi Rangacharya, Sripathi, Randhi Somaraju, N.R. Nandi, Pulikanti Krishna Reddy, Adi Vishnu, Vihari Salivahana, Ismail, I.V.S. Achyutavalli, Panatula Ramachandraiah, D.Venkatramaiah and scores of others have written and are writing stories which can easily be compared to the best being written anywhere in other Indian languages.

In the choice of themes these writers have shown a wide variety. While some chose a more native milieu, others have crossed regional and national boundaries to depict what is universal. Some have chosen to write in dialects; others to write freely in the colloquial. Some probe into human psyche; others deal with the environmental influence on human life. Some chose to express in the third personal, omniscient narration, others in the first person, limiting the point of view. Yet others narrated intricate human emotions through letters or diaries.

Telugu story during the last eighty to ninety years has really achieved considerable success which cannot so easily be said about other genres of literature.

DRAMA

Though traditional folk theatre flourished in Andhra at least since the 11th c. and strong instances of adapting Sanskrit plays such as *Krîḍâbhirâmam* (14th c.) could be seen as examples of sporadic dramatic activity, there was no sustaining effort on the part of writers to bring even the great Sanskrit plays into Telugu. When they were brought into Telugu, they were written as poetic works and not as plays. Several reasons could be attributed to this lack of a strong dramatic tradition in Telugu, the most important one being the simultaneous existence of Sanskrit as well as folk theatre traditions. It was only after English education was introduced that several modern forms including drama had emerged as distinct forms of literature in Telugu.

The first play in the new genre is said to be *Manjarī Madhukarīyamu* (1860), a short play written by Korada Ramachandra Sastry (1816-1900), a Sanskrit teacher of Masulipatam. This was a maiden attempt at writing an original play in Telugu, but the tradition was not followed up until another decade. In 1871, Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu, a scholar both in Sanskrit and Telugu, translated *Narakâsura Vijaya Vyâyôgam* of Varanasi Dharma Suri, into Telugu and initiated a new tradition of translating Sanskrit plays into the native language, as plays. In the following year (1872) Paravastu Rangacharyulu translated Kalidasa's *Abhigjnâna Śâkuntalam*. The first attempt to translate English plays into Telugu was made by Vavilala Vasudeva Sastry (1851-97) in 1875 when his *Sīzaru Caritramu* (a translation of Shakespeare's play *Julius Caeser*) was brought out. He was a trend-setter in yet another way by writing the first original social play in Telugu, *Nandaka Râjyamu* (1880), a biting satire on the existing feuds between two sects of Brahmins.

These pioneers ushered in three distinct ways in dramatic writing which continued for at least half a century: translations from Sanskrit, translations/adaptations from English, and original plays. The credit for staging the first modern play goes to that inimitable genius - Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu - social reformer and literary innovator, whose *Vyavahâra Dharma Bôdhini* was performed by his own students and friends in the premises of the Maharaja Girls' School at Rajahmundry in the year 1880.

During the years 1880-81, a theatre company called 'Dharwada Nataka Samajam' toured the coastal districts of Andhra and created a near sensation and enthused several playwrights and actors to take to serious theatre work. Veeresalingam himself got two of his plays - *Ratnâvaļi*, a translation of Sri Harsha's play and *Camatkâra Ratnâvaļi*, a translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* - in the same thatched shed used as an auditorium by the Dharwada Company at Rajahmundry and left it in tact.

Similar theatre groups were started in all the coastal towns and new playwrights emerged. Besides Kandukuri, who wrote several plays, translated several others besides, and adapted about ten farces from English, other notable playwrights were : Vaddadi Subbarayudu (1854-1938) of Rajahmundry who not only translated *Venī Samhâram*, but directed the play and acted as Aswathama in it; Gurazada Srirama Murty, also from Rajahmundry, Kondubhotla Subrahmanya Sastry (1853-97) at Guntur and Nadendla Purushotthama Kavi (1863-1938) at Masulipatam. Nadendla wrote 32 plays in Hindi and eminent actors like Emani Laxmana Swamy acted in them.

1886-87 saw another major innovation in the realm of Telugu theatre when Dharmavaram Ramakrishnamacharya (1853-1912), a well-respected advocate of Bellary, inspired by the Baliwala Company, wrote an original mythological play, *Citra Naļīyam* full of verses and songs. As an actor-director of the play, he introduced the practice of singing not only the songs, but the verses as well, thus initiating the tradition of "Padya Natakam" - Verse Drama - on the Telugu stage. The innovation was an immediate success and caught the imagination of the coastal actors and directors also. And by 1890, "Padya Natakam" had become the order of the day. This popularity of the dramatic genre led to several semi-professional and, later, professional companies to emerge and run successfully.

Dharmavaram was himself a prolific writer and an innovator. Besides *Citra Naḷîyam*, he also wrote the first tragedy in Telugu - *Viṣâda Sârangadhara*. His own theatre association "Sarasa Vinodini Sabha", under the leadership of Dharmavaram, toured the state (it was then in the Madras Presidency) extensively and inspired stalwarts like Sambandham Mudaliar to take to theatre. He was rightly honoured with the title "Andhra Nataka Pitamaha".

Dharmavaram's contemporary, also from Bellary, was Kolachalam Sreenivasa Rao (1854-1919), who specialised in writing historical plays among which *Râmarâju* (or *Fall of Vijayanagar*) was justly famous. He was perhaps the first Indian writer who wrote *A History of World Drama* (1908) in English.

Two other significant plays make this era noteworthy: a full length comedy *Kanyâśulkam* (1892/97) dealing with several social evils - selling brides and not allowing young widows to marry again, being the most dominant - was written by Gurazada Apparao and became an instantaneous success. The play, rich in live, native characters and broad situational humour, is considered a master-piece of dramatic excellence and is still very popular, both as a text and as a performance.

The other play, *Pratâparudrîyam*, written by Vedam Venkataraya Sastry (1853-1929), a veteran literary commentator and critic, has been hailed a classic because it dramatized, for the first time, incidents from Telugu history creating memorable characters with a native genius.

The end of the century had also seen the emergence of professional theatres, among which the most notable was the Surabhi Theatre founded by Vanarasa Govinda Rao. A professional family theatre which drew its actors and actresses from among their families only and which had developed a varied and rich fare in its repertoire, it had later developed into a unique organization of more than twenty theatrical companies, touring all over the state and outside.

The popularity of "Padya Natakam" brought into the fore-front several playwrights whose individual talent in writing the dramatic poems enriched both dramatic literature and the quality of the performance. Chilakamarti Laxminarasimham's *Gayôpâkhyânam* (1890) was a rage on the stage for over half a century due to the mellifluous nature of its verse. Tirupati Venkata Kavulu's *Pāṇḍavōdyōgam* and *Pāṇḍava Vijayam* - known as *Udyôga Vijayâlu* - contained in its dramatic poems a rare mastery of a conversational tone and rich, psychologically-perfect characterization. Other plays equally popular during the next quarter-century (1900-1925) were Sripada Krishna Murty Sastry's *Bobbili Yuddham* (1908), Muttaraju Subba Rao's *Śrîkṛṣṇa Tulābhāram* (1922), Dharmavaram Gopalacharyulu's *Râmadâs* (1920), Balijepalli Laxmikantham's

Satya Hariscandra (1912), Kallakuri Narayana Rao's *Cintâmaṇi* (1921) and Kopparapu Subba Rao's *Rôṣanârâ* (1921).

Several playwrights enriched their plays with new and bold innovations, though they wrote in the broad frame-work of the 'Padya Natakam'. For example, Panuganti Laxmi Narasimha Rao Pantulu (1865-1940), known as 'Andhra Shakespeare', wrote over thirty plays with a focus on vibrant characterization and psychological motivation. His *Râdhâkṛṣṇa* (1904), *Padukâ Paṭṭabhiṣêkam* (1905) and *Kanṭhâbharaṇam* (1917), though widely varied in thematic content and emotional appeal, are poignant examples of dramatic artistry. Similarly, Kallakuri Narayana Rao (1871-1927), in his *Varavikrayam* (1923) and *Madhusêva* (1926) combined the traditional form of padya natakam and burning social problems of the day - the dowry system and the habit of drinking respectively.

The next phase (1926-1943) saw multiple strands of dramatic activity. On one side spectacle-oriented commercial theatres were started by Zamindars and rich landlords - S. Gunneswara Rao and K. Nageswara Rao at Rajahmundry, Rajah of Mylavaram at Vijayawada and Mote Narayan Rao at Eluru. These commercial theatres brought not only the best actors and dramatists into their companies but also the music directors and scenic designers from far-off places. Mention must be made of Papatla Kanthaiah, who also wrote lyrics for these companies, but was mainly known as a music director, who imported successfully the Hindustani, especially the Marathi, style of singing on to the Telugu stage. Another notable feature of the plays performed by these commercial and professional companies was the emergence of "Sangeeta Natakams" in which drama played a subservient role to musical rendering of stanzas and songs. Each company had engaged a particular playwright to write such musicals. They mainly wrote mythological plays which were, in many cases, mere reproductions of already popular plays. Notable among the plays that came from such playwrights are: Sriramula Sachidananda Sastry's *Satî Sâvitri*, Somaraju Ramanuja Rao's *Rangûn Rowḍi*, K. Subrahmanya Sastry's *Śrîkriṣṇa Lîlalu*, Chandala Kesavadasu's *Kanakatâra* and Malladi Achyutarama Sastry's *Draupadî Vastrâpaharaṇam*.

These theatres flourished but soon became victims of extravagance. Returns dwindled. On the advent of the cinema, several stage artists left for the new medium, when professional theatres were closed due to economic recession after World War I. Theatrical activity went into the hands of 'contractors' who tried to exploit the audiences' liking for music, but failed to present aesthetically satisfying dramatic performances.

But the scenario was different in the amateur theatres. The launching of the Civil Disobedience movement in 1920-21 by Gandhiji influenced every literary form and theatre was no exception. Nationalist movement inspired several playwrights to write plays directly extolling it and even championing its cause. The most notable among such playwrights was Damaraju Pundariskakshudu, whose *Gândhî Vijayam* (1921) and *Navayugârambham* were proscribed by the British Government. Sripada Krishna Murthy Sastry's *Gândhî Vijayadhwaja Nâṭakam* (1921) and *Tilaku Mahārāja Nāṭakam* (1913) were also popular. It was not merely the plays that went into the hearts of the people, but the verses and songs in them were on the tips of the tongues of everyone with a nationalist outlook. Historicial plays depicting the heroic deeds of earlier wars had also caught the imagination of the playwrights. Plays on Chandra Gupta, Rana Pratap and Shivaji, either original or translated, became popular on the stage. Sripada Kameswara Rao's *Cạndra Gupta* (1925), Iccahapurapu Yagjna Narayana's *Rasaputra Vijayamu* (1910), Gundimeda Venkata Subba Rao's *Khilji Râjya Patanam* (1933) and Kopparapu Subba Rao's *Rōṣanārā-Śivāji* (1921) were justly famous.

Sripada Kameswara Rao, Jandhyala Sivanna Sastry and Jonnalagadda Satyanarayana Murty translated plays from Bengali and other Indian languages which had a strong bearing on nationalism, but were basically historical in content. Several of D.L. Roy's plays found favour with these dramatists.

Another important feature of this era is the emergence of plays based on Telugu history, which reflected the Andhras' aspirations for a separate identity. Dupati Kondamacharyulu *(Āndhra Vijayamu;* 1925), Vedanta Kavi *(Telugu Talli;* 1940), Gullapalli Narayana Murty *(Āndhra Jyōti;* 1941) and Nanduri Bangarayya *(Āndhra Tējamu;* 1938) are the better known playwrights among them.

Concurrent with these trends was the intellectuals' response to the masterpieces in Western theatre. After the first phase of translations and adaptations from Shakespeare, Sheridan and Moliere, there came adaptations from Ibsen and Oscar Wilde. Ponaka Pitchireddy's adaptation of Ibsen's *Brand* as *Bhīṣmuḍu* set the trend. Vidwan Viswam's adaptations of Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People (Prajā Virōdhi)* and *The Master Builder (Mahā Śilpi)* and Pingali Nagendra Rao's adaptation of Wilde's *The Duchess of Padua (Vindhya Râni)* are good attempts at bringing popular western playwrights into Telugu.

Pingali Nagendra Rao (1901-78), whose dramatic career spanned over thirty years accredited himself with such stage successes as *Mêwâḍu Râjya Patanamu* (1923, a translation of D.L. Roy's play) and *Kṣātra Hindu*, besides *Vindhya Râṇi*, which were made popular by the great actor, D.V. Subba Rao of Masulipatam.

The Romantic Age in Telugu literature, is usually called the "Bhava kavitwa yugam". The Movement brought in a new set of playwrights, whose dramatic work reflected their poetic sensibilities. Viswanatha Satyanarayana tried to reemphasize the traditional ethical values in his *Nartanaśāla, Triśūlam* and *Vênarâju*, replete with a keen sense of characterization. Nori Narasimha Sastry and Chinta Deekshitulu emphasized the symbolic. Sivasankara Swamy and Devulapalli Krishna Sastry chose the poetic play in recreating the traditional stories.

Rationalist movement, spearheaded by some intellectuals, had its impact on dramatic literature also. Tripuraneni Ramaswamy Chowdary (1886-1943) in *Sambûka Vadha* and *Khûni*, Chalam in *Purūrava, Śaśānka* and a score of other plays, and Muddukrishna in *Asôkam* questioned the age-old values and interpreted mythological characters from a new and anti-traditional point of view.

Bhamidipati Kameswara Rao (1897-1958) adapted Moliere's plays and gave them a peculiar Telugu twist. With them and with his original plays like *Bâgu Bâgu*, which were popular especially during the college festivals, he brought the farce on to the Telugu stage.

Two significant changes that influenced Telugu drama during the 1930's are the emergence of the realistic play and the one-act play. A New awareness of the social evils that beseiged the society and an eagerness to find solutions prompted P.V. Rajamannar (1901-79) and Bellary Raghava (1880-1946) to write and present problem plays. In 1930 Raghava presented Rajamannar's *Tappevaridi?* - a play questioning the orthodox attitudes towards man-woman relationship and marriage - and both the play and the performance were hailed for breaking new ground.

During the 1930's several writers who were renowned in the other fields of literature like poetry and novel, also made significant contributions to playwriting. Prominent among them were Abburi Ramakrishna Rao *(Nadî Sundari)*, Duvvuri Rami Reddi *(Kumbharâṇâ)*, Unnava Laxminarayana *(Nâyakurâlu)*, G.V. Krishna Rao *(Bikshâpâtra* : a playlet), 'Karunasri' (Jandhyala Papayya Sastry: *Karuṇâmayi)* and Palagummi Padmaraju *(Rakta Kannîru)*. Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry's *Râja Râju*, based on a fictitious story of Raja Raja Narendra, his son Sarangadhara and wife Chitrangi, attained a rare mastery in its literary merits and characterization.

The one-act play came handy for the college theatres. Viswanatha Kaviraju, one of the earliest to write farcical one-actors, wrote about fifty one-act plays, including *Dongâṭakam*, *Râjî* and *Nêpathyam* which have been produced several hundreds of times by the amateur and college theatres. Along with Kaviraju stand two others belonging to his own family, whose comic, stage-worthy, one-actors were popular with college and amateur theatre groups. They are Malladi Venkata Krishna Sarma, his brother, popular for his playlets *Vârasatwam* and *Nâmakaraṇam* and his son, Malladi Avadhani for his burlesque *Asampûrṇa Râmâyaṇam*.

The radio play has become an important genre with the starting of the All India Radio station at Madras (1935). 'Aravi', Achanta Janakiram, Devulapalli Krishna Sastry and Gali Balasundara Rao became the first notable practitioners in this realm. Gora Sastry achieved a rare mastery of the radio play, combining native humour with a deep sense of humanism. His radio play, *Àśa Kharîdu Aṇâ* was staged successfully. He also initiated the serial radio play in his *Ânandanilayam* and *Selavullô*.

Commercial theatre steadily disintegrated because of its inherent shortcomings : disorderly performances, excessive thrust on music and singing, disregard for propriety by constant "once-mores" for repeating the same verse, etc., and, as a result, the amateur theatre has once again gained strength because of its emphasis on socially relevant themes and realistic presentation.

Several efforts were made to bring drama and theatre out of this morass and to give them a new meaning and purpose. With an increasing desire to use drama as a medium for social progress, and to regain the old status and popularity to it without the accompanying falsities, four distinct movements were started, almost concurrently, but to cater to different sectors of theatre enthusiasts.

The first and the most influencial among them was the revival of Andhra Nataka Kala Parishat. Founded at Tenali in 1929, the Parishat had served as a platform for exchanging notes by actors, writers, critics and patrons. Shedding its earlier complacency and responding to a call to reorient theatre, the Parishat launched a new programme of dramatic competitions in 1944 and soon its competitions became a yardstick for measuring innovative excellence in theatre.

The second one is the IPTA movement. Praja Natya Mandali - as the Indian People's Theatre Assocaition's Andhra branch is known - served as a cultural wing of the Communist party and mainly catered to the rural audiences. With its 'agit-prop' plays such as *Mâ Bhûmi* and *Mundaḍugu* and its clever use of the traditional folk-form format to criticise political opponents, Praja Natya Mandali gained enormous popularity. Stalwarts like G. Raja Rao, Koduri Achaiah, Mikkilineni Radhakrishna Murty and the inimitable Burrakatha artist, Sheik Nazar, actively participated in thousands of performances all over Andhra.

The experimental theatre at Andhra University under the able guidance of K.V. Gopala Swamy had filled a long-felt gap by launching competitions among college students and thus paved the way for new generations of enthusiasts to come into the field. It also was responsible for some daring experiments in theatre which would not have been possible for amateur theatre groups. Careful attention given to production aspects like lighting, set-design and costume further enhanced the prestige of these productions.

The Little Theatre movement started by the veteran writer-director Kopparapu Subba Rao had furthered the casue of well-knit productions which provided the much-needed scientific approach to dramatic presentations.

Though experiments occasionally found approval, the realistic theatre had come to stay. The Parishat Competitions gave credence to it. As a result, new playwrights with a strong sense of the social problems and local colour have come into prominence. Kondamudi Gopalaraya Sarma's *Edurīta*, the play that got the best script and best peformance awards at the first Andhra Nataka Kala Parishat's competitions, brought into forefront Acharya Atreya, an actor-director-playwright, whose entry into the domain of writing plays in the realistic style was sensational. The major conflict in his plays between 'haves' and 'have nots' made his plays like *N.G.O.* and *Parivartana* trend-setters. His other plays like *Viśwa Sânti* and *Bhayam* used symbolic realism very effectively.

While the works of Atreya are mainly aimed at the urban audiences, there are others whose themes are basically drawn from rural life. Sunkara Satyanarayana and Vasireddy Bhaskar

Rao jointly authored *Mâ Bhûmi* and *Mundaḍugu*, dealing with the oppression of the poor labourers and farm labour, which were successfully staged by Praja Natya Mandali. Pinisetty Srirama Murthy's *Palle Paḍucu* and *Annâ-Cellelu*, Nazar's *Àsâmi* and Boyi Bhimanna's *Pālēru* were received enthusiastically both by urban and .rural audi-ences.

Several noteworthy playwrights contributed their creative might to the enrichment of the realistic drama. Korrapati Gangadhara Rao, a prolific playwright excelling in writing easily-presentable plays, wrote *Yathâ Prajâ-Tathâ Râjâ* depicting the villainy of power-mongers and their ultimate fate. His short plays reflect Wodehousian humour at its native best.

D.V. Narasa Raju's *Nâṭakam*, an adaptation of P.G. Wodehouse's *The Play is the Thing* and Prakhya Srirama Murty's detective plays *Kâḷa Râtri* (an adaptation of Howard Irwing's *The Hack Island)* and *Phaṇi* (an adaptation of Frederic Knot's *Dial 'M' for Murder)* have received wide popularity and coveted awards in competitions. Bhamidipati Radhakrishna, a prolific writer of plays and one-act plays, was also a recipient of Parishat awards. His *Kirtisesulu* and *Idêmiṭi* and his *Manastatvâlu*, *Danta Vedântam* and *Bhajantrīlu* (one-act plays) have all been successful on the stage.

Rachakonda Viswanatha Sastry's *Nijam* portrayed realistically the exploitation of the poorer sections of the society by the rich. Bellamkonda Ramdas's *Punarjanma* and Avasarala Surya Rao's *Panjaram* championed the casue of the fallen woman. Anisetty Subba Rao's *Mâ Vŭru* and *Gâlimêḍalu* symbolized human aspirations. Somanchi Yagnanna Sastry's *Pedda Manuṣulu* and *O Maniṣi Nûtilô Paḍitê* explored situational humour in native setting. Buchibabu's *Àtma Vancana* artistically presented the psychological behaviour of suppressed emotions. Gollapudi Maruthi Rao has adapted western plays to native audiences. His *Kaḷḷu* is a symbolic play on blindness and vision. N.R. Nandi's *Marô Mohenjodârô* combined the 'sutradhara' technique of the Sanskrit theatre and the Brechtian style of presentation and is considered.a trend-setter for symbolic realism.

Yendamuri Veerendranath came into limelight in the 70's with two short plays : *Kukka*, an expressonistic play on the exploitation of the weak and the meek, and *Rudravīṇa*, a play that deftly used the Yakshagana style of presentation.

His other full-length plays like *Raghupati Râghava Râjâ Râm* and his adaptation of Peter Shafer's *Black Comedy* as *Damn it! Katha Addam Tirigindi* received several prizes in competitions.

The 'dialect play' has gained considerable popularity. Pulugundla Ramakrishnayya's *Tufân*, written in the 40's, was the first well-known dialect play in Telugu. After nearly two decades, in 1962, Veluri Sivarama Sastry's short-story *Sultânī* was dramatized in Telangana dialect. In the 60's Rachakonda Viswanatha Sastry wrote *Tiraskṛti* in Visakhapatnam dialect. This inspired Ganesh Patro to write such successful plays and playlets as *Asura Sandhya, Tarangâlu, Pāvalâ* and *Koḍuku Puṭṭâla* in that dialect. C.S. Rao's *Ūrummaḍi Bratukulu* was rewritten in both Rayalaseema and Telangana dialects by Poranki Dakshinamurti. K.L. Narasimha Rao, another prolific writer, wrote his *Gelupu Nidê* in Telangana dialect. His family plays like *Krinīḍalu* were extensively staged.

Several western classics were adapted during this period. Gollapudi Maruti Rao's adaptations of O' Neill's *Beyond the Horizon (Râga Râgini)* and Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People (Satyam Gâri Illekkaḍa?)*, K. Radhakrishna Murty's adaptation of Ibsen's *Pillars of Society (Sangha Nâyakulu)*, Srivatsava's translations of Thornton Wilder's *Our Town (Mâ Vuru)*, Somanchi Yagnanna Sastry's adaptation of Galsworthy's *Justice (Nyâyam)* need special mention in this context. Major Shakesperian plays were translated into Telugu under a scheme of the central Sahitya Akademi. "Amarendra" (C. Narasimha Sastry), Jonnalagadda Satyanarayana Murty and Vavilala Somayajulu are the major translators.

Several playwrights during 1960's and 70's have combined in them a special theatrical sensibility and a literary flavour in their writings. Kondamudi Sriramachandra Murty *(Kalâvaru Jâki: a playlet)*, Angara Surya Rao *(Kalôddhârakulu)*, Padala Rama Rao *(Allûri Sitârâma Râju)* Ravi Kondal Rao *(Paṭṭâlu Tappina Bandi)*, Modukuri Johnson *(Natanâlayam)*, R.V.S. Ramaswamy *(Gâlivâna)* and Narla Chiranjivi *(Bhâgya Nagaram)* wrote plays that were not only staged by amateur theatre groups successfully, but retained a literary merit, though some of them have a strong melodramatic touch.

Attili Krishna Rao's *Tùrpu Rêkhalu* and K.Chiranjeevi's *Nili Deepalu* are well-written plays on the theme of exploitation.

Though the realistic trend continued, some new experiments were also made. A.R. Krishna's presentation of *Mâla Palli*, adapted for stage by Nagnamuni from the famous novel of Unnava Laxminarayana, used the Environmental Theatre style. Krishna's adaptation of Pinter's *The Caretaker* as *Samrakṣakudu* and Yendamuri Veerendranath's adaptation of Ionesco's *Chairs* as *Niśśabdam-Nī ku Nâku Madhya* are plays belonging to the Absurd genre. D. Prabhakar adapted Brecht's *Exception and the Rule* as *Lâ Vokkintayu Lêdu* in 1979. M.N. Sarma's *Râjâ Êdipas* and *Narajâti Caritra Samastam* are successful adaptations of Sophocles' *Oedipus* and O'Neill's *Emperor Jones* respectively. His *Manmadhudu Malli Puṭṭâdu* is a comic dramatization of a serious philosophical ideal of beauty.

Other writers who came into prominence in the last decade with successful stage presentation of their plays are Isukapalli Mohana Rao, Patibandla Ananda Rao, Pavani, Nadiminti Narasinga Rao, Sesi Mohan and Attili Padmavati Krishna. The radio play has been enriched by Gora Sastry, Vinjamuri Sivarama Rao, Buchibabu, Nanduri Subba Rao, K. Chiranjeevi and others. The recent entrant into the field - the Tele-play - has not created a playwright of renown as the tendency seems to be to adapt stage plays to the small screen.

"Street Play" is another recent pheonomenon which has received wide audience response. Attili Krishna Rao's *Yuga Sandhya* and *Tâmi Tâmi* were redrafted to enable them to be performed at street corners successfully. Attili Padmavati Krishna's *Urêgimpu*, an adaptation f Badal Sircar's *Julûs*, was an instantaneous success. Akella Satyanarayana Murthy's *Pedda āla Śikṣa* and Tanikella Bharani's *Gô Grahaṇam* are the other notable plays of this genre. f late, the Andhra Praja Natya Mandali involved itself in this medium.

Out of the five thousand and odd plays that Telugu literature can boast of, there are not ery many which can stand the test of both literary merit and stageability. This is more so fter the advent of the prose play. Many of them are extremely stage-worthy, but very few an be classified under good literature. While several writers who wrote poetry and novel also ucceeded in writing dramas, Telugu literature particularly abounded in playwrights who were rolifc in their output. Somaraju Ramanuja Rao, Malladi Achyutarama Sastry, Kasinadhuni eeramallayya and others wrote more than thirty plays each, many of them copies of already opular plays. It is also true that these and many other playwrights bowed down to the udience's taste in writing their plays. "Padya Natakams" in the 20's and melodramas in 50's nd 60's are examples of such a tendency.

As it happens all the world over, worthy plays elevated the actors into prominence. ellamkonda Subba Rao, Banda Kanakalingeswara Rao and Pisapati Narasimha Murty in the ole of Krishna in *Pâṇdavôdyôga Vijayâlu* of Tirupati Kavulu, and Madhavapeddi Venkataramaiah nd Dhulipala Seetharama Sastry as Duryodhana in the same play, Hari Prasada Rao and D.V. ubba Rao in the role of Harischandra, Raghava as Sivaji in *Rôṣanâra*, Sthanam Narsimha ao as Chitrangi in *Sâramgadhara* and Satyabhama in *Srikriṣṇa Tulâbhâram*, Govindarajula enkata Subba Rao as Girisam in *Kanyâśulkam* and Yugandhra in *Pratâparudîyam* and J.V. omayajulu as Ramappa Pantulu and J.V. Ramana Murty as Girisam in *Kanyâśulkam* are but few examples of this.

However, it is regrettable to find that, though meritorious experiments are occassionally taged and have received encomiums, they have not yet found their place in the annals of ndian drama.

ramatic Criticism

Though there was a considerable bulk of dramatic criticism, it mainly focussed on the ext and to a certain extent, on persons. Early criticism on drama and dramatic methods an be found in introductions written by playwrights to their own works and reviews of lays in contemporary journals. Dharmavaram Ramakrishnamacharyulu's and Gurazada Appa ao's introductions and reviews by Panappakam Srinivasacharyulu in *Vyjayanti* are specially otable examples of this kind. Before 1900 some critics brought *Kâvyâlankâra Sangraha* Vellala Sadasiva Sastry) and *Daśarûpaka Sangraha* (Komanduru Anantacharyulu) into Telugu. olachalam Srinivasa Rao's *The Dramatic History of the World* (1908) written in English was a otable contribution.

Among the early critics of drama, mention must be made of Tallapragada Suryanarayana *Ândhra Nâtakamulu)*, Panuganti Laxminarasimha Rao *(Sârangadhara Nâṭaka Pradarśanamu)* and *Nâṭakîya Padya Racana)* and Tanikella Veerabhadrudu *(Citrângi Pâtra Pôṣaṇamu)* which spearheaded in-depth textual criticism and the norms for performance.

The most important of the early critics was Puranam Suri Sastry whose *Nâtyâmbujam* and *Nâṭyâśôkam* initiated a new era of dramatic criticism. His syncretic approach to the art of drama set a model to later critics. Gollapudi Srirama Sastry's *Ândhra Nâṭaka Rangamu* and B.T. Raghavacharyulu's *Nâṭaka Dîpika* concentrated mainly on the norms of playwriting and performance.

Sripada Gopalakrishna Murty's essays on drama (especially on the one act play). Sivasankara Swamy's and K.V. Gopalaswamy's introductions to collections of one act plays discussed authoritatively the art of the Telugu short play. Mikkilineni Radhakrishna Murty wrote two voluminous works, *Ândhra Nâṭaka Caritra* and *Naṭa Ratnâlu*, which contain a lot of information. P.S.R. Appa Rao's *Telugu Nâṭaka Vikâsamu*, his doctoral thesis, was to a very large extent an exhaustive and authentic study of Telugu drama from 1860 to 1930.

Bharata's *Nâṭya Śâstra* was translated into Telugu severally by P.S.R. Appa Rao, Jammalamadaka Madhavarama Sarma and Pothukuchi Subrahmanya Sastry. Among them Appa Rao's book is comprehensive with exhaustive notes and a detailed commentary.

Several scholars worked on individual playwrights for their Ph.D., and brought out comprehensive works on them. Commendable among them are Mudigonda Veerabhadra Sastry's work on Panuganti Laxmi Narasimha Rao, Akkiraju Ramapathi Rao's on Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, S. Gangappa's on Kolachalam Sreenivasa Rao and S. Veeraswamy Naidu's on Dharmavaram Ramakrishnamacharyulu. A.P. Sangeeta Nataka Akademi published several monographs on playwrights. M. Nagabhushama Sarma published two books on Bellary Raghava, the actor and Atreya, the playwright, in English besides several works in Telugu.

Malladi Viswanatha Kaviraraju (1900-47) published the first ever journal exclusively devoted to drama. His *Nâṭaka Kaḷa* started appearing in 1923. In 1934 appeared *Nâṭya Kaḷa* under the editorship of Neelamraju Venkata Seshaiah and in 1957 appeared another journal with the same name under the editorship of Sreenivasa Chakravarti. The first two lived a short but eventful life, whereas the third one, after initial dificulties was taken over by the State Sangeet Nataka Akademi and was edited by Pasala Suryachandra Rao, assisted by Sreenavasa Chakravarti. M. Nagabhushana Sarma assisted the journal as the guest Editor of its decennial celebrations and Telugu Theatre Centenary special issues.

Sripada Kameswara Rao was mainly responsible for bringing into Telugu dramatic criticism both from Bengal (Dwijendralal Roy) and from Hindi (Ramadahina Misra). The special lectures and the Presidential addresses by eminent scholars given from the platform of Andhra Nataka Kala Parishat were thought-provoking. Special mention must be made of those speeches given by Govindrarajula Subba Rao, Pingali Laxmikantham and Bellary Raghava.

Another major critic is Pasumarti Yagjna Narayana Sastry, whose *Åndhra Naṭa Prakāśika* has been the most dispassionate work on Telugu theatre to appear before independence. This book contains both conceptual and practical criticism on drama. The first six chapters deal with several important tenets of dramatic presentation including acting, make-up and costume and music. The remaining four deal with Telugu theatre: on actors, and their important roles, playwrights, and dramatic troupes, both professional and amateur.

While Rallapalli Ananta Krishna Sarma's *Nāṭakōpanyāsamulu* is a critique on the plays of Dharmavaram and Kolachalam, Vedam Venkataraya Sastry's *Bhāratābhārata Rūpaka Maryādalu* deals with some of the problems of Indian theatre. Among the other scholars who made memorable contributions, mention must be made of Sishtla Ramakrishna Sastry *(Nāṭaka Vimarśa)* Divakarla Venkatavadhani *(Åndhra Nāṭaka Pitāmahuḍu)*, Bhupati Laxminarayana Rao's essays on ancient Sanskrit dramatists, and Viswanatha Satyanaryana's perceptive book on *Abhigjnāna Śākuntalam* for their erudite scholarship.

In 1950's Sreenivasa Chakravarti (1911-76) brought out several volumes on drama - some from Russian critics and some original works. His translation of Stanislavsky's *An Actor Prepares* as *Abhinayam* and Boleslavsky's *Six Lessons on Acting* an *Naṭana* are commendable attempts.

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Earliest children's literature could be found in the rich oral tradition of the land. Songs, folk tales, proverbs and riddles served their purpose in entertaining the children and imparting instruction to them at the same time. The children's sense of wonder was enthused by tales of adventure and fantasy stories and their sense of rhythm was sharpened by songs. Their inquisitiveness was kindled by riddles and proverbs. Telugu oral literature abounds in such tales, songs and other forms which enchant children even today.

There are two types of children's songs : those that were composed and sung for children by elders; and those that were orally composed and sung by children for themselves. To the former variety belong *lāli-pāṭalu* (caressing songs) and *jōla pāṭalu* (lullabies). *Lāli pāṭalu* are sung during feeding and massaging babies' limbs and to appease the children. They are like 'graded exercises', making the children aware of the sound first, then rhythm and finally, gesture.

Such appeasing songs cover all the activities of the child from its rising up from bed until its sleep. There are songs sung while giving a bath to the child, while giving food to it, while it plays and while it cries. Similarly, lullabies are also aplenty. Though oral literature often indicates that it has no author, many saint-poets had written lullabies for their deities and they, in turn, are being sung for children. *Jō Achyutānanda, Jō Jō Mukundā* written by Annamacharya is a fine specimen of this type.

Among the songs sung by children, some are improvised by children themselves, while others were originally written by elders, but modified and adapted by the former. Most of the sports songs of the children belong to this category. *Cemma Cekka, Guḍuguḍu Guncam, Buja Buja Rēkula, Gobbiḷḷu, Kōti kommacci, Dâgudumûtalu* - are some of the children's games accompained by songs. All festive occasions have songs to be specially sung by children. This is true especially in the case of girls' festivals like *taddi, gobbi* and *batakamma*.

These songs were collected by many scholars including Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, Gidugu Sitapati, Tekumalla Achyuta Rao, Tekumalla Kameswara Rao, Nedunuri Gangadharam, B. Rama Raju, Sripada Gopalakrishna Murty and Tumati Donappa. Similarly, many journals including *Jana Vinôdini, Àndhra Grandhâlaya Sarvaswamu, Krshnâ Patrika, Bhârati* and *Grhalaxmi* also published children's songs.

The earliest attempt, in modern times, to publish stories for the common readers including children, was made by Ravipati Gurumurti Sastry, who wrote *Sâlabhanjika* stories, *Vikramârka* stories (1819) and *Pancatantra* stories (1834) in chaste idiomatic prose. Puduru Seetarama Sastry's *Pedda Bâla Śikṣa* (1845) was a book of knowledge written exclusively for children and had for several generations served as a useful text-book. Another text book, *Telugu Vâcakam*, written by Addanki Subba Rao, appeared in 1851.

Kandukuri Veeresalingam, who ushered in a new age in Telugu literature, wrote several books of general interest both for children and women, the newly literate sections of the society. His *Nīti Dīpika* (1872) a *śatakam* of hundred stanzas, moralistic in tone and content, was the first book in this direction. Veeresalingam translated Aesop's *Fables* as *Nīti Kathâmanjari* (1873) and also wrote text-books for children. His text-books contained both lessons on science and stories from folklore, thus synthesizing the oral tradition with the new knowledge from the west. Though not intended exclusively for children, Gurazada Appa Rao's song on "Desabhakti" helped to inculcate among them a strong sense of patriotism. Similarly, his "Puttadibomma Purnamma", dramatized and performed innumerable times by children, brings out the tragic story of early marriages in a moving strain of pathos. Vavilikolanu Subba Rao (1863-1936) published a series of tales in his *Ârya Kathâ Nithi*, drawn from epics and puranas. He also published two moral texts separately for boys and girls, *Kumâra Hitacarya* and *Kumārī Hitacarya*, adapting William Cobbet's *Advice to Young Men*.

Nalam Krishna Rao is another writer who imbibed in children the need for loving one's mother land and mother-tongue through easy-flowing metrical story-poems. *Pâla Taragalu, Mīgada Tarakalu, Venna Budagalu* and *Gôru Muddalu* are some of the titles of his books written for children. At the same time *Jana Vinôdini* started publishing songs and tales from folklore for children (1884).

Satakams, which contained aphorisms succinctly expressed in a hundred metrical stanzas, became popular as day-to-day reading material. *Kumâra Śatakam, Kumârī Śatakam, Sumatī Śatakam* and other such poetic texts were prescribed as text-books. Some of them contain ideas aimed at adults also. On the other hand, *Vêmana Śatakam* remained a popular book both with children and adults as it contains universally-felt experiences.

To wean away children's literature from the smug of mere moral instruction of "do's and dont's", several stalwarts trod a new path. They made pioneering efforts in providing children healthy recreational reading with an emphasis on imparting knowledge, thereby stimulating their interest. The first to be mentioned are Venkata Parvateeswara Kavulu (Venkata Rao, 1881-1972 and Parvateesam, 1882-1955) who published five volumes of poems entitled *Bāla Gītavâḷi* (1912). These poems, in simple and lucid style, explained the mysteries of Nature and were arranged in a graded manner to suit the mental level of children of all age groups. They also published simplified, illustrated versions of the *Râmâyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhagavadgīta*.

Gidugu Sitapati (1885-1969) wrote songs for children as early as in 1907. His "Railu Bandi" and "Chilakamma Pendli" laid emphasis on the importance of the medium of the song to inculcate interest in the children. His songs and tales, brought out as *Bālānandam*, received the Telugu Bhasha Samithi prize in 1948.

Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, besides publishing songs, stories and moral tales in journals like *Bâla* and *Ânandavâṇi*, wrote a tiny volume, *Bâla Bhâṣa* (1930), in which he attempted, for the first time in Telugu, to define and illustrate the nature of children's literature needed for the over-all growth of the child's personality.

It was Chinta Deekshitulu's (1891-1960) untiring efforts that brought children's literature both credence and respectability. His *Lakkapiḍatalu*, a collection of songs for children published in 1944, received a State Government award. In 1931 he published *Sūri-Sīti-Venki* in which he made these three children memorable characters describing their escapades in a pleasingly simple style. His *Līla Sundari* is the first novel written exclusively for children describing the experiences of a girl in a no-where land, probably inspired by *Alice in the Wonder Land*. Similarly, his *Līlâ Vâcakamulu*, following Veeresalingam's efforts in preparing 'Readers' for children, contained materials drawn from folklore and ancient texts and also from his own innovative, creative mind.

Veluri Sivarama Sastry (1892-1967) published a series of stories called *Vigjnāna Kathalu*. Both Devulapalli Krishna Sastry and Adavi Bapiraju published songs for children in journals like *Anasûya* and *Bhârati*.

Journals and newspapers played a key-role in publishing stories, songs and informative materials for children. *Jana Vinōdini* (1884) was the first to provide a platform for this kind of literature. *Vivêka Vati* (1908), *Navvula Tōṭa* (1925), *Gṛhalaxmi* (1928) and *Bhārati* (1940) started special sections for children in their journals. In 1940 was published the first children's magazine *Bâla Kêsari* edited by Medicharla Anjaneya Murty. Then came *Bāla* (1945) under the able editorship of Nyayapati Raghava Rao, which ushered in a golden era for children's literature. This is a unique journal in which great scholars as well as new writers and cartoonists published healthy, entertaining and educative materials for children. *Candamāma*, a well-produced and highly readable journal came in 1946 under the editorship of Chakrapani, which was later published in several other languages also. Other journals that have done notable service in this area are *Bâlamitra* (1949), *Pâpâyi* (1949), *Udayabâla* (1952), *Bâla Prabha* (1952), *Bommarillu* (1954) and *Bâlânandam* (1956). The special columns provided for publishing children's literature in newspapers like *Ândhra Patrika*, *Ândhra Prabha* and recently in *Ãndhra Jyōti*, *Eenâḍu* and *Udayam* have widened the scope for such literature, which included, besides creative writing, essays on popular science and social sciences. It is in the columns of *Ãndhra Vāra Patrika* (weekly) that Mullapudi Venkataramana created his memorable characters 'Budugu' and 'Rendu-jadala Seeta' and Nanduri Ramamohana Rao published his essays on science for children.

Creditable work was done by some organizations and institutions in extending the children's horizons of knowledge. In 1937 Gummidadala Durgabayamma (later Durgabai Deshmukh) started the first children's organization, "Little Ladies of Brindavan", at Madras, followed by "Andhra Balananda Sangham" (1940) under the leadership of Nyayapti Raghava Rao and Kameswari. All India Radio, Madras, started its children's programmes in 1937 and they were directed by Durgabai initially. In 1939 the Nyayapati couple took over the conduct of these programmes and became popular as Radio Annayya and Radio Akkayya. Their work as producers of the children's programmes, as writers of children's literature, as chief organizers of Balananda Sangham and their editing the journal *Bâla*, will long be remembered by a grateful nation as pioneers in this field. Similar work was done by Edida Kameswara Rao at All India Radio, Vijayawada and through his "Bala Bharati", an association which, for long, has catered to the needs of children's creative impetus. His innumerable plays, skits and songs have justly been famous.

The contribution made by B.V. Narasimha Rao, K. Sabha and Palanki Venkataramachandra Murty through their lectures and writings enriched children's literature. Similarly, researchers such as Velaga Venkatappaiah and Devaki have earned research degrees for their work on children's literature, which included both collection of songs and tales and analysing them.

Several credit-worthy attempts were made to bring science to children through simple and idiomatic writings. The first notable attempt was that of Maganti Bapineedu who published a one-volume encyclopaedia for children, *Telugu Talli* (1940). Kavi Rao (*Bommarillu*, 1955), Nataraja Ramakrishna (*Nartana Bâla*, 1957), Utpala Satyanarayanacharya (*Gangâvataraṇam*, 1959), Vissa Appa Rao (*Âkâśam*, 1960), A.V.S. Rama Rao (*Paramâṇu Katha*, 1961 and *Viśwa Rahasyam*, 1963), Velaga Venkatappayya (*Vigjnâna Lôkam*, 1965), A. Laxmiramana (*Mûḍu Moggalu*, 1968), K. Ramalaxmi (*Yuvarâju*, 1966) and Koduri Leelavati (*Kumkuma Rêkha*, 1969) have received either state or central Government awards for their books written exclusively for children.

Vasanta Rao Venkata Rao, Nanduri Ramamohana Rao, Mahidhara Jaganmohan Rao, Vemaraju Bhanumurti and several others have written on scientific subjects, made easy for children's comprehension. Ravuri Bharadwaja's books on scientific knowledge have become popular readers.

The Andhra Pradesh Balala Akademi (1976) does a wide variety of activities including publication of books, organizing festivals and competitions and conducting workshops for children.

SERVICES TO TELUGU LITERATURE

Zamindaris

Until the advent of the British rule in India and the consequential creation of Zamindaris, Telugu literature received continuous and unstinting patronage by successive dynasties that ruled Andhra from time to time. Parts of Northern Circars, taken on lease by the East India Company, were given to certain rich landlords for sub-lease. From 1769 onwards, this sub-lease was given to the highest bidder. But in 1802 permanent lease arrangements came into force and that initiated the formation of several hereditary Zamindaris in the Northern Circars. This is known as the Permanent Revenue Settlement.

But the system in Rayalaseema was different. It depended mainly on the 'amara nayankara' system, by which estates called *Pāḷayams*, were formed much earlier to help the kings and later the Golconda and Arcot Nawabs in times of war. But, as these *Pāḷayams* were strong and there were continuous conflicts among the *Pāḷegārs* for supremacy - the Company cancelled the system and introduced annual revenue collection arrangements by the *Pāḷegārs* and were brought under the Zamindari system.

In Telangana area, Zamindaris were formed even during the times of Bahmani sultans and later in the times of Golconda, Bijapur and Moghul kingdoms. They, more or less, retained the same status until they were brought under union rule after police action.

Following the tradition of the great king-poets and patrons who ruled the Telugu land (the list is quite long which includes Nannichoda, Prataparudra, Buddha Reddy, Sarvajna Singa Bhupala, Krishnadeva Raya and Raghunatha Nayaka), several Zamindars patronised poets and poetry and some of them authored works of merit. Surabhi Madhavarayalu (Jataprolu), Pusapati Tammabhupaludu (Vizianagaram), Mushtipalli Somabhupaludu (Gadwal), Venkatadri Appa Rao (Nuzvid), Koccharlakota Venkataramachandra Krishna Rao (Polavaram), Parthasarathi Nayanimgaru (Panagallu), Vikramadeo Verma (Jeypore) and Mantripragada Bhujanga Rao (Lakkavaram) were some of the Zamindars who contributed to the richness of Telugu literature through their works. Several others started printing presses and published ancient manuscripts or founded journals of great repute. Almost all of them served the cause of Telugu poetry by patronizing *aṣṭāvadhānams* and *śatāvadhānams*. In their *samsthānams* (zamindaris), every literary genre found ready patronage - *Prabandhas,* Historical epics, *Kshētra Māhātmyams, Purāṇās, Śatakas, Yakshagānas*, plays and translations of classics. Besides, they also patronised scholars whose contributions to the areas of logic, aesthetics, philosophy, astrology and music were of great order.

The major *samsthânams*, under whose patronage Telugu literature flourished for a century and a half, spread over the three major areas of Andhra - the Circars, Rayalaseema and the Telangana area. Amaravati, Urlam, Kapileswarapuram, Kolanka, Narasaraopet, Nuzvid, Pithapuram, Peddapuram, Polavaram, Bobbili, Muktyala, Venkatagiri, Vizianagaram in the Circars, Karveti-nagaram, Kalahasti, Panagallu and Banaganapalli in Rayalaseema; and Amarchinta, Gadwal, Jataprolu, Wanaparti and Munagala in the former Nizam state and the present Telangana were more famous.

Some of the major characteristics of the poetic talent that was patronized by these Zamindars would throw light on the kind of poetry that was written during the 18th, 19th and early twentieth centuries. One obvious feature during the age is the increase in the number of *ślēṣa Kāvyas* - narrative poems which give simultaneously two levels of meaning, revealing a greater stress on scholarship than poetic ability. Similar scholarship can also been seen in special kinds of poetic compositions like *Citra, Bandha* and *Garbha*.

Another feature is the growing patronage given by these *Zamindars* to *avadhânams*, which gave importance to poetic gimmicks and not so much to poetic qualities. Tirupati Venkata Kavulu, Ramakrishna Kavulu, Sripada Krishnamurti Sastry, Gadepalli Veeraraghava Sastry and Madabhushi Venkatacharyulu were some of the stalwarts who were honoured in these *samsthânams* for their erudition and their ability to conduct *avadhânams*.

As a result of the growing emphasis on scholarship, *tarka, vyâkaraṇa, alâmkâra* and *jyôtiṣa* works received particular patronage from these *Zamindars*.

Prabandhas : Out of the innumerable *prabandhas* written under the patronage of the zamindars, mention may be made of some major works. *Candrikâ pariṇayamu* by Surabhi Madhavarayalu (Jataprolu), *Indumati Pariṇayamu* by Kumara Dhurjati (Nuzvid), *Mukunda Vilâsamu* by Kanadamu Peddana Somayaji (Gadwal), *Ahalyâ Sankrandana Vilâsamu* by Mulugu Papayaradhyulu (Amaravati), *Dilipa Caritramu* by Kotikelapudi Venkatakrishnakavi (Bobbili), *Aja Caritamu* by Matukumalli Nrisimha Kavi (Valluru) and *Hṛdayâbhirâmamu* by Sistla Venkata Subbaiah (Palvancha) are better-known works. Kuchimanchi Timma Kavi (Pithapuram), who was the author of *Nilâsundari Pariṇayamu* and *Râjaśêkhara Vilâsamu*, was a poet of repute honoured with the title 'kavisarwabhauma'.

Ksetra-Mahatmyams : Another significant branch of poetry written by poets belonging to these estates is *Kṣêtra Mâhâtmyam* - eulogy on a sacred place. The best among such works are Dhurjati Lingaraja Kavi's *Kâlahastīśwara Mâhâtmyamu* (Kalahasti), Enugu Laxmana Kavi's *Ramêśwara Kṣêtra Mâhâtmyamu* (Peddapuram), Devulapalli Subbaraya Sastry's *Mahêndra Vijayamu* (Pithapuram) and Sonthi Bhadradri Sastry's *Jagannâdha Kṣêtra Mâhâtmyamu* (Urlam).

Caritraka-Kavyas (Historical Poems) : Several historical poems were written by poets of these estates. A special variety of poems are the dynastic histories of some of these zamindaris which, exaggerations apart, throw light on the chronological history of the rulers.

To the general category of historical poems belong *Rangarāya Kadanaranga Caritramu* by Dittakavi Narayana Kavi (Narasaraopet) and *Rādhākṛṣṇa Samvādamu* by Mandapaka Parvateeswara Sastry (Venkatagiri). In the other category of dynastic histories, Devulapalli Tammanna Sastry's *Râvu Vamsa Muktâvaḷi* both in Telugu and Sanskrit (Pithapuram), Amaravati Rama Kavi's *Vâsireḍḍīyamu* (Amaravati) and Mandalemula Seetarama Sastry's *Bobbilivāri Vamśâvali* (Bobbili) are important works.

Puranas : Several *Purâṇas* were translated by poets and pundits attached to the zamindaris. Prominent among them are Kanadamu Peddana Somayaji's translation of *Matsya Purāṇam* (Gadwal), Mudumbai Appaya Dikshitulu's *Viṣhṇu Purâṇam* (Venkatagiri), Pisupati Chidambara Sastry's *Padma Purâṇam* (Venkatagiri) and Mulugu Papayaradhya's *Dēvī Bhāgavatam*.

Satakams : Numerous *śatakams* were written during this period. Every poet worth the name seemed to have attempted at least one *śatakam*. Kasula Purushothama Kavi, Gogulapati Kurmanatha Kavi, Mandapaka Parvateeswara Kavi, Kuchimanchi Timmakavi, Madine Subbayyamma, Mrityunjaya Nissanka Bahadur and Enugu Laxmana Kavi are the best-known writers of *śatakams* under the patronage of the zamindars.

Slesa Kavyas : Poems which render two or more meanings at the same time (each poem can be related, for example, either to the *Mahâbhârata* or *Râmâyaṇa*) were written aplenty during this period. Important among them are *Kriṣna-Arjuna Caritramu* by Mantripragada Suryaprakasa Kavi (Madugula), *Acalâtmajâ Pariṇayamu* by Tirumala Bukkapatnam Venkatacharyulu (Nuzvid), *Yâdava Bharatīyamu* by Channakrishna Kavi (Vanaparti) and *Sārangadharīyamu* by Pokuri Kasipati (Gadwal). *Lankâ Vijayamu* by Pindiprolu Laxmanakavi (Pithapuram) belongs to a special category in the sense that it is a story of Ravana (of Ramayana) and a local land-lord, Dammana, who forcibly appropriated a piece of the poet's land. That explains why the poem is also known as *Râvaṇa Dammīyamu*.

In *Citra, Bandha* and *Garbha Kavita*, the attempts made by Kanadamu Peddana Somayaji, Madabhushi Venkatacharyulu, Chellapilla Narasa Kavi and Sistu Krishna Murty Sastry are laudable.

Plays : Under the patronage of the zamindars, several Sanskrit plays were translated. Besides, they helped the publication of many important original plays. That zamindars extended their patronage and financial help to the following playwrights shows what a prominent role they have played in the development of dramatic literature during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Gurazada Appa Rao (*Kanyâśulkam :* Vizianagaram), G.C.V. Srinivasacharyulu (*Kamalâpaharaṇam*: Mandasa), Chelikani Venkata Surya Rao (*Cina Rangarâya Nāṭakamu* : Bobbili), Balantrapu Venkata Rao (*Yâca Śūrēndra Vijayamu*: Venkatagiri), Tirupati Venkata Kavulu (*Bhârata Nâṭakamulu*: Polavaram), and Panuganti Laxmi Narasimha Rao (all his plays: Pithapuram). Several Zamindars were prominent playwrights themselves. Ravu Venkatadri Appa Rao (Nuzvid), Kotagiri Venkata Krishna Rao (Gampalagudem), Mantripragada Bhujanga Rao (Lakkavaram) and R.V.G. Gangadhara Rama Rao (Pithapuram) are only some of the more prolific.

Mention must also be made of innumerable attempts of the zamindars to bring into Telugu books on philosophy, logic, vedic lore, grammar and even on music and painting. The Devidi zamindar, Kandukuri Prasada Raya Bhupaludu authored seven volumes of *Srī Āndhra Vijnānamu*, the first complete encyclopaedia in Telugu. Under the partronage of the Pithapuram Maharajah, Surya Rao, a multi-volume Telugu Dictionary on modern lines, *Sūryarāya Āndhra Nighanṭuvu*, was prepared and published. Surya Rao is also well-known for his benevolent munificence extended to the fields of literature, education, religion and health-care. Similarly, Anandagajapati of Vizianagaram extended generous patronage to education, literature and fine arts. He gave a large grant to Max Mueller for the publication of his *Ṛgvēda* with commentary and to Taranatha Tarka Vachaspati for his *Vācaspatyam*, a dictionary. His well-known gifts to the nation include palatial buildings to the Indian Association for the Advancement of Science (Calcutta), Victoria Memorial (Madras) and the Senate Hall of the Allahabad University.

Vikrama Deo Verma (Jeypore) was another poet-zamindar whose generous grants to Andhra University and several other educational and cultural institutions are gratefully remembered.

Foreign Nationals

With the establishment of commercial contacts at first and political settlements later, the Dutch, the Portugese, the French, the German and the English had to employ many of their nationals to work in India. Some of these employees, besides their official work, got interested in the languages and literatures of the areas and helped their development in several ways. Though such officers from England are large in number because the English stayed in India much longer than those of other nations, there is considerable contribution made by enthusiastic and devoted employees belonging to all the nations.

Even before the establishment of colonies by foreign people in the Telugu land, salient features of the Telugus and their language were mentioned, though in passing, by several foreign travellers. St. Francis Xavier and the old Portugese writers mentioned the Telugu people. Johan van Twist's *Generall Beschrijfvinge van Indien*, printed in Amsterdam in 1648, termed the Telugu people as "Gentoo". Frederic Bolling, in 1678, gave a full account of the Telugu language in his book *Frederici Bollingii Hans Reise til Faederne - Landen igjen*. John Fryer, an Englishman, who published "A new account of East India and Persia, in 8 letters, being 9 years' Travels. Begun 1672. And Finished 1681" (London, 1698) stated that "their language they call generally gentu... the peculair name of their speech is Telinga". The Telugu language is also alluded to in several books of travels, especially those written by Anquetil Duperron (1771), Sonnerat (1781), Rennoll (1793), Perrin (1807) and others.

According to C.P. Brown, a Telugu-French Dictionary was prepared in the early part of the 19th c. to help the Frenchmen to understand and learn Telugu. This anonymous dictionary contained mainly Telugu words in contemporary use and Brown made use of them in his own Dictionary. Another Frenchman, Abble J.A. Dubois wrote a book on Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies in French. Its English version was published in 1816 and was made available to all the employees of the East India Company. It was Dubois' praise of Vemana in unequivocal terms that inspired C.P. Brown to collect and publish Vemana's poems and translate some of them into English. The keen interest taken by Rev. W. Taylor and Rev. L. Berse in preparing a *Catalogue Raisonne of Oriental Manuscripts* (1862) is commendable.

As the first settlement of the Germans was in the east coast of the Tamil-speaking areas, the service rendered by German scholars was limited to that language only. However, mention must be made of Benjamin Schultze, the Danish missionary, who printed and published the first Telugu book - a book on Christianity - in 1746-47 at a place called Hali in Prussia. He also wrote a book on Telugu literature called *Conspectus Literature Telugugial Valgo Warugicale* (Summary of the Literature in Telugu, also called Warugi). Other German scholars who wrote about Telugu land and literature were J.C. Heyer who, it was said, came to Guntur in 1842, learnt Telugu, spoke it like a native and wrote several Christian songs in the language (1842) and Clemens Schoener who wrote a book on the history of Telugu land called *Eine Namenskund Hiche Untersu Chuny* in 1827.

Several English scholars who worked on Dravidian languages indirectly served Telugu language as well. Among them, Dr. George Barrow helped A.D. Campbell in writing his Telugu grammar, *A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language*. Many other company officers encouraged Telugu scholars to write books after the English fashion. They also employed Telugu scholars to teach them the language. Betapudi Sundara Rayudu was one such who taught Telugu to A. Ogiliva and S. Ellis. He also wrote a travelogue *Nilagiri Caritra* after the English travelogues and dedicated it to Ellis.

Three British officers deserve the gratitude of Telugu people for their love of Telugu language and the service they rendered to the cause of its literature - Colonel Collin Mackenzie (1753-1821), Rt. Rev. Robert Caldwell (1814-1891), popularly known as Bishop Caldwell and Charles Philip Brown (1798-1884).

Col. Mackenzie, a Scottish national, came to India as the second Lieutenant in the Madras Engineering Service and rose to be the first Surveyor-General of India. His unstinting interest in surveying the Andhra area (along with other areas) and preparing their physical maps slowly turned into his deep involvement in the local legends, inscriptions, manners and customs and literature of the area. Mackenzie's huge collection includes *Kaifiyats* (manuscripts in 1568 volumes), local histories (2070), inscriptions (8076), old coins (6218), sketches of old palaces (79), sculptures and paintings (2630), statues (106) and fossils (40). All the records thus collected from South India along with a catalogue of 570 pages prepared by Rev. William Taylor are kept in the Oriental Manuscript Library at Madras. In this unique effort of collecting such a huge treasure of documents on Telugu land, its history, its customs and manners, its literature in manuscripts, Mackenzie was helped by the illustrious Kavali brothers - Kavali Borraiah, Rama Swamy and Laxmaiah.

Bishop Caldwell, who hailed from Ireland, came to India to undertake missionary work in South India. He learnt Tamil in order to translate Bible into it and later acquired acquiantance with the other South Indian languages. His careful study of all these languages led to his writing the revolutionary work - *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages* (1855), which initiated a new era in comparative linguistics.

Charles Philip Brown's contribution to Telugu studies is unique. Born in Calcutta to David Brown, an officer in the Educational Service, Charles and his family went back to England after David's death in 1812. Charles came back to India in 1817 to join the civil service and had his first initiation in Telugu at Madras. Brown worked in Cuddapah for two years and was appointed Assistant Judge at Machilipatnam. Later on, he served the Company in different capacities in judicial, civil and police departments and after prolonged illness, went back to England and devoted the rest of his life to Telugu studies.

One of the major works undertaken by Brown was the collection of several Telugu classics, then available only in palm-leaf manuscripts in distorted conditions. He collected manuscripts of the classics from different sources, appointed scholars to collate them and prepare authentic texts with commentaries. The scores of major texts thus authenticated and published include *Vasu caritra, Manu caritra, Kaḷāpūrṇōdayamu, Vijaya Vilâsamu* and *Vêmana śatakamu*. Juluri Appayya, Ravipati Gurumurti Sastry, Vatthyam Parabrahma Sastry and many others helped Brown in editing the texts and Juluri Appayya wrote commentaries in chaste spoken Telugu on many of them. Brown himself translated Vemana's poems into English.

Brown's *A Grammar of the Telugu Language* (1840/1857) and his English-Telugu and Telugu-English Dictionaries made the Telugu people eternally grateful to him. Brown's *Grammar* was written with the specific objective of being useful to people who wanted to learn Telugu and so gave all the Telugu examples as he heard them in day-to-day usage. Out of the 12 chapters in his grammar, ten are devoted to grammar, one to prosody and the other to *dṛta prakṛtikas* in Telugu. The *English-Telugu Dictionary* and the *Telugu-English Dictionary* reveal Brown's scientific approach in preparing lexicons by extensively giving equivalents of idioms and phrases in both the languages. He selected Telugu words from more than a hundred texts in his *Telugu-English Dictionary* and was working on them even after he left India. He also authored several other works including *Dictionary of Mixed Telugu* (1854), *Popular Telugu Tales* (1855) as told by Tatachari, *Essay on Telugu Literature, Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Mahomedan Chronology regarding the History of the Telugu and Kannada Countries* (1850) and *Telugu Readers* in 3 parts (1852). With his love for the land and its enoromous cultural and literary wealth, Brown did yeoman service not only by his own publications in different fields of history, grammar and literature, but also introduced to other scholars the need for a scientific approach to literary study.

Mention must also be made of other foreign nationals who published pioneering books on lexicography and grammar, either before or after the three great stalwarts. J.C. Morris, William Brown, A.D. Campbell (1760-1840) and Boile prepared dictionaries of merit but were out of use after Brown's dictionaries were published. Many years before Brown's *Grammar*, William Carey wrote a *Grammar of the Telugu Language* (1714) and published it himself at the press started by him at Sreerampur near Calcutta. William Brown's *A Grammar of the Gentoo Language* came in 1817 and A.D. Campbell's *A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language* in 1849. After Brown's and Caldwell's grammars came those written by Rev. A. Reccaz, A.H. Arden, H. Morris and others.

Besides the major trio, mention must also be made of many writers of foreign origin who brought out grammars or dictionaries of Telugu. William's *A Grammar of the Gentoo Language* was published in 1817. J.C. Morris edited a book of Telugu selections along with translations into English, their grammatical analysis with a glossary of revenue terms (1827). William Howell published his *Compendium of the Andhra Vyākaraṇam, or a Catechism of Teloogoo Grammar* in 1834. M.W. Cair's *Collection of Telugu Proverbs* appeared in 1868 and was the first such attempt in that area. A.H. Arden's *A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language* (in 3 parts, 1873) and H. Morris' *Simplified Grammar of the Telugu Language* (1890) are other notable contributions.

Similarly, lexicographers of foreign origin had brought out dictionaries, not only providing the Telugu words and their English equivalents, but most often appended them with the vocabulary prevalent in the areas of revenue and public administration. W. Brown, the first such lexicographers, kept the title of his book thus: *A vocabulary of Gentoo and English, composed of words in current use and illustrated by examples applicable to the familiar speech and writings of the middle ages and more elevated ranks of the modern Gentoo people* (1818). Rev. P. Percival's two volumes - *Telugu English Dictionary* (1862) and *Anglo-Telugu Dictionary* (1836) are particularly important works. Similar work in English and Telugu was done by P. Hoer in his *Telugu Nighaṇṭuvulu* (1900).

Several American scholars started taking interest in Telugu studies since 1960. Students came from the U.S. to study Telugu in India as a part of their course work in the South Asian Studies departments in the U.S. Materials to teach Telugu to these foreign students were prepared. The earliest to do this was Don Madson who prepared graded course material, along with G.N. Reddy (1964). Leigh Lisker's *Introduction to Spoken Telugu*, a useful primer, was published in 1960. Then came Gerald B. Kelley's (1928-87) work on Telugu Grammar (1965). A.F. Sjoberg's *Telugu Phonology* (1962) is an important work, her contribution being in co-existent phonemics. Bruce Spray has worked on 'Telangana Telugu' (1977) and Stephen Anderson on Adverbs in Telugu. Carl Zimmerman's work *Telugu Verb System* (1985) is an important work in that area.

J.P.L. Gwynn who was associated with the Telugu studies for a number of years in Andhra Pradesh in his capacity as an administrator, had helped develop several institutions and continues to work for the same cause even after he returned to England. He has co-authored two authoritative works. The earlier work with Bh. Krishnamurti, *A Grammar of Modern Telugu* (1985) is a work of extraordinary importance. His other work, *A Telugu-English Dictionary* (1991) with J. Venkateswara Sastry, is a mammoth work, which incorporated into it words which are in current use in Telugu.

Besides, several translations of classics from Telugu to Rusian and from Russian to Telugu appeared enhancing the literatures of the languages.

Institutions

Though research work in the various fields of Telugu studies has taken a specific course after the introduction of Engish education, it was not completely absent in the earlier ages. We can deduct from the poetic texts through the Ages that royal courts in general and in particular the *Panditha Sabhas* organized therein from time to time were the first institutions which proposed and discussed poetic theories. The literary-minded zamindars followed the practice and in some cases practised literary debates and honoured the winners.

In the post-British age, several individuals initiated a new path in historical and literary studies with such devotion and threw such new light that they cease to be individual attempts: in their case, the individuals themselves were like institutions. Charles Brown, Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Gidugu Rama Murty, Komarraju Venkata Laxmana Rau, Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, Jayanti Ramaiah, Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao, Nelaturi Venkata Ramanaiah, Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, Adiraju Veerabhadra Rao and Nidadavolu Venkatra Rao - to name only a few - enriched Telugu studies not only through their own work, but by enthusing others into it.

Journals and Newspapers : Similarly, the newspapers and literary journals did yeoman service in presenting different points of view, in publishing a wide variety of literary materials suitable to the tastes of different readers. *Bhârati, Ândhra Sâhitya Parishat Patrika, Jayanti, Pariśôdhana, Kṛṣnā Patrika* and a lot many journals provided a healthy platform for creative and research work. Newspapers like *Ândhra Patrika, Ândhra Prabha, Ândhra Jyôti, Eenâḍu* and *Udayam* - both in their columns and in special weekly digests - gave enormous scope both for new and established writers to pursue their creative and critical work. Special issues like the 'Ugadi' issues of *Ândhra Patrika* and *Gôlconḍa Kavula Sancika* published by *Gôlconḍa Patrika* are memorable efforts in this direction.

Institutions

The work done by innumerable literary institutions is particularly laudable in creating proper readership both by encouraging research work and publishing the findings. Though several institutions had only a short life, a few others continued the work for a good number of years and established themselves as pioneering ones. It is only some such institutions and their work that need special mention here.

Andhra Sahitya Parishat : Started in 1911 under the able stewardship of Jayanti Ramaiah Pantulu, it worked for sometime in Madras, but later made Kakinada its permanent headquarters. Its official journal, *Ândhra Sâhitya Parishat Patrika*, has, for long, catered to the tastes of the serious researchers by providing information on inscriptions, by publishing articles on Telugu poetry and by editing ancient texts. In collecting palm-leaf manuscripts, and texts by ancient writers and preserving them in its library, its service is particularly commendable. It also strongly pleaded, though unsuccessfully, for the retention of *grânthika* style in literary works.

Andhra Vijnana Chandrika Mandali : Under the able guidance of the illustrious scholar-researcher, Komarraju Laxmana Rau, this Mandali has steered research work on Telugu history and culture. *Āndhra Dēśa Kathā Sangrahamu* and *Hindū Dēśa Caritra* are some of the pioneering works published by it. Books on social, scientific and historical subjects of contemporary relevance were for the first time published by this institution.

Laxmana Raya Parisodhaka Mandali : To commemorate Komarraju and to work in his footsteps, this institution was started in 1921 with Nayani Venkata Ranga Rao, Munagala zamindar, as its president. Suravaram Pratapa Reddy and Adiraju Veerabhadra Rao were its active researchers. Under the stewardship of Seshadri Ramana Kavulu, this Mandali toured extensively in the Telangana area, collected inscriptions concerning Chalukya and Kakatiya periods and published them as *Telangāṇā Śāsanamulu* in 1932.

Andhretihasa Parisodhaka Mandali : This institution under the leadership of Bhavaraju Venkata Krishna Rao and Rallabhandi Subba Rao did important research work in Andhra history as is evidenced by its publication of special issues on Raja Raja Narendra, Kalinga and Reddi kingdoms.

Telugu Bhasha Samiti : Bhasha Samithi is another institution started in 1947 to continue the multi-faceted work already initiated by Komarraju through the publication of the two volumes of *Āndhra Vijnāna Sarvasvamu*, an encyclopaedia. With Bezawada Gopala Reddy as president and Moturi Satyanarayana as secretary, the Samithi had, until 1955, its headquarters in Madras and later continued its work from Hyderabad until it was amalgamated into the Telugu University (1986). In the 15 volumes of Encyclopaedia it published, it pioneered a work, with a set of dedicated researchers like Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, Chimakurti Seshagiri Rao, Medepalli Varaha Narasimhacharyulu, Bommakanti Sreenivasacharyulu, B. Subbarayan and scores of others that had long-standing influence on Telugu culture and literature. It also gave prizes for books on important aspects of Telugu language and culture.

Sahiti Samithi and Navya Sahitya Parishat : Sahiti Samithi was started in 1919 and served as a mouth-piece of *Bhāva Kavitwam*, Romantic poetry. Under the presidentship of Sivasankara Swamy, it worked for the propagation of the new ideals of Romantic poetry.

The work of the Samithi was continued by Navya Sahitya Parishat (1936) with Telikicherla Venkataratnam as its secretary. Besides publishing books and conducting largely-attended annual conferences, it also championed the cause of *vyāvahārika bhāṣa* (spoken Telugu). Its official organ, *Pratibha*, has for long served to propagate its ideals.

Abhyudaya Racayitala Sangham : An outcome of the progressive literary movement all over the country, the Andhra counterpart has become the representative association of the progressive poets. It conducted the anniversaries of several luminaries like Veeresalingam, Gurazada and Komarraju and published the works of Chilakamarti, Sri Sri, Kodavatiganti, Kundurti and many others. It also published books on popular science and on social sciences. Its journal, *Abhyudaya*, reflects its ideology.

Viplava Racayitala Sangham : This association of the Revolutionary writers has been established due to ideological differences with the progressives. *Srjana* and *Pilupu* are the journals published under its aegis.

Andhra Saraswatha Parishat : Started in 1943 as "Nizam Rashtra Andhra Saraswatha Parishat" by a band of young workers to promote Telugu studies as a unifying force of the Telugu people in Telangana, it later became "Andhra Saraswatha Parishat" in 1947. In the earlier days, under great savants like Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Lokanandi Sankaranarayana, Biduru Seshaiah, Adiraju Veerabhadra Rao, Kaloji Narayana Rao and Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma, the Parishat has expanded its activities into many fields - to prepare students and conduct examinations in Telugu courses, to have regular meetings in which specialists lectured on various aspects of Telugu literature and culture, publish books of interest and, more than these, to serve as a meeting place of like-minded people with a nationlist goal and to achieve a separate identity for the Telugu people, especially of the erstwhile Nizam state.

The man that stood behind every activity of the Parishat from its inception was Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao (1917-93), whose unstining efforts made the institution a major centre of Telugu studies. Its publications are many and cover a wide range of subjects.

"Vijnana Vardhini Parishat", "Saraswata Vedika", "Sangrahandhra Vijnana Kosa Samiti", "Navya Sahiti Samiti", "Viswa Sahiti" and "Yuvabharati" in Hyderabad have done commendable service to inculcate a healthy interest in Telugu literature and culture among the people. Viswa Sahiti's president, Pothukuchi Sambasiva Rao, besides providing a platform for young creative writers, is also editing a journal, *Viswa Sâhiti*, in Telugu and *Unilit* in English. "Yuva Bharati", earlier under Iriventi Krishna Murti, and now under Vangapally Viswanatham and G.V. Subrahmanyam is still active. Its well-organized meetings have always drawn enthusiastic crowds to hear the popular lectures of stalwarts arranged by it.

"Ranjani" of A.G.'s office, Hyderabad, "Visakha Rachayitala Sangham" of Vizag, "Sahitya Gautami" of Rajahmundry and "Lalitha Kala Parishat" of Anantapur are the more well-known institutions which catered to specific areas or specific fields of interest. Similarly, some institutions have been established to publish and promote research work in one specialized area or on one writer. The earliest of such institutions was founded by Tikkavarapu Rami Reddy, which celebrates every year "Kavitraya Jayanti" and honours scholars devoted to the study of the Telugu *Mahâbhâratam*. "Prabhakara Parisodhaka Mandali", started in Hyderabad to publish all the works of that great savant and researcher, Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, "Rayala Gosthi" in Anantapur and "Sahitya Parishat" in Bhimavaram are such noted ones. Similarly, 'Srinatha Pitham' at Guntur (founded by Prasadaraya Kulapati), and 'Errana Pitham' at Ongole have been active in commemorating the great poets.

'Telugu Gosthi' (founder: Chimakurti Seshagiri Rao) is conducting regular monthly meetings in which aspects of Telugu language, history and culture are discussed. It also published books on their deliberations.

Grantha Malalu" : Publication series by important Institutions

With the advent of a new resurgence in Indian political thought during the early years f this century, there was also an equally strong movement which insisted that all Indians ust be made aware of their moorings and their ancient culture. This gave rise to the rary movement which became synonymous with the National Movement. As a result of e fast-spreading library movement and as a consequence of the pioneering efforts of some otable literary stalwarts who dedicatedly worked for providing new reading materials to suit e changing conditions, several publishing concerns were started. They were not mere ommercial ventures; in fact, they did as much work as the major institutions did. The very ct that several luminaries and patrons of literature were associated with them is proof enough f their influence on public life.

The first among them was "Vijnana Chandrika Granthamala" founded in 1906 with omarraju Laxmana Rau, Gadicharla Harisarvottama Rao, Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao and diraju Veerabhadra Rao as its important functionaries. Several authoritative works on history, cience, social sciences and literature were published by this concern. It is this granthamala hat published Veeresalingam's autobiography.

"Andhra Pracharini Granthamala" was founded by Venkata Parvateeswara Kavulu, the twin oet-novelists, in 1911 at Tanuku. It specialized in publishing historical novels which had ationalist spirit as its undercurrent.

Though started as a commercial concern, "Vavilla Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Son" (1854) served more as an agency of Renaissance. Ramaswamy Sastrulu (1832-91) was a scholar and writer. He published several well-edited classics both in Sanskrit and Telugu. His son, Venkateswara Sastry (1885-1956) not only continued the work, but also undertook the publication of new reading material of immense variety.

"Andhra Granthamala", another important concern had Madras as its headquarters and was founded by that illustrious literateur, Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao. Besides original research works, it also got classics edited by scholars and published them. It also prepared a *Grantha Sûci*, a list of all the books published in Telugu until 1929.

Other institutions which worked with devotion and a specific goal were "Veguchukka Granthamala" (Tapi Dharma Rao, Barampuram, 1921), "Andhra Chandrika Grantha Mala" (Madapati Hanumantha Rao, 1945), "Desoddharaka Granthamala" (Vattikota Alwaru Swami, 1938), - both at Hyderabad, "Andhra Bhashabhivardhini Granthamala" (Machilipatnam), "Kavikokila Granthamala" (Pemmareddy Palem) and "Sarath Granthamala" (Vijayawada).

With the advent of independence and the consequent establishment of the Akademies, many of these institutions ceased to exist, but the work they had done would long be remembered.

Universities

The universities in the State have, for long, remained the major centres of Telugu studies, though they have been lop-sided very often. In all the traditional state universities almost all social science departments and the Departments of Telugu and Linguistics encourage research work pertaining to Andhra Pradesh or to Telugu language and literature. However, this work is not co-ordinated and synthesized as each department concentrates on the specific areas of its own interest and there is no provision for interdisciplinary studies.

In the three earlier-established universities headed by distinguished teachers and researchers themselves - research in Telugu literature had its initiation in the 1950's. Pingali Laxmikantham of Andhra University, Khandavalli Laxmiranjanam of Osmania were the first to steer the Departments towards research orientation. Quickly followed the next batch of scholars in Divakarla Venkatavadhani, G.N. Reddy, B. Rama Raju, S.V. Joga Rao and K.V.R. Narasimham under whose direction, strong foundations were laid for research work. In the third phase came the Kakatiya, Nagarjuna and Srikrishnadevaraya Universities. With the addition of the Telugu University, the State can boast of seven universities wherein research work in Telugu language and literature is encouraged and research degrees given. Madras, Bangalore and Benaras Universities also joined the above to admit students for research leading to M.Phil. and Ph.D. degrees.

Much good work was done and is being done in these universities both in the fields of Telugu language and literature. Though there are not many research works which proposed new concepts (there are a couple of exceptions, though), seminal work in many fields was the outcome of this research work. Venkatavadhani, Ramakoti Sastry, K.V.R. Narasimham, Patibandla Madhava Sarma, Palla Durgaiah, Korlapati Srirama Murty, P. Yashoda Reddy, Dhulipala Srirama Murty and Suprasannacharya did commendable work on the old classics. C. Narayana Reddy, Velcheru Narayana Rao, Aripirala Viswam and Mudigonda Sivaprasad have succinctly brought out the importance of the modern trends in poetry and their relationship with the classics. P.S.R. Appa Rao, M. Kulesekhara Rao, K. Gopala Krishna Rao, K. Enoch and P Dakshina Murty have done exceedingly good work on the different genres such as drama prose literature, sataka literature, essay and the short story. Works on individual poets, playwrights and others have been numerous. Among them M. Veerabhadra Sastry's work on Panuganti, A. Ramapati Rao's on Veeresalingam, S. Gangappa's on Kolachalam, N. Nirmala Devi's on Krishna Sastry, Chamarti Kanakayya's on Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry and Jandhyala Mahati Sankar's on Veluri Srirama Sastry are commendable treatises on individual writers.

Folklore in general and folk poetic forms in particular attracted the attention of several scholars. B. Rama Raju's work or folk songs and S.V. Joga Rao's on Yakshaganam were pioneering works in the field. Nayani Krishna Kumari and T.V. Subba Rao worked on ballads and their theses are perceptive documents on the subject. R.V.S. Sundaram focussed on a comparative study of Kannada and Telugu folk songs. Ketu Viswanatha Reddy's work on village names was another forerunner in the field of folklore.

Similarly linguistics and grammar also occupied a considerable part of the research work in the universities. Only a few of the linguists had worked in these universities for their doctoral degrees. But their post-doctoral work is enough to prove their continued interest in the subject. G.N. Reddy, Bhadriraju Krishnamurti, Korada Mahadeva Sastry and Chekuri Rama Rao are such scholars. Budaraju Radha Krishna, J. Suryanarayana, K. Nagabhushana Rao, and others were products of these universities and had done commendable work.

Other important contributions to Telugu literature from the universities include those of G.V. Krishna Rao *(Studies in Kaḷa pūrṇōdaya)*, Madiraju Ranga Rao (on the concept of poetry in the works of 'Kavitrayam'), Salaka Raghunatha Sarma (on Dhwani in the *Mahābhāratam*), Tummapudi Koteswara Rao (on *Āmuktamālyada*), G. Nagaiah (on *Dwipada* literature in Telugu), and Boddupalli Purushotham and Amaresam Rajeswara Sarma (on the evolution and development of Telugu grammar). Similarly influence of other languages and literatures on Telugu have been subjects of theses: Kothapalli Veerabhadra Rao (influence of English) and Swarajyalaxmi (of Urdu). Comparative studies of either 'periods' or of individuals also found a place in research works: Bayya Venkata Suryanarayana (Hindi), Dr. Bhemsen Nirmal (Hindi) M. Saraswathi (Hindi), Challa Radhakrishna Sarma and K.V. Acharya (Tamil). Children's literature was the subject of some good dissertations - Velaga Venkatappaiah's and B. Devaki's - in particular.

It is true that much of the research work done in the universities is because of necessity, of academic compulsions. In fact, much more work is done by researchers outside the university precincts. However, there are very few projects undertaken by any of the Universities on a large scale which will benefit the scholars and the readers. The Mahabharata project in Osmania and the dictionary project in S.V. are two such projects, which have a social and literary importance. Though the Telugu Department of O.U. has undertaken some field work in folk songs, it has yet to see the light of the day.

From 1970's onwards, many other Departments of Telugu in Universities outside Andhra Pradesh also started giving research degrees to their candidates. In addition to Madras university, which had a Ph.D. programme even before 1950, Karnataka, Bangalore, Madurai and Mysore universities are under this category. The University of Hyderabad, a Central University, has also been a centre of research work. If there were to be close co-ordination among the Telugu departments in all these universities, much duplication in research work could have been avoided and areas untouched so far could have been given importance. It is sad to note that there are no bibliographies on the major writers in Telugu and no Abstracts of the Dissertations are brought out. Publication of all the approved theses was until recently tardy. However, in recent years, the Telugu University has been providing financial help for the purpose, though not adequately.

Akademis

The Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi, Sangeet Natak Akademi and Lalith Kala Akademi were started in 1957 to promote literature, performing arts and fine arts respectively in the state. Great scholars, poets and artists were associated with them and their work, until the State Government abolished and amalgamated them with the Telugu University in 1985.

The Sahitya Akademi had, for long, B. Gopala Reddy as its president and Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao as the secretary. The Vice-Presidential position usually went to a great literary figure. Stalwarts like Viswanatha Satyanarayana, Sivasankara Swami, Gadiyaram Sesha Sastry, Nori Narasimha Sastry and Puripanda Appala Swami served in this capacity. Publication of books, both popular and research-oriented, and giving financial assistance to writers to publish their works was one of its major works. Its publications included dictionaries, dictionary of words used in several professions, and concordances. It also published books on Telugu inscriptions upto 1100 A.D. Its books on folk ballads and folk songs were authoritative. It published an authoritative work on Telugu language. Its popular, inexpensive editions of many of the classics were innovative and useful and served to promote literary taste among the public.

The second major activity of the Sahitya Akademi was its selection of the best books of the year and honouring the writers. Poetry, novel, short story, literary criticism and drama were the genres taken for choosing the best writers. Several important writers received such prizes.

Its third major concern was to celebrate important events in literary history befittingly and conduct lectures on appropriate subjects from time to time. It celebrated the centenaries of such all-India figures like Iqbal, Rabindranath Tagore, Harinarayana Apte and Sarath Chandra Chatterjee along with those of the Telugu literary giants like Chinnaya Suri, Gidugu Rama Murthy, Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, Sripada Krishna Murty Sastry, Chilakamarti, Tirupati Venkata Kavulu and Cuttamanchi Ramalinga Reddy and arranged a series of lectures on their work.

The Akademi had also prepared copies of Mackenzie's manuscripits and C.P. Brown's letters.

The Sangeet Natak Akademi had, as its first president R.B. Ramakrishnam Raju and its secretary Pasala Suryachandra Rao. Then Pasala became the president and P.S.R. Appa Rao, M.N. Padma Rao and K.V. Subba Rao served it as the secretaries from time to time. At a later date, this Akademi was divided into three Akademis - the Nataka, the Sangeeta and the Nritya Akademis. Stalwarts in respective fields occupied important positions.

Among its major activities was conducting dance, drama and music festivals, with an expert presiding over the sessions. It has also conducted drama competitions in collaboration with other major institutions, conducted dance competitions among young competitors and provided artistes proper avenues to show their talent.

Under its publication programme, the Sangeet Natak Akademi published several classics including authoritative texts of major musicologist-singers, dance texts of major proponents and monographs on important dramatists. It also published a journal, *Nâtyakaḷa*, which fulfilled a long-felt need and furthered research in performing arts. Its special issues on Bhagavata Sadassu, on Telugu theatre centenary, on actors like Hari Prasada Rao, Bellary Raghava and on folk arts are memorable contributions. It also held special festivals on some rare forms of music, dance and drama and published the proceedings. Abhinaya Sadassu, Toorpu Bhagavata Sadassu, Harikatha Sadassu are some such special festivals.

The Lalitha kala Akademi did considerable service in bringing out the work of the Telugu painters. Under the chairmanship of N. Narothama Reddy and later of P.T. Reddy it held several one-man shows of all the major artists, besides honouring the established ones and publishing monographs on their work. It also brought out several important publications including the *Lepakṣi Paintings* and the *Rāmāyaṇa Paintings*.

Telugu Akademi founded in 1969 has, as its major activity, publication of text books and reading material for the undergraduate courses in Telugu medium.

The Media

Both the print and the electronic media have been serving the cause of Telugu culture and literature by printing, broadcasting and telecasting such materials intended for the common man. The work of the newspapers in ushering in a sense of nationalism has already been mentioned. Similarly the role of the journals in encouraging writers and publishing works of merit has also been discussed.

Radio was the first electronic medium that had brought new knowledge into the homes of the people. Radio broadcasts in Telugu were started in 1935 in Madras and eversince contributed greatly to the popularisation of knowledge regarding Telugu land, its people, its literature and arts. Since the advent of a separate state, radio programmes have catered to a larger number of people in Andhra Pradesh. Another important contribution of radio lies in its wide net work of listeners belonging to all varieties and classes of people. It has levelled class differences among people by disseminating knowledge and providing entertainment to all alike.

This medium has contributed much to standardize a spoken form of Telugu that is understood even by the illiterate people. Though the newspapers initiated this practice, the radio has gone further in using simple, idiomatic spoken language because its clientele largely consisted of illiterate people. It further created an awareness and interest in culture by braodcasting programmes of music and folk arts.

Literary programmes formed an important part of its broadcasts. It employed well-known scholars and artists to formulate their wide variety of programmes. Pingali Laxmikantham, Devulapalli Krishna Sastry, Gopichand, Sthanam Narasimha Rao, Banda Kanakalingeswara Rao, and G.V. Krishna Rao were in its list of producers. Buchibabu, Achanta Janakiram, Ayyagari Veerabhadra Rao, Achanta Suryanarayana Murthy, Vinjamuri Sivarama Rao, Ravuri Bharadwaja and scores of others were regular officers who steered the destiny of its literary and dramatic programmes. They have also received encouragement from other scholars in this attempt.

Almost all great stage plays were broadcast over radio. Well-known novels were made into dramatic scripts and produced. Music of all varieties - right from devotional kirtans to classical music got a large stint. Folk songs and folk art forms, though came into the radio late, have their share of importance.

Similarly there have been programmes on social needs and health care. Family planning programmes have flooded in. Programmes for farmers, labourers, women and children have been popular.

Thus, until the advent of television, radio was the main popular vehicle of disseminating knowledge and providing entertainment and continues to do so even now in a limited way.

Television became popular during the last one decade. It has the advantage of adding the visual aspects to the auditory and so snatched away much of the importance of the radio. As telecast time is, until now, limited, it could not exercise its impact in full measure. Television is continuing the good work of the radio in popularising knowledge and in promoting Telugu as a vehicle of modern expression. For several reasons which include the expensive nature of productions, there is a need to augment the standards of the telecasts with professional expertise.

Cinema is another powerful medium that has contributed to orient the masses towards aesthetic appreciation of language and literature. Of late, however, there is a justifiable complaint against this medium that it is not focussing the cultural and aesthetic values cherished by the land as it did in the pre-Independent days.

ANDHRAS' CONTRIBUTION TO OTHER LITERATURES

The Telugu speaking area has a unique distinction of having common boundaries with areas of as many as five languages - Tamil, Kannada, Marathi, Hindi and Oriya. Besides, it came into contact with Sanskrit, Prakrit and in modern times English due to historical reasons. Urdu or Dakhini is a language with its place of origin within the Telugu speaking area.

In the medieval as well as in modern times several works from the neighbouring languages have been translated into Telugu and *vice versa*. There have also been some authors of the Andhra origin who had made substantial contribution to literatures in other languages. A detailed and exhaustive account of them is however not possible within the scope of the present book. A brief resume is attempted here.

Prakrit

Prakrit had been the court language in Andhra during the early phase of its history. Hala of the Satavahana dynasty (1st c.) compiled *Gāthâsaptaśati* an anthology of Prakrit verses. Gunadhya, one of his ministers, composed *Bṛhatkathâ* in Paisachi prakrit. As the legend goes, Gunadhya destroyed a large part of his work, since king Hala in exhilaration of his newly acquired knowledge of Sanskrit refused to take notice of it. However, part of the *Bṛhatkatha* is made available through the Sanskrit adaptations of it by Somadeva *(Kathâsaritsâgaram)*, Kshemendra *(Bṛhatkathāmanjari)* and Baudha Swamy *(Bṛhatkathâ ślôkasangraham)*. *Līlâvati Pariṇayam* is another poem in Prakrit. Its author was unknown. Prakrit was studied by scholars and poets in the medieval times also. For example, Narayana Bhattu (11th c.) who helped Nannaya in his rendering of the *Mahâbhârata* into Telugu is described as a good poet in eight languages which included Prakrit. Srinatha (15th c.) was a scholar in Prakrits like Souraseni. Gopala Swamy's *Viṣamabāṇa Līla*, a Prakrit poem, is quoted by Sayana (15th c.) in his *Alankārasudhānidhi*. During the later Vijayanagara period Cherukuri Lakshmidhara (16th c.) authored a Prakrit grammar, *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrika*, considered an authority. Varanasi Dharmasuri (15th c.) was the author of *Hamsasandēśam*, a poem in Prakrit. Indrakanti Lingamabhattu introduced Prakrit dialogues in his *Champukāvya*, *Kāḷindīmukundam*. A later poet Tiruvenkata Desikaswamy wrote two hundred stanzas in Prakrit in praise of the lord at Srisailam. In the recent times P.V. Ramanuja Swamy and Rallapalli Ananta Krishna Sarma have been noted scholars in Prakrit studies. Tirumala Ramachandra is another scholar who is contributing to Prakrit studies. Prakrit Academy is founded by Tirumala Ramachandra in 1979. It has published some books related to Prakrit studies.

Sanskrit

The history of Sanskrit literature in Andhra is as old as the Sutra period. Apastamba (B.C. 8-6) codified *Śrouta, Gṛhya* and *Dharma* norms in Sanskrit. Sarva Varma, a minister of the Satavahana king, Hala (1st c.), wrote a grammar, *Kātantra Vyākaraṇam* to help the king to learn Sanskrit fast and easily. Though Buddhists are believed to have propagated their faith through Prakrit and Desabhasha, they switched over to writing in Sanskrit in order to defend their religion against the Brahmanical revival. Nagarjuna's *Mādhyamika Kārikāvaḷi* was a thesis on 'Sunya Vada'. He was the author of several other works in Sanskrit, most of which are today available only in Chinese and Tibetan translations.

During the rule of the Ikshvakus Sanskrit replaced Prakrit as the court language. Since long, the idea of scholarship in Andhra included proficency in Sanskrit as an integral part. Similarly every poet of merit until recent times prided in being able to compose poetry in 'Ubhayabhasha', meaning Sanskrit and Telugu. Noted scholars of all the faiths - Jainism, Buddhism and Vedic faith - wrote profusely in Sanskrit in support of their faiths. Along with Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Darmakirti, Bhava Viveka, and Buddhaghosha are some of the eminent Buddhist writers. Jainism found its champions in Kundakunda, Somedeva and others. Ever since the revival of Brahmanical faith a good number of commentaries on Vedic texts as well as the associated 'angas' and 'sastras' were produced. Notable among authors of such works include an impressive list of illustrious names like Kumarila Bhattu, Sayana and Annam Bhattu. Every great teacher who founded a new cult or sect within the fold of Hinduism came out with commentaries on the Sutras and Bhashyas.

In the field of secular literature also many treatises and commentaries, some of which are accepted as authoritative all over the country, have appeared. Original kavyas also are many. Agasthya (13th c.) is said to have written 74 works of which *Bālabhāratam, Kṛṣḥna Caritram* and *Nalakīrti Kaumudi* have survived. His nephew, Narsimha, dramatized Bana's *Kādambari*. Palkuriki Somana, an eminent Savaite poet, introduced new forms of compositions in Sanskrit. King Prataparudra is said to have written *Yayāti Carita Nātakam*. Vidyanatha of his court was the author of *Prataparudra Yaśōbhūṣaṇam*, an eminent book on Alankaras. *Prēmābhirāmam* of Tripurantaka (14th c.) was another noted play of the times.

Bharavi, Dandi, Bhavabhuti and even Kalidasa are claimed to be either Andhras or connected with the Andhras. The Reddy Kings also extended patronage to Sanskrit scholarship. Mallinatha's commentaries on the works of Kalidasa are read with high regard. Vamanabhatta (14-15c) wrote 11 works including poems, plays and dictionaries. Cherukuru Lakshmidhara, Lolla Lakshmidhara and Visweswara are some of the noted authors of the medieval period. Many of the Reddy and Velama Kings like Kumaragiri, Peda Komati Vema, Kataya Vema and Singa Bhupala were themselves great scholars who authored commentaries and treatises in Sanskrit.

The Vijayanagara period is also known for its share of patronage to Sanskrit poets and scholars. Sri Krishnadeva Raya authored a number of Sanskrit poems and plays of which *Jāmbavatī Pariṇayam* alone is available. Sanskrit flourished in the courts of Nayaka kings also. Raghunatha was the author of many Sanskrit works.

Several women authored Sanskrit poems. They include Tirumalamba (16th c.), Rangajamma (17th c.), Ramabhadramba (17th c.) and Ganga Devi (18th c.). Andhras had produced a rich fare of illuminating works on dance, music and rhetoric.

The numerous principalities that emerged after the fall of major powers did not lag behind in extending patronage to scholars and poets in Sanskrit. Vijayanagaram, Nuzvid, Pithapuram, Urlam, Venkatagiri, Gadwal and Wanaparti were noted for their contribution to sanskrit literature as well as Sanskrit studies. In recent times, P.Sriramachandrudu has not only translated Sanskrit Commentaries into Telugu, but has authored works in Sanskrit.

Hindi

Though the contribution of Andhras to Hindi Literature appears to be more in the modern times, a significant contribution was made by the 'pushti marga' of Vallabhacharya (1473-1531) which excercised a noteworthy influence on the Bhakti literature of Hindi. The prince of poets of Vraja bhasha, Padmakar (1753-1833) was an Andhra. He was the court poet of Jayapur and later of Gwallior. His *Jagadvinod* is considered as one of the best Riti kavyas. He also translated *Hitōpedeśa* into Hindi. In recent times Nadella Purushottam kavi (1863-1938) authored several plays in Hindi for the Hindu Nataka Samajam of which only six are now available.

As Hindi gained importance during the days of freedom struggle, Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha was founded to propagate the language in the south. Moturi Satyanarayana (1902-1995) is one of those who devoted a life time for popularisation of Hindi. Arikapudi Ramesh Chowdary (1922-83) wrote more than a dozen social and historical novels and also some one-act plays. Aluri Bairagi (1925-78) was one the earliest to write short poems in Hindi and compiled them as *Badī kī Rāt*. Balashouri Reddy, Subba Rao, Hari Kishore, I. Panduranga Rao, Chavali Suryanarayana Murti, Adeswara Rao, Rama murti 'Renu' and Suryanarayana 'Bhanu' are some of the noted Andhra writers in Hindi. There are also a few playwrights like Seshagiri Rao and Chodavarapu Ramaseshaiah.

A good number of scholars from the universities have made comparative studies between Telugu and Hindi. Mention may be made of Sundara Reddy, S.B. Siva Ram, and N.S. Dakshina Murty.

Both classics and modern works of Telugu are translated into Hindi. Important among them are *Paṇḍuranga Māhātmyam* of Tenali Ramakrishna, Viswanatha's *Vēyi Paḍagalu* (tr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, *Sahasra phaṇ*), Bapiraju's *Narayana Rao* (tr. Arikapudi) and C. Narayana Reddy's *Viśvambhara* (tr. Bhimsen 'Nirmal'). Balashouri Reddy, I. Pandu Ranga Rao, Vemuri Anjaneya Sharma, Vijaya Raghava Reddy and M. Saraswati are some of the others who translated fiction and plays.

Kannada

Andhras' contact with Karnataka is age old and deep. During several periods in history large parts of Karnataka and Andhra were together under a common rule by rulers of several dynasties. Besides, Jainism in the early centuries and Saivism that followed it exercised great influence in bringing the people together emotionally.

Pampa (10th c.) and Ponna (10th c.) two great poets of Kannada, hailed from the Venginadu of Andhra. According to the opinion of some scholars, the first great poet of Telugu, Nannaya came from the present Mysore region of Karnataka. Narayana Bhattu, his associate, is a poet in Kannada also. Basaveswara's Veera Saivam and Pandita's Aradhya Saivam flourished simultaneously in Karnataka and Andhra and shared many common points. Andhra Saivite poets like Palkuriki Somana wrote in Kannada and Sanskrit as well. Bhakti literature of Saivite content was translated from Telugu to Kannada and *vice versa*. Mutual influences among the poets of Telugu and Kannada can also be seen during that period.

Sri Krishnadeva Raya, the ruler of Vijayanagar, patronised Kannada and Tamil along with Telugu literature. In the post-Raya period writters like Kaluve Nanja Raya (18th c.) wrote both in Telugu and Kannada.

In the modern times Chilukuri Narayana Rao (1890-1952) Rallapalli Anantakrishna Sarma (1893-1979), Bellave Narasimha Sastri, Devudu Narasimha Sastry and others wrote extensively in Kannada. Modern Telugu authors such as Gurazada, Viswanadha, Bapiraju, Chalam and Nori were translated into Kannada. Scholars like Venkannaiah, G. Hanumantha Rao, Venkatramappa, Subba Ramappa, Tangirala Subba Rao, R.V.S. Sundaram and Badala Ramakavi have worked extensively for promotion of understanding between Andhras and Kannadigas.

Tamil

The periods of rule by Cholas, Pallavas, Chalukyas, Chodas and Nayakas are very significant for useful interaction betwen the Andhras and Tamilians. There had been large scale migrations of people of all walks of life from one region to the other during these periods. Bhakti literature and musical compositions made a precious contribution to the cultural integration of the two regions. Sekkiar, the author of *Periya Purāṇam*, is believed to be an Andhra.

People of Andhra stock who took to writng in Tamil are mostly seen in the modern period only. Annamalai Reddiar (1861-91, *Kavaḍiccindu*), Suddhananda Bharati (1897-1991) an author of more than 100 works, H.T. Sitaram (pen name, Dilip Kumaran), Pichchemurti (1900-77), Natesaiah (pen name, Shararan), T.R. Guruswamy, K.P. Rajagopalam (1901-44) and P.T. Sunder Rajan (b.1910) are popular fiction writers.

Among those who translated extensively from Telugu to Tamil, H.S. Kamala (pen name, Ravipriya), Rudra Tulasi Das, Mudunuri Jagannadha Raju, Bala Gurunadham, Challa Radha Krishna Sharma and P.V. Subrahmanyam may be mentioned. Similarly there are some noted journalists like P.T. Sundar Rajam, H.T. Sitram, and Krishnaswamy Reddy whose contribution is noteworthy.

Marathi

Mutual influences between Maharastrians and Andhras existed right from the days of Satavahanas. The influences are mostly seen in the socio-religio-cultural sphere. Ketana (13th c.) a Telugu poet authored *Vignānēśwarīyamu* based on the *mitākṣarī* commentary of Vignaneswara on Yagnavalkya's *Smṛti*. Potana (15th c.) the author of the *Āndhra Mahā Bhāgavatam* exercised an influence on some of the Marathi saints and their devotional literature. It is also said that Samartha Ramadas (1608-81), preceptor of Shivaji, was an Andhra. Ramadasa's desciple, Uddhava Goswamy, was also an Andhra. Many Andhra Vedic scholars used to visit Pune and they were honoured by the Peshwas.

Vasudeva Rao, N. Jagannath and P.V. Narasimha Rao were some of those who translated Marathi works into Telugu.

Komarraju Venkata Lakshmana Rau (1877-1923) was a prolific writer of learned articles in Marathi. He edited and published a critical edition of *Karṇa Parvam* of Moro Pant's (1729-94) Marathi *Mahābhārata*. Lokanayak Madhav Srihari Ane who wrote several works in Marathi hails from a Telugu family of Adilabad District. D.P. Joshi has been publishing translations of noted Telugu works into Marati in his periodical, *Pancadhāra*.

Oriya

Intimate contacts between Orissa and Andhra date back to the beginnings of the Christian era. During the rule of the Ganga kings as well as later Gajapatis contiguous parts of the two states were together under a common rule. Telinga Gopala Kavi (1660-1732) wrote *Ādhyātma Rāmayana* in Oriya. Baldev Rathod (c.1860), a protege of the ruler of Attagarh wrote both in Oriya and Telugu. Polapragada Venkataratnam published several essays and poems in Oriya. He also translated several authors from Telugu to Oriya. Puripanda Appala Swamy (1904-82) a good scholar in Oriya, prepared a history of the Telugu Literature in Oriya for the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. While the *Mahā Bhāratam* of Sarala Das (15th c.) was traditionally being given the huonour of being the first work, Appala Swamy proved that *Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa* of the same author was chronolgically the first work in Oriya.

Urdu

Dakhini Urdu had its origin in parts of Andhra. The rulers of Golkonda, Asifjahis extended patronage to it. During the time of the sixth Nizam, Mahabub Ali-Khan, Urdu acquired the status of a court language. Gradually it became the medium of instruction during the times of the Nizams.

Sri Rajeswar Rao Asgar of Domakonda principality in Telagana compiled two multilingual lexicons and also prepared anthologies of Urdu and Persian literature. He translated *Rāmayaṇam* and *Mahābhāratam* into Urdu, and his translations are very popular. Timmareddy and Kondal Rao are two other lexicographers. Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy wrote works on law. Rajeswar Rao, Pallerla Srinivasa Rao, Kaloji Rameswar Rao, C. Narayana Reddy, and Devulapalli Ramunuja Rao are some of the important writers in Urdu. Dasarathi, Ramappa and A. Raghavendra Rao (Jajab) are some of those who translated Telugu works into Urdu and *vice versa*. K.Gopala Krishna Rao wrote articles in Urdu on Telugu literature and translated some Telugu short stories. He also studied the influence of Urdu on Telugu.

Mandumala Narsinga Rao (1896-1976), Madapati Hanumantha Rao (1885-1970) and Bandaru Srinvas Rao are some of the noted Urdu journalists among the Andhras.

This attempt to sketch out the contribution of Andhras to other literatures is only intended to be a pointer. In fact, there is a great need to make exhaustive surveys to record the mutual contacts not only in the field of literature but also in other fields such as fine arts, cultural achivements and social life. Such findings will surely go a long way in establishing an integrated approach to unfurl the underlying unity of the various sections of the Indian society.

JOURNALISM

The prerogative of receiving news vested solely in the rulers or their senior officials in the days gone by. They could employ people to collect and convey news to them. With the improvement and spread of communication system and with the establishment of printing presses and production of paper on a large scale, this prerogative had come down to the people.

Madras was where the Telugu press had its infancy. Researchers are convinced that the first Telugu journal was published by 1832 and that it was receiving a grant from the Government. It is believed that this was a Telugu version of the English journal *Madras Chronicle*. This journal was follwed by the first known Telugu weekly, *Vṛttāntini*. The Madras Government had ordered that its contents should be translated into English and conveyed to the Government regularly. Meanwhile, *Satyadūta*, published by the Christian Missionaries of Bellary in Telugu, came into circulation. But *Vṛttāntini* held the field until 1842 and despite some news which might appear frivolous now, it had published a number of items which lampooned those classes of people who indulged in expenditure sprees during marriages, rituals and entertainments. Though such practices continue to bedevil the society even now, it should be of interest to know that even in the beginning of the last century some journalists had chosen to radiate useful and progressive opinions.

The paper used during that period was one known as China paper (also *guzli* or *pīcu* paper) and printing on it never registered legibly. The impression of the type seeped to the other side of the page making both sides illegible. Circulation was never more than a few hundreds. People used to go to the reading rooms to read them. *Vartamāna Tarangiṇi*, which started its publication in 1842, seems to have caught the imagination of the people and whoever was its editor in the beginning, Puvvada Venkatarao, who became the editor after some time, apears to have got on very well with his readers as well as with the Government officials. Mangu Venkataraya Sastry, the editor of *Vṛttāntini* which ceased publication, was also writing to *Vartamāna Tarangiṇi*. Venkatarao was also helping C.P. Brown, the English officer who had a great love for Telugu and he was responsible for printing a number of books in the *Vartamāna Tarangiṇi* press. Brown introduced punctuation in Telugu printing. The journal ceased publication in 1858.

Dinavartamāni, started in July, 1856, enjoyed the support and patronage of the government all through its fifteen years of existence. It lived on pro-British propaganda. But *Vartamāna Tarangiṇi*, which to a great extent tried valiantly to serve the cause of the Indians, could not enjoy the help of the British. Government's advertisements were a source of luxury and influence during the period. The period of Mutiny and the subsequent years enabled some of the pro-British journals to flourish.

Hitavādi, a monthly journal, was started in 1862 from Machilipatnam. This was followed by many such journals. *Sujana Ranjani* made maiden attempts to publish the history of Telugu literature but it had only succeeded in enabling future scholars to improve upon the idea. Kandukuri Veeresalingam had found it necessary to edit a journal to propagate social reforms. He had started *Vivēkavardhani*, a weekly of four pages to begin with. It swelled into eighteen pages very soon. It was not an easy task to propagate social reforms in those days. Veeresalingam had detailed the troubles which a reformer had to face: "If corruption is written about, the local officials get annoyed. People of loose morals are jaded when 'trading in human flesh' is condemned. Criticism of outdated and meaningless customs invites the wrath of the ignorant and the selfish. Reference to unethical religious practices enrages religious leaders. Even if one-tenth of these evils are exposed, the rage of a number of people in this society must have to be faced".

In about two years Veeresalingam began publishing a supplement, *Hāsya Sanjīvani*, through which he had succeeded in exposing various misguided and outdated customs. *Hāsya Sanjīvani* provoked Kokkonda Venkataratnam to start a counter journal, *Hāsya Vardhani*. In addition to the reform movement taken up by Veeresalingam, his association with the Brahma Samaj incensed the conservatives. These were times when scholarship and conservatism went hand in hand. Veeresalingam ran his *Vivēka Vardhani* for 16 years and it ceased publication in 1890. He was also editing a women's journal, *Satī Hitabōdhini* for about three years. Subsequently, he started another journal *Satya Samvardhani* (1891) and in 1905 another journal, *Satyavādini*, both short lived ventures. But his penchant was always for social reform. Journals like these led to a great literary activity and many were the journals which were devoted to literature, though often times they indulged in bitter, mutual attacks. Even such attacks were highly literary and informative. Komarraju Venkata Lakshmana Rau, the pioneer in modern research, wrote that he had learnt with ease the entire Telugu grammar on going through an acrimonious controversy between two scholars, however unseemly it was. One of the journals he was referring to was the famous *Amudrita Grantha Cintāmaṇi* of Nellore edited by Poondla Ramakrishnayya.

Until the turn of the century the main themes of the journals were social reform or opposition to it, literary expositions, and translations of news items from English journals. Original news items were rare. There was no determined opposition to any of the administrative actions of the British rulers. The language was mostly literary. Twentieth century began with political writings. However, articles on literary and historical topics continued to appear. There was a greater analytical approach and deeper understanding of the subject than in the earlier days. Studies of newly-discovered epigraphs gained priority in due course.

In the ultimate analysis it must be agreed that the Telugu journals, before the advent of the twentieth century, had devoted adequate space for our culture though they could not divest themselves of the deep-rooted beliefs in religious and caste denominations which they had mistaken to be natural. Nevertheless, the few persons who had by then visited or had their training in foreign countries had influenced to some extent the outlook of some of the writers in these journals. It must also be accepted that the simple methods of worship and the need for a spirit of brotherhood as adumbrated by the Brahma Samaj, had exercised its effects and influences on many a writer.

Journals to popularise the ideas radiated by the Indian National Congress had started operating since the inception of that nationalist organisation. *Āndhra Prakāśika* was one of them having begun publication as early as in 1886; it was a news weekly published from Madras by one A.C. Parthasarathy Naidu. Yet another journal which was publishing political news was *Śaśilēkha*.

Madras, being the seat of the then provincial government, was also the centre of printing activity. But there were many other towns from where journals were published. Rajahmundry was one of them. Hyderabad was the seat of a state government, ruled by a set of draconian laws and it had become impossible for any one to publish a journal. Before the close of the ninteenth century and the dawn of the twentieth century there used to be a Telugu fortnightly *Dinavartamāna* publishing mostly news items which would not antagonise the Nizam's government but would keep the people informed of the various developments in the state. That itself needed a great courage in those days.

The dawn of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of the political press. What vas merely the publisher's press, had become the editor's press. The press was so far nanaged by either a Telugu scholar or a lover of scholarship. In his place came the editor vho was an English educated person of some social standing. In addition to this there were olitical or public groups which evinced interest in journalism. Though the police as before could march an editor right into the presence of a police officer, it had become necessary to deal with the new type of editor with some consideration. Times had undergone a change vith the partition of Bengal and the resultant agitation. The agitation had been wide-spread and there was not a province which had not witnessed in some measure the severity of this agitation.

Journalism acquired a new emphasis and a new direction. Politics and economics began to dominate the space in the journals. Social reforms still occupied an important place, but only as a part of the political movement.

But it must be said to the credit of the twentieth century Telugu journalism that it opened new vistas of cultural activity to the educated as well as the uneducated. Credit must also be given to the British rulers for extending educational facilities which created a new sense of understanding among the people, in spite of some opposition from conservative quarters. The journal *Āndhra Prakāśika* was already in the field to educate the people about their rights and aspirations. A critical political appraisal of the intentions of the ruling imperialists had become the sheet-anchor of the new writings. It was the Vandemataram movement of 1905 which heralded this new era of awareness and activity. Gadicharla Hari Sarvottama Rao, who was by then a political journalist had written: "Even though the *Āndhra Prakāśika* and *Śaśilēkha* were to some extent writing about political matters before 1902, a new national resurgence started in Andhra with the establishment of *Kṛṣṇā Patrika* in 1902."

As in the case of many other journals, *Kṛṣṇā Patrika* also had a meagre circulation. But the practice in those days was for a number of men to gather and have the journal read by some one who could do so intelligibly. A good journal was thus able to radiate views and news more effectively than in the present days. As the number of readers began growing, the need to make the writings more intelligible must have been felt. No doubt the people would like to read or listen to a dignified language and style. But it must also be understood easily. So the journals were obliged to adopt a common style which would be within the understanding capacities of various intellectual sections of readers and listeners. Style did change with a commendable speed.

The early part of the twentieth century witnessed a series of popular movements and each one of these movements, unlike the many movements after the advent of independence, had exercised a distinct influence on the social thinking and political awareness of the people. In turn, each movement provided a necessary stimulus to the newspapers also, though the alien government imposed numerous restrictions on the publication of news regarding these movements. Language journalism during that period was practised with a purpose, though the same cannot be said of some of the English language journals or newspapers.

On March 26, 1908 Gadicharla Hari Sarvottama Rao, the editor of *Swarāj*, a Telugu journal from Bezwada, was arrested for sedition and sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment. It was the first case of sedition against a journalist in the Andhra region. His associate, Bodi Narayana Rao, was sentenced to nine months of imprisonment. Sedition or no sedition, journals vied with each other in exposing the misdeeds of the British Government and each and every action of the government was subjected to a thorough scrutiny with all political, social and economic aspects fully analysed.

It is surprising to note that the monthly and weekly journals of the day, with their meagre circulation, had succeeded in creating and spreading such national consciousness among the people. In addition, these movements, and especially the Vandemataram movement had wielded their influence on other areas of our concern. By about 1910, *Dēśābhimāni*, a journal from Guntur, made a plea for the formation of states on the basis of language for the preservation of the culture distinct to that language. Thus the demand for a separte state for the Telugu speaking people had its genesis in the linguistic demand which was part of the country-wide agitation for the annulment of the partition of Bengal. *Dēśābhimāni*, edited by Gattupalli Seshacharyulu and published from a district town of the Madras presidency and which, from the present standards, did not command an impressive circulation, could influence the thinking of the people so strongly that the agitation for a separate Andhra state had soon become a burning topic both for the public and the journals as well.

The readership mainly consisted of the educated middle class. During the first three decades of this century the number of journals did not exceed 46. Daily news- paper was a rarity in the first decade but the longing for a daily was kept up, first by Parthasarathy Naidu of Madras, who had given a taste of political news through his *Āndhra Prakāśika* and also by a number of journals which included *Dēśōpakāri* edited by Sattiraju Sitaramayya of Eluru, *Vaijayanti* of Panappakam Anantacharyulu (Madras) and *Dēśābhimāni* a daily from Bezwada, edited by Seshachalapati Rao, the last mentioned one appearing only for a short time.

The time was propitious for Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao to start his daily, the *Āndhra Patrika*, from Madras with the experience he had gained by publishing a weekly, *Āndhra Vāra Patrika*, from the distant Bombay. The daily, *Āndhra Patrika* began its publication in 1914. *Āndhra Patrika* had the distinct advantage of a well-identified readership and its editor-proprietor was adequately equipped with the talent, money and business acumen to withstand the predictable and unpredictable hazards of daily journalism, to form public opinion and to mobilise the talents and views of the eminent in the land. Its range of news and views was so wide that it was able to cover all aspects that were hitherto covered by all the journals in the field then, barring the few caste-based as well as anti-national journals. War-time news gave a boost to the circulation of *Āndhra Patrika*. It went up to eight thousands. Among the periodicals, only *Kṛṣṇā Patrika* of Machilipatnam could continue its publication without interruption. Though Rajahmundry was the centre of publication of a good number of journals, they were all short-lived. *Hitakāriṇi* of Eluru could remain in the field for quite some time. But when the government weaned away the advertisers from it, it had slumped from fifteen thousand to three hundred and fifty and then had to be wound up. That was after the World War I.

As said earlier, circulation figures never indicated the precise influence the journal commanded. For instance the *Swarāj* of Hari Sarvottama Rao had a meagre circulation of three hundred but every copy of the journal was treated as something precious by the subscribers who shared it with numerous readers. Fear of government reprisals was definitely one of the reasons for people not to subscribe to such journals. Journalism served as a means to serve the country. Journals which were supporting the government were recipients of enough advertisement. But with all that it was the nationalist press which survived the years of agony and repression. Those who worked in such journals had the requisite emotional attachment to this aspect of service to the country. Salaries were meagre. Finances were always calculated in terms of losses. A number of people lost their all, while some journalists managed to run their journals with donations from friends. *Congress*, a journal dedicated to the national struggle, had, as its staff, people who sent their own money to defry the postal expenses. Incidentally, this journal which was edited by the famous socialist, Madduri Annapurnayya, had an exciting history. When he was arrested, his place was unhesitatingly taken by Krowidi Lingaraju and when he was arrested K. Ramachandrarao had taken over. Seven editors of the *Congress* courted imprisonment in succession but the journal continued.

It was not the arrests which compelled the journals to cease publication. But when the government demanded security deposits and confiscated both the deposits and the presses, the journals had to cease publication. Almost all the journals radiating nationalist views were victims of the Press Ordinance of 1930. *Kṛṣṇā Patrika, Simhapuri, Congress, Satyāgrahi, Indrāvati* and many others had to suffer on account of this draconian ordinance. *Āndhra Patrika* had paid the demanded security of Rs. 2000 and continued to exist. The photographs of the national leaders were not allowed to be published. But journals serving the cause of caste, religion and the British government used to thrive.

Journalists were spreading nationalism and they were taking just pride in following the lead of Gandhiji. They were propagating Harijan uplift, Swadeshi, Hindi, unity and library movement. Literature was given considerable importance and it is no exaggeration if it is said that most of the great writers had their well deserved boost during this period. Journalists had a national and rational approach to all economic problems and journalism then had an educative value.

Kotamraju Ramarao, the well-known journalist described the press of the time: "In spite of the innumerable limitations imposed on it by repressive laws, a hostile officialdom, poor finances, lack of sufficient technical skill and trained men, the performance of the Indian press had been of a high standard."

This period which continued upto 1937 would perhaps remain just an ideal for those whose motto is "journalism is service".

This part of the story cannot and should not conclude without reference to the heroic efforts made by the scholar-journalist Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, the editor of *Gōlkoṇḍa Patrika*, Hyderabad. It could be justly compared with *Kṛṣṇā Patrika* with the difference that the editor of *Kṛṣṇā Patrika* (Mutnuri Krishna Rao) was the resident of a region which was experiencing some tolerable rigours under the British rule and Pratapa Reddy was the resident of a region where the regime had imposed intolerable restrictions. The Nizam's government was not only repressive but exhibited a positive aversion to the local languages - Telugu, Marathi and Kannada. With considerable difficulty in obtaining the declaration, Pratapa Reddy had finally succeeded in launching the *Gōlconda Patrika*, a bi-weekly, to reflect the outlook and aspirations of the people.

In the Madras presidency there were some Telugu translators to render the writings in the Telugu journals into English for the information of the government. In Hyderabad the situation was different, for the translators appointed by the government had no adequate knowledge of Telugu and generally distorted the news. Pratapa Reddy had to suffer on a number of occasions, not because what he had published was incriminating but because the Urdu translation incriminated him. Despite such difficulties, he had successfully served the people in awakening them to their rights and to their culture. It is really surprising as to how he managed to put into print all that he had intended to convey when the opportunity was limited both by finances and legal rights. He had edited it until 1947 when the journal changed hands.

The formation of the first popular ministry in the Madras presidency marked a departure from the high ideals which characterised journalism until then, due to the changed circumstances.

National liberation and common well-being which were until then the sheet-anchors of every effective writing in the journals had given place to personal interests and regional demands. Not that there were no regional demands prior to the constitution of popular ministries but they now became dominant.

Another Telugu daily, the *Āndhra Prabha*, came into existence during this period with a stamina to organise its business on sounder lines than the existing *Āndhra Patrika* which was until then the sole newspaper in the field. There were small fries of dailies justifying their short existence on the needs of some groups of politicians or selfseekers. Next to enter the field was *Prajā Śakti*, the official organ of the Communist Party of India. Though the party disassociated itself with the mainstream of the national movement, it could retain its popularity by virtue of its new style and exposition of news. Not that it made any headway different from the ones already in the field by then, but it had its admirers.

Let it be noted that not one of these dailies had an organized reporting section to give anything different from what was being doled out by news agencies and handouts. *Āndhra Patrika* had a news bureau but it was not disturbed from its old attachments to both personalities and views, inherited from the days of national movements.

Editors of many of the front-ranking newspapers, until the advent of independence, were men of strong nationalist ideals. Gadicharla, Mutnuri Krishna Rao and Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao had wielded their pen with might. They were not only men of great personal stature, but they were also visionaries. Not many could be brought into this category, after independence. Narla Venkateswara Rao, Nyayapati Narayana Murty, Panditaradhyula Nageswara Rao and Gora Sastry were some such who wrote fearlessly. Though each one of them had a style of his own, in their hands Telugu journalism had come of age. Among contemporary editors, mention must be made of Gajjela Malla Reddy, Ramoji Rao, Potthuri Venkateswara Rao and A.B.K. Prasad, who have been trying to keep the mantle high.

The language and sytle of newspapers has also been undergoing a change since the advent of freedom. Now it is more anglicised than ever. The principle that a language develops by adopting and adapting on the basis of its own strength and needs has yielded place to a stronger sentiment that the language should develop by the import of foreign words and usages. The necessary academic support is wanting. No modern dictionaries are compiled by academic bodies. No guidelines are offered to prepare the language to meet the changing tastes. This is surely antipodean to the outlook of some of the developing countries, one of which is Indonesia which had produced "Bhasha Indonesia" its national glossary immediately after its attainment of independence.

The various journals and periodicals, all along the 150 years, have tried to develop the language to make it a viable vehicle of modern thought. Though each newspaper and periodical has evolved new coinages to suit its needs, such attempts were not consolidated until the second decade of this century. As such they did not wield much influence on the evolution of language for communicative pruposes. However, due to the efforts of stalwarts like Komarraju Venkata Laxmana Rau, Gadicharla Hari Sarvottama Rao, Mutnuri Krishna Rao and Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao, the language in the journals and newspapers began acquiring commonly-acceptable norms, including vocabulary and syntactic patterns. Though there are sporadic attempts made to bring out glossaries of current Telugu usage, a dictionary of contemporary Telugu remains the need of the hour.

Some of our universities have included "Communications and Journalism" in their scheme of academic faculties but they are unable to invest them with much of academic or practical content. May be it is not easy to do so against the background of the present-day newspaper development. The theoretical and the practical should be dexterously combined to make the faculty more meaningful. The journalist should be taught his language and should be taught to understand men and affairs better. Now that we have entered a multi-media era, it should be the endeavour of the Faculty to not only train the scholars for these media, but also for the newspaper in the light of a strong competition from the T.V. and Radio.

The Contribution of Andhras to English Journalism

There are a good number of eminent Andhra journalists that contributed to English journalism, but strangely English journals and newspapers started by the Andhras did not last long until recent times.

The first English weekly started by a Telugu man was *Crescent* (1846). The founder, Gajula Laxminarasu Chetty (1806-1868), ran it for two decades and all through he was bold enough to present the realities to the then authorities. Nyapati Subba Rao(1858-1901), a leader who earned the title, 'Andhra Bhishma', was one of the founders of *The Hindu* (1878).

Andhra Kesari T. Prakasam founded an English daily, *Swarājya*, in 1921, to propagate the ideals of Gandhiji and to strengthen the National movement. Prakasam toured extensively both in India and abroad to collect donations for the daily's sustenance and was said to have invested nearly one crore of rupees for the purpose, including his entire property. It could create an awareness in the public regarding the freedom struggle. Its significance mainly lay in the fact that it produced journalists who later became eminent in the field - like G.V. Kripanidhi, Khasa Subba Rao, Kotamraju Rama Rao, Kolavennu Ramakoteswara Rao and Kunduri Iswara Dutt.

Vavilla Venkateswara Sastry (1885-1956), a veteran publisher, started a periodical, *Federated India* (1927), edited by K. Vyasa Rao. It mainly published articles on literature and its contributors included C.R. Reddy and K.R. Sreenivasa Iyengar.

Sir C.Y. Chintamani (1880-1941), one of the leading journalists of India, was associated as an editor with *The Telugu Harp* (Vizianagaram) and *Vizag Spectator* (Visakhapatnam). He was the founder-editor of *Indian Herald*, which was wound up soon due to financial losses. He later became the editor of *Indian People* (Allahabad), *Leader* (founded by Madan Mohan Malviya), *Indian Daily Mail* (Bombay), etc.

Dr. Bhogaraju Pattabhi Seetharamaiah (1880-1959), the well-known freedom fighter and the chronicler of the History of the National Congress, founded *Janma Bhūmi*, an English weekly (Masulipatam : 1919) and *Indian Republic*, a daily from Madras.

Another stalwart in the field of English journalism was Kotamraju Punnaiah (1885-1948). He started his career as an assistant editor in *New Times* which later became *Sind Observer* (Karachi) and edited it for 27 years. His brother, Rama Rao (1899-1965), first joined the *New Times* as a correspondent. As he attached greater importance to nationlist ideals and self-respect than to his remuneration, he had to frequently shift from one newspaper to the other. When Nehru was starting the *National Herald*, Mahatma Gandhi recommended Rama Rao to be appointed as its editor. G.V. Kripanidhi, after the closure of *Swarājya*, edited *Hindusthan Times* (Delhi) along with Devadas Gandhi and finally retired from *Deccan Herald* (Bangalore).

A well-respected editor and freedom-fighter, Khasa Subba Rao (1896-1961) was a leader-writer in *Swarājya*. Later on, he worked with *Indian Finance, Free Press Journal* and *Indian Express*. He founded a weekly, *Swatantra*, and ran it for ten years. In 1956, he founded the *Swarājya*. In his long career as a journalist and editor, he set up high ethical standards in journalism and was known for his fearlessness.

Kolavennu Ramakoteswara Rao (1894-1970), a well-known freedom fighter, worked for a while in Prakasam's *Swarājya*. He is largely remembered for his English quarterly, *Trivēṇi* (1927), the publication of which is still being carried on firstly with Bhavaraju Narasihma Rao and later with I.V.Chalapati Rao as its editors. 'Triveni', which means 'a triple stream' was intended to serve the nation by focussing on Indian history, the arts and literature. Contributors to this periodical included Sri Aurobindo, Pandit Nehru, Srinivasa Sastry, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Sir C.V. Raman and Rajaji.

Kunduri Iswara Dutt (1898-1967), another eminent editor, started his career with Prakasam's *Swarājya* and later joined the editorial staff of *The Hindu, Leader, Hindusthan Times* and *Pioneer*. He was the founder-editor of *Twentieth Century*, a monthly, in the issues of which Sir Tej Bahdur Sapru, K.M. Pannikkar, C.R. Reddy and other emiment men published their articles. He also founded two weeklies, *Week-End* and *New India*.

M.(Manikonda) Chalapathi Rao (1908-1983) was another well-known editor who is mainly remembered for his work as an editor of Jawaharlal Nehru's *National Herald* for 35 years. He is known outside India also, having widely contributed to foreign periodicals. Another jounralist who is more known in northern India, C.V.H.Rao, was associated with *Indian Nation* (Patna) and Daily *Herald* (Lucknow) as editor.

Among others who made significant contribution to Indian journalism are A.S. Raman *(Illustrated Weekly of India* and *Swarājya)*, G.K. Reddy *(The Hindu* and *Times of India)*, Lanka Sundaram *(Commerce and Industry*, New Delhi), M. Venugopala Rao *(Link)*, S. Venkata Narayan *(India Today)* and D.S. Rao *(Indian Literature)*.

Deccan Chronicle, which was started as an English weekly in 1938 by Bukkapatnam Ramanujachari became a daily in 1943. It came under the present management (late T. Chandrasekhara Reddy) in 1977. C. Ramoji Rao founded the English daily, *News Time*, in 1984.

ARTS

ARTS

It is commonly believed that there are three planes in man's life : the physical, the psychological and the spiritual. This progressive manifestation can be found in a community also. The achievements of a community in these three planes signify its ethos and is expressed through its creative genius. The attempts to express the ethos through several media are the geneses of literature and other arts - either fine arts, or performing arts or technical arts. The early Indian concept of the 'sixty four arts' covers a wide range of human activity including a number of skills. As time passed on, diversification of these skills resulted in new modes of expression. Unlike the skills, the fine arts - architecture, sculpture and painting - and the performing arts - dance, drama and music are the most enduring and are considered higher forms of creative expression.

Andhras have had a rich legacy in all these arts right from the beginning of their known history, and vestiges of pre-historic times can even be noticed from the life-patterns of the primitive people. Cave drawings of animals and hunting scenes have been discovered at Billasargam and other places in Andhra, which show the artistic temperament of the primitive man. From the very nature of those arts, specimens of dance, drama or music of the primitive days cannot be directly obtained. However, the state of these arts may be guessed from the present-day practices of the primitive tribes. Towards the end of the first millennium B.C., the Andhra artist had produced marvellous paintings of great artistry as is evidenced in the caves of Ajanta and in the amazing sculptures of the Buddhist *stūpas* at Amaravati and other places. The mastery found in them could only be the culmination of a long and sustaining tradition from the early times. The sculptures of Amaravati depict dancers and instrumentalists, which clearly indicate not only the prevalence of and mastery over these arts of music and dance, but also the fact that Andhras had developed their own traditions in them by then. These sculptures also reveal many aspects of the civilized life of society including several types of houses, carts, weapons and household furniture. Similarly, the variety of hair-styles, ornaments and dresses can also be noticed in the sculptures. This would have been possible only if artistic skills had reached an advanced stage of development.

An attempt is made in the following pages to trace the development of each of these arts.

FINE ARTS

ARCHITECTURE

The Buddhist Period

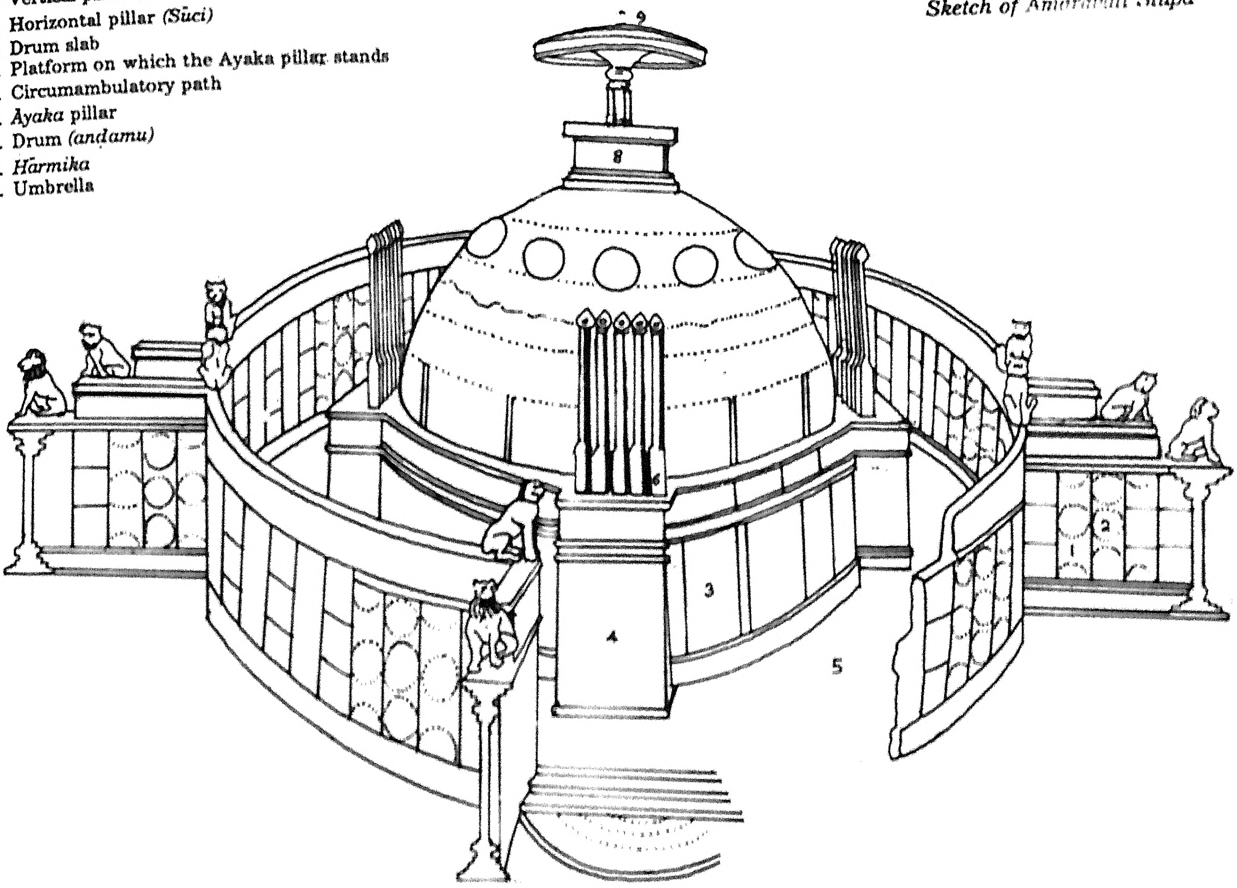
As in the case of many other parts of India, the earliest specimens of architecture in Andhra, to a large extent, are of Buddhist religious character. The architecture of the Andhra Buddhist period occupies a unique place in the history of Indian architecture and covers both the schools of Buddhist faith - the Hinayana and the Mahayana. In no part of India can be seen such a large number of ancient Buddhist sites as in the Andhra region.

It is quite evident that a few of the earliest Buddhist monuments in Andhra were pre-Asokan. However, many of them belong to the ancient period (400 B.C.-300 A.D.). Bhattiprolu, Amaravati, Ghantasala, Nagarjunakonda, Jaggayyapeta, Ramireddipalli, Adurru, Pedavegi, Gummididurru, Gudivada, Guntupalli, Goli, Kesanapalle, Chandavaram, Kukutapalle, Kakarlapalem, Dhulikatta, Nelakondapalli, Phanigiri, Kondapur, Thotlakonda, Bavikonda, Gopalapatnam, Sankaram, Ramatirtham and Salihundam are some such ancient sites. Only a few of them are excavated and explored so far. Many others await the spade of the archaeologist.

The Buddhist religious zeal found its artistic expression in the construction of *stūpas, caityas* and *vihāras*. Unfortunately not even one of them can now be seen in its entirety. Excavations conducted at some of the sites - mainly at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda - helped the archaeologists to trace out some of the features of those constructions. The sculptural replicas on the casing stones of the *stūpas* obtained in the excavations also helped the research workers to ascertain some distinctive features of the *stūpas* in the Andhra region.

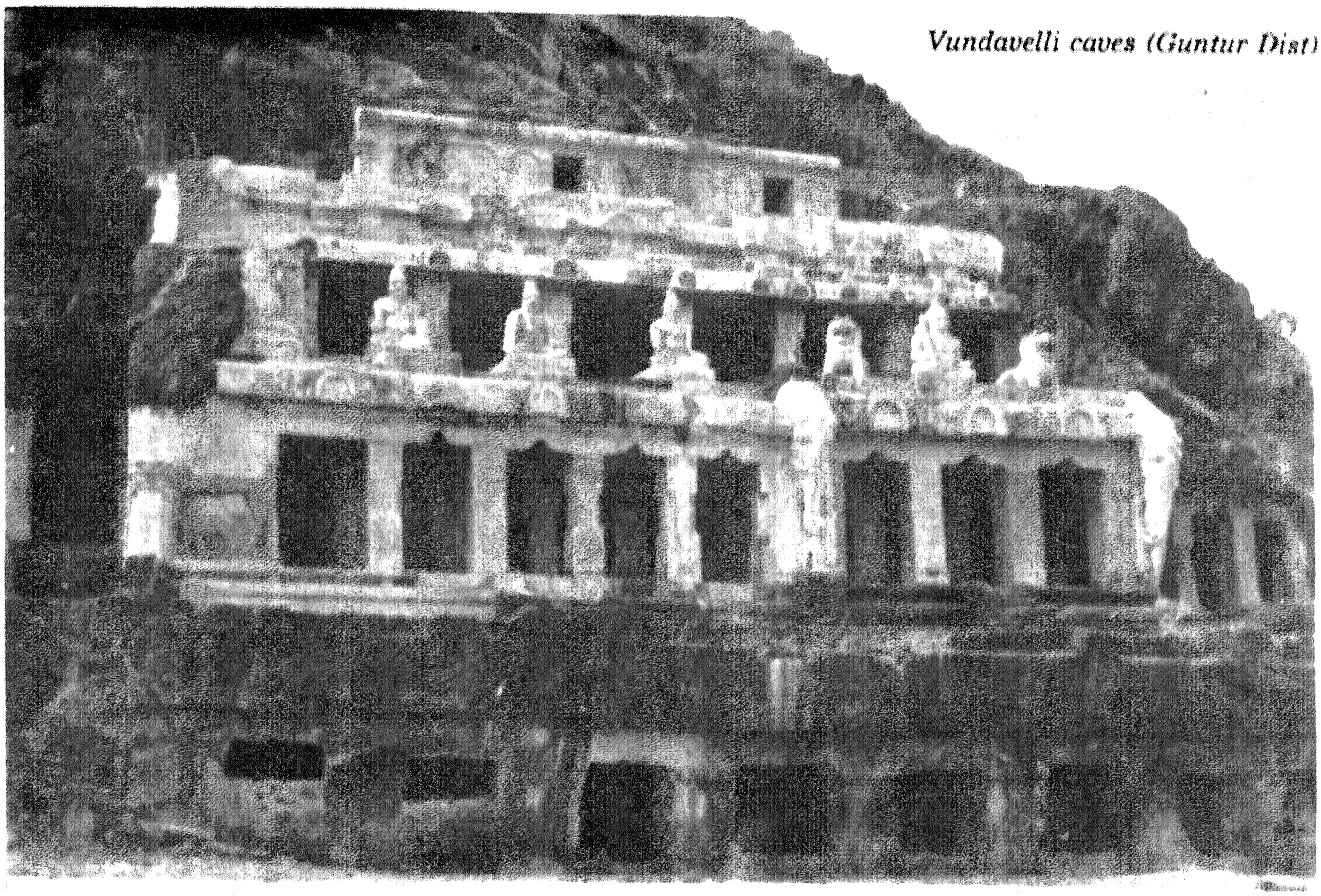
The *stūpa* at Nelakondapalli in Khammam district is considered, from the size of the ruins, to be the largest of such constructions in the entire Deccan. However, as no excavation on a considerable scale was carried on till now at the spot, one cannot have, at present, even a hazy picture of it. The *stūpas* at Bhattiprolu and Amaravati are considered to be the earliest ones, their date being assigned approximately to the 4th century B.C. Of them, the *stūpa* at Bhattiprolu was completely ruined by the time it was discovered, and only a relic casket could be secured from the ruins. Though the Amaravati *stūpa* was despoiled by the local people to a good extent, the efforts put forth by many archaelogists resulted in providing us with some details about the mode of construction of the *stūpas* in the Andhra region.

The *stūpa* at Amaravati represents a simple hemispherical structure (*aṇḍa*) to enshrine the relics of the Buddha. This simple structure is a low cylindrical drum with a platform (*mēdhi*) on its top reached by steps from four rectangular projections at the cardinal points. The drum has a hemispherical top surmounted by a cubical structure (*harmika*) shaded by one or more umbrellas (*chatrāvāḷi*). The *harmika* marked the spot where deep down is placed the



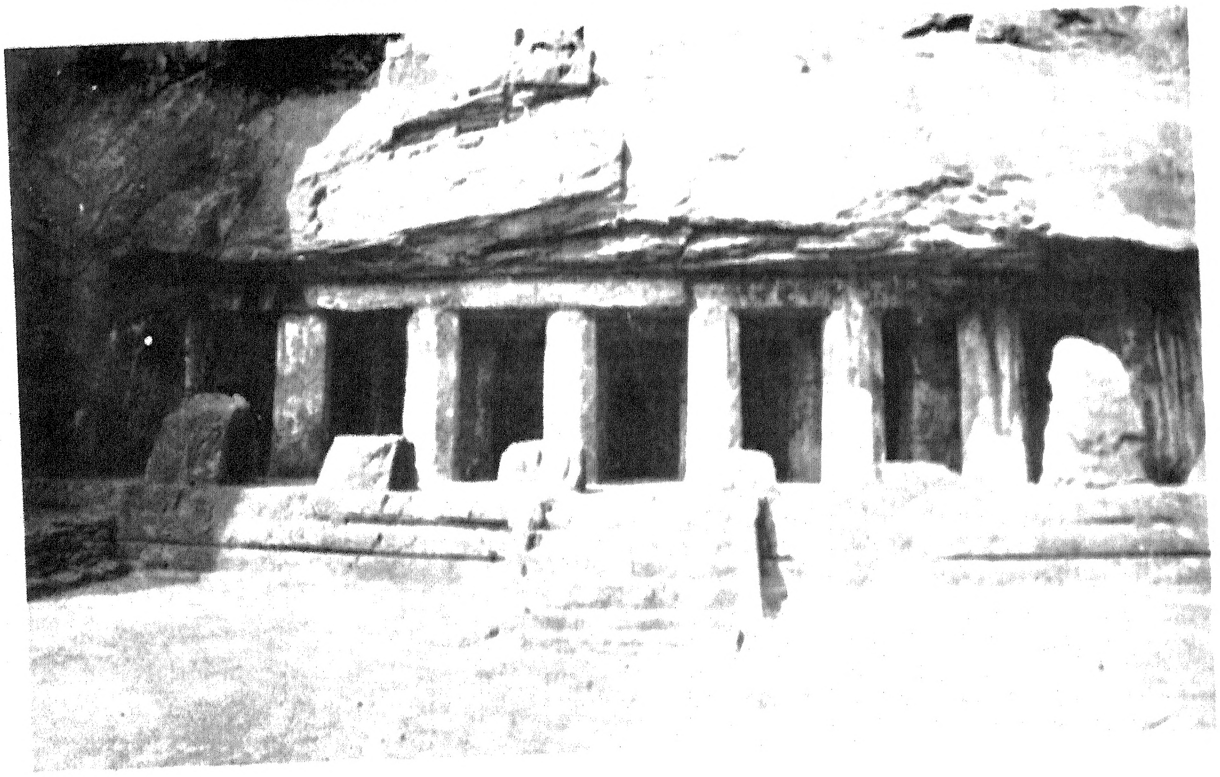
Sketch of Amaravati Stupa

1. Vertical pillar *(Ūrdhva Patamu)*
2. Horizontal pillar *(Sūci)*
3. Drum slab
4. Platform on which the Ayaka pillar stands
5. Circumambulatory path
6. *Āyaka* pillar
7. Drum *(anḍamu)*
8. *Hārmika*
9. Umbrella

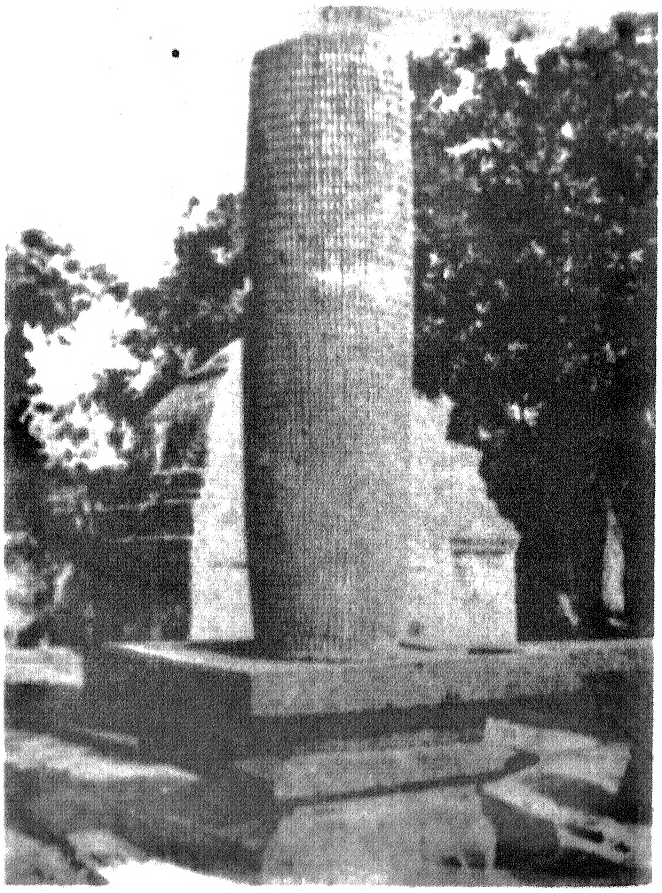


Vundavelli caves (Guntur Dist)

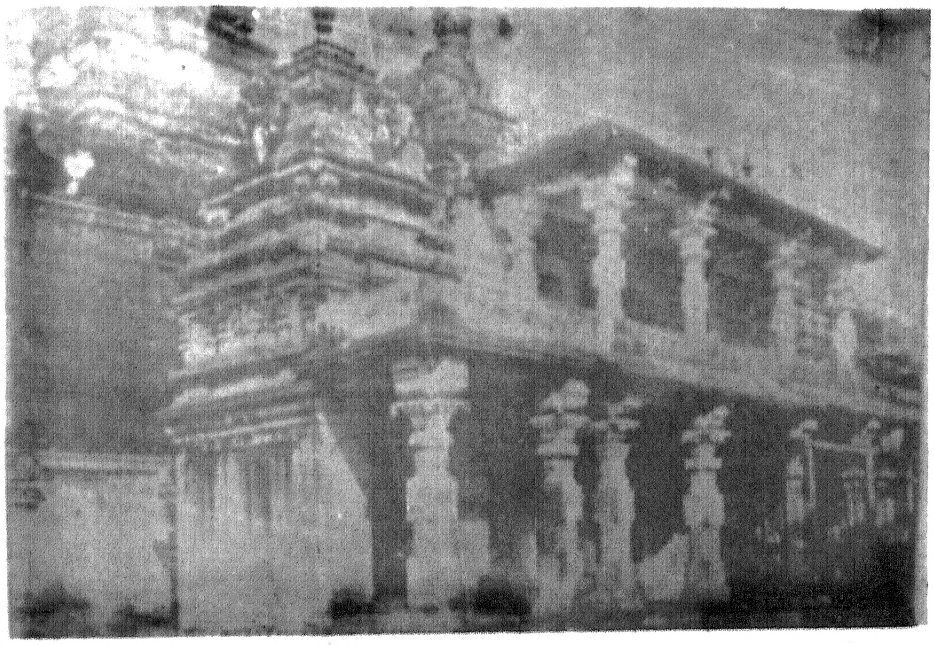
Buddhist Caves - Guntupalli (West Godavari Dist.)



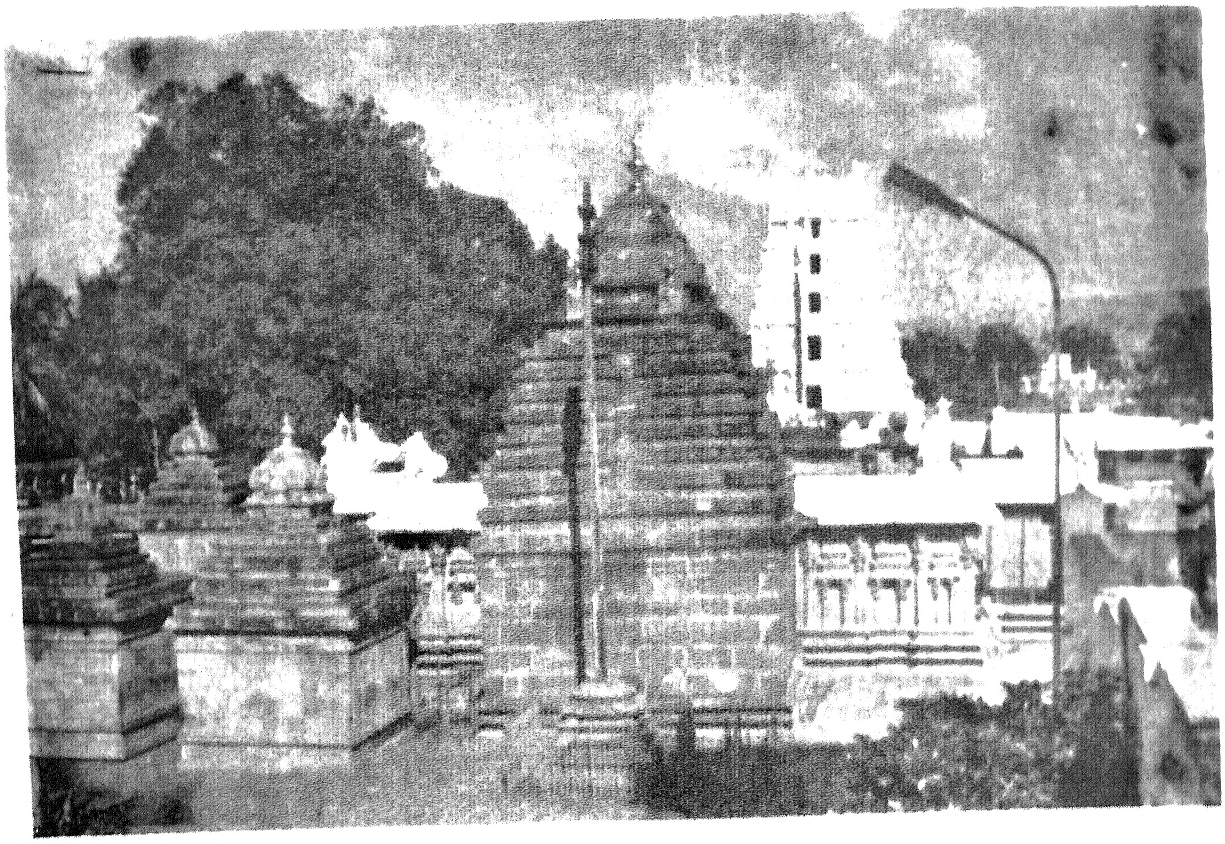
Mogalrajapuram Caves - Vijayawada



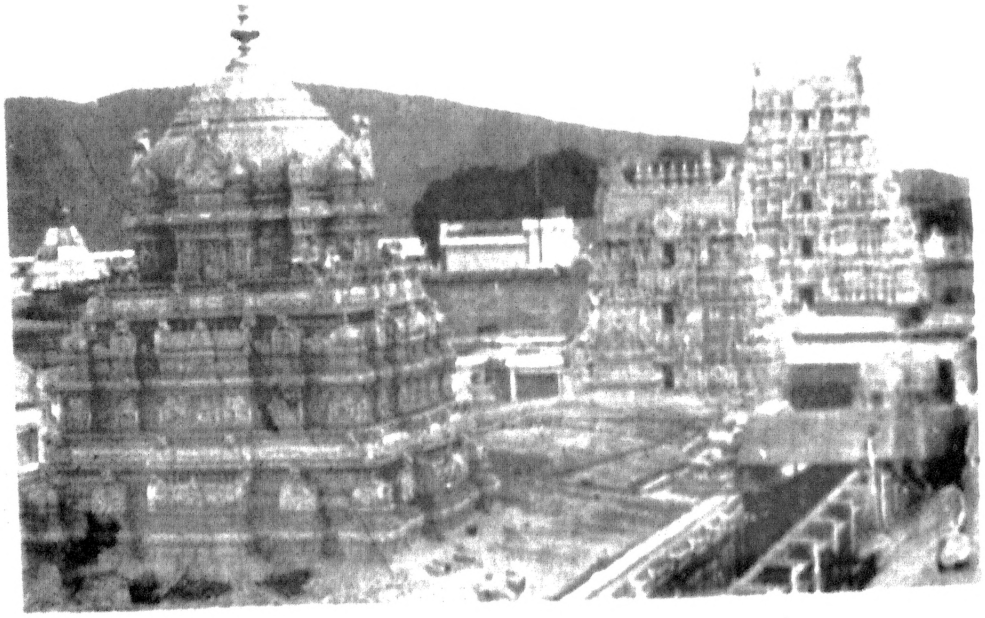
Kapōtēswara temple - Chejerla (Guntur Dist.)



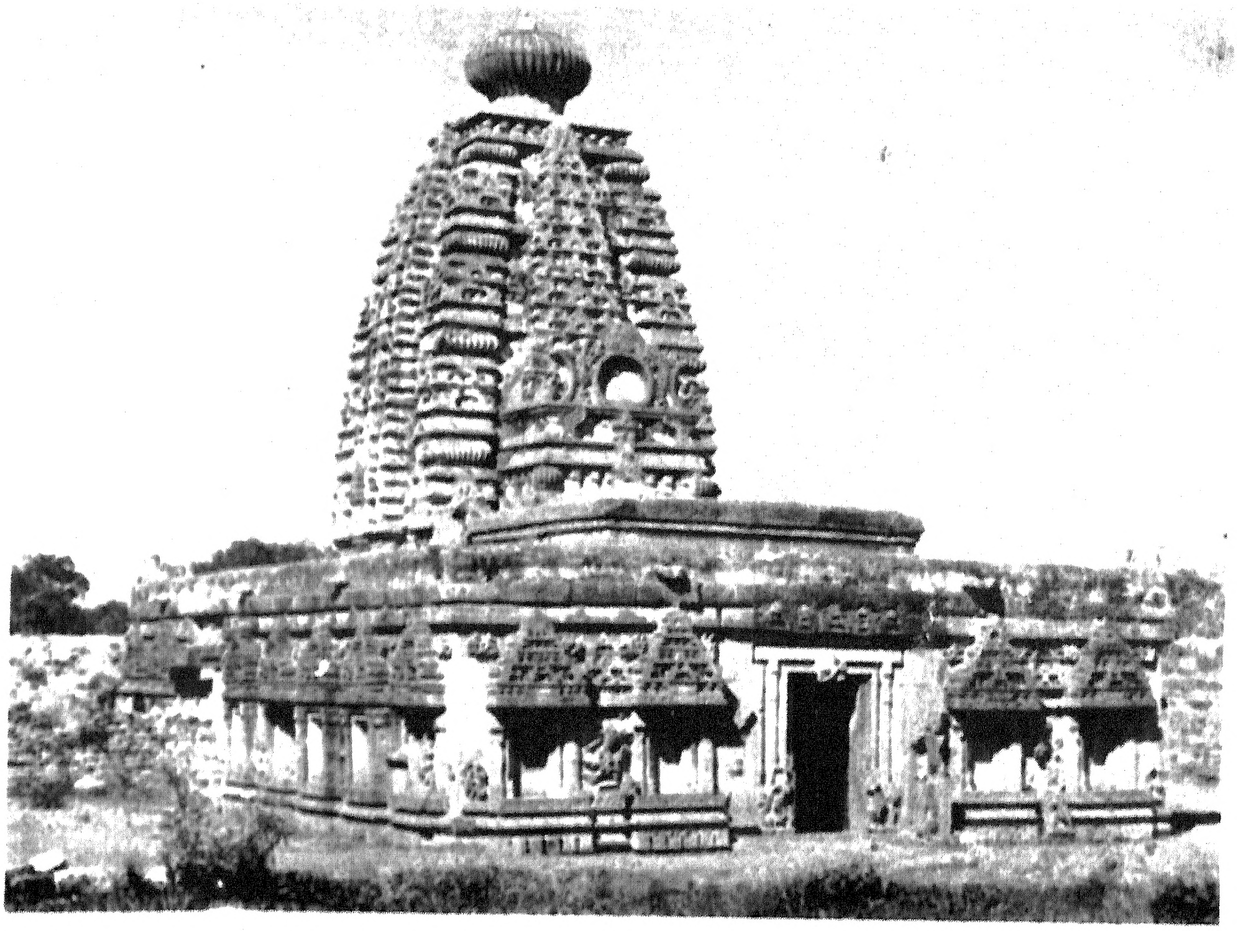
Bhīmēśwara Temple - Draksharamam (East Godavari Dist.)



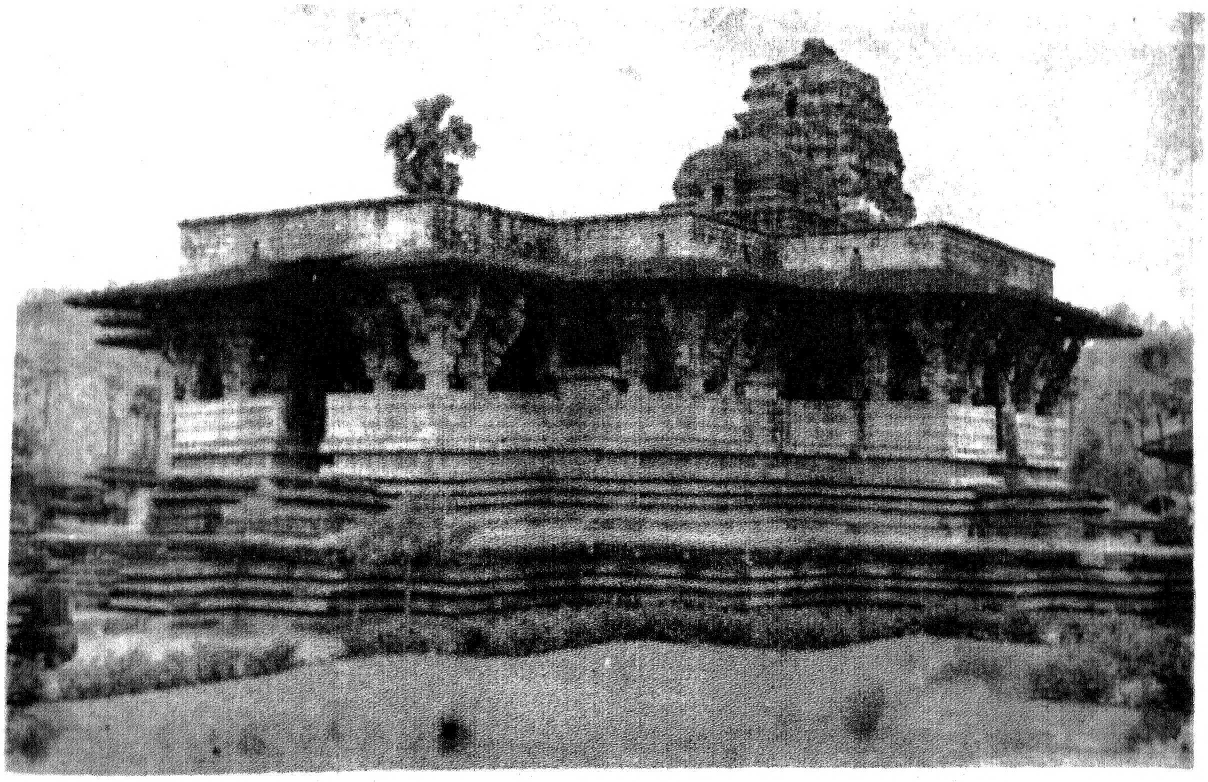
*Sri Mallikarjuna, **Bhramarāmbika*** *Temple - Srisailam*



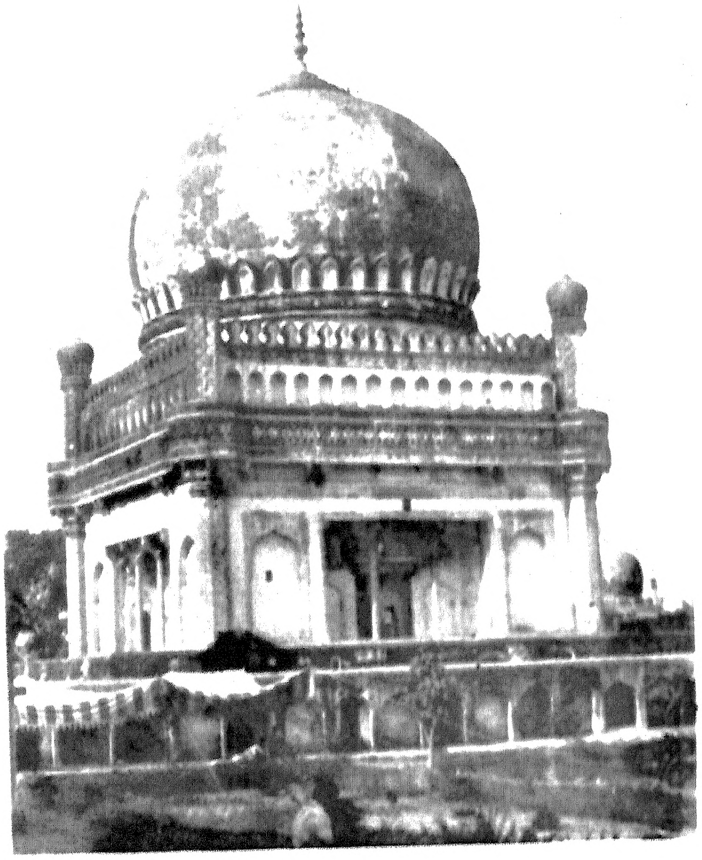
Sri Venkateswara Temple - Tirupati



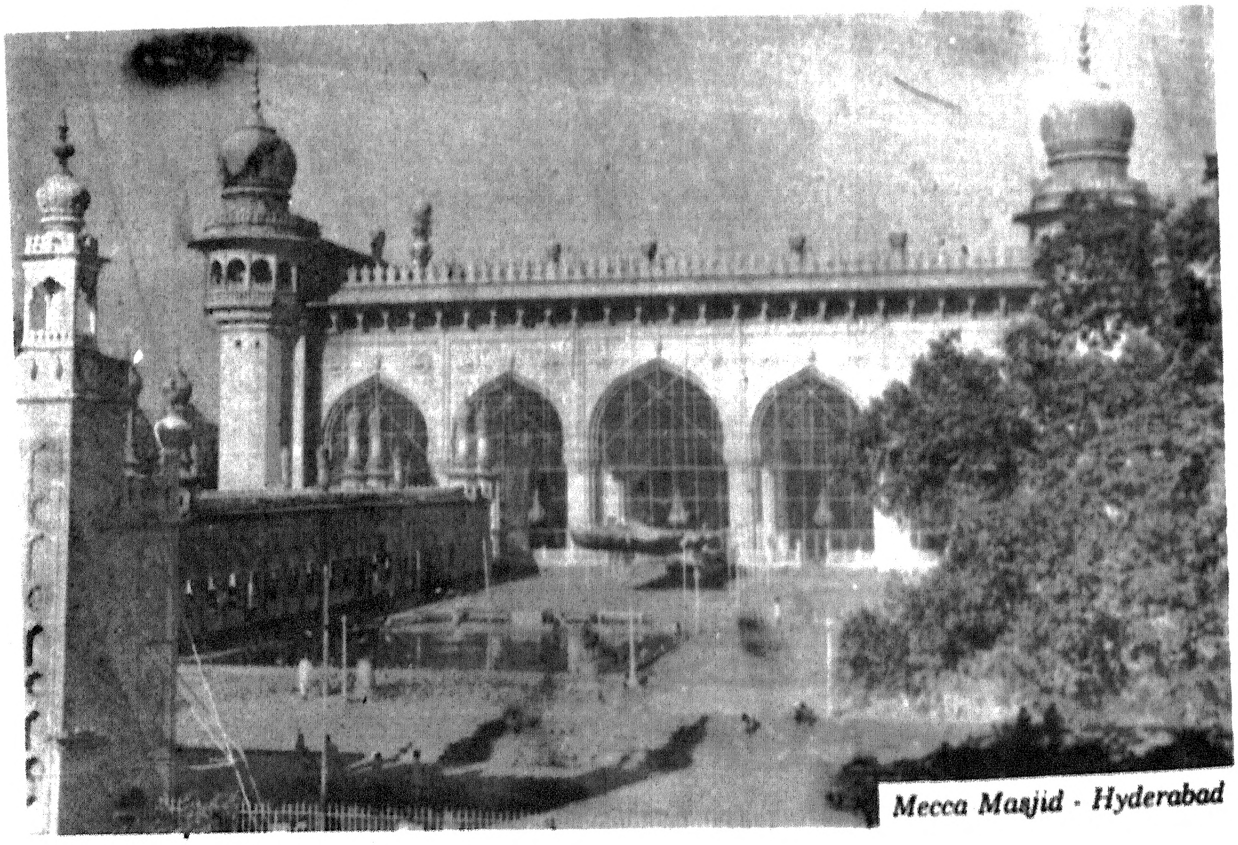
Alampur Temple (Mahabubnagar Dist)



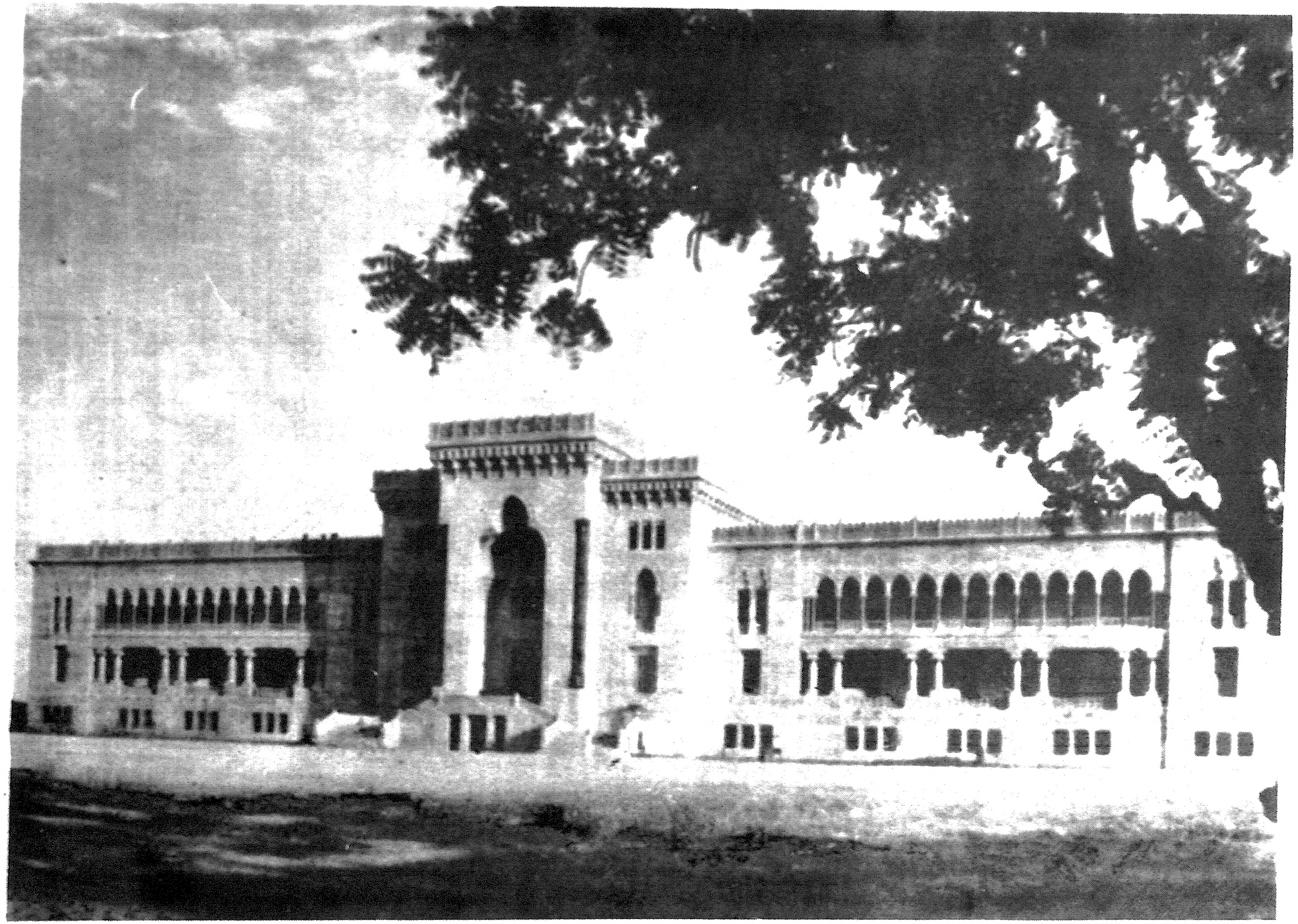
Ramappa Temple (Warangal Dist)



Tomb of Mohd Quli Qutub Shah (IV King)



Mecca Masjid - Hyderabad



Arts College, Osmania University - Hyderabad

Medak Church

reliquary containing the sacred objects. The *stūpas* in Andhra had two circular walls, one at the hub and the other at the outer end and the entire space between these walls was filled with mud. The outer surface of the wall of the drum was decorated with carved marble slabs. Similarly, the hemispherical top was partly decorated with lime and mortar work. Each of the four rectangular projections at the cardinal points supported five large pillars, *āyaka kambhas*. The *āyaka* pillars, *āyaka* platforms supporting them and simple gateways guarded by lions are features of the *stūpas* in Andhra, not found elsewhere. The perambulatory passage between the *stūpa* and the railing around is approached by steps near the gateways beginning with a semicircular one known as the moonstone, gaily decorated with bands of animals and creeper designs executed in an artistic fashion. These moonstones at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and other places recall similar ones adorning the approach of the *stūpas* in Sri Lanka, and we know from inscriptions at Nagarjunakonda that there was ample scope for influence from that country.

The railing at Amaravati is one of the master-pieces of art. It measured 192 feet in diameter and stood nearly 14 feet high above the pavement. It was constructed of upright slabs, each pair of them connected by three cross-bars. The surface of each of these bars was decorated with full and half discs interspersed with minor sculptures from Buddhist legends. The inside of the railing was more richly carved. The plinth of the Amaravati *stūpa* was also decorated with friezes of animals and children in ludicrous positions. The slabs, forming the casing of the *stūpa*, 162 ft. in diameter, were richly carved, the principal object being an exact model of the highly decorated *stūpa* with the railing. The magnificent dome, surrounded by a sculptured railing and rising to a height of 100 feet when it existed, must have been unrivalled in the contemporary world.

Along with the *stūpas*, there existed chapels (*caityas*) and monasteries (*vihāras*). The earliest rock-hewn *caitya* is to be found at Guntupalli and is ascribed to the second century B.C. The *caityas* of the later period, constructed with mud, mortar and stone, are to be found at Nagarjunakonda and some other places. The plan of the *caitya* is apsidal and at the further end towards the apse is situated a small votive *stūpa* for worship. The approach to the *caitya* is, as in the case of the large *stūpas*, by a flight of steps starting with a moon-stone. The later *caityas* are not different in plan from the earlier rock-cut ones of Karle and such other western caves. The appearance of the facade and the curvilinear top have to be understood from the inner contour of the rock-cut ones or from the general appearance of similar later Hindu temples for which these earlier *caityas* have been the models.

The monasteries (*vihāras*) are composed of a number of cells for monks, arranged all around a rectangular courtyard and, judging by representations in sculpture, are storeyed. The bases of such monasteries have been laid bare by excavations at Nagarjunakonda. The approach to the cells and some of the entrances have a few small steps with moon-stones and flanking low *makara* balustrades. At Nagarjunakonda were found many tumbled-down pillars in rows where once a hall stood. This is an example of one of the earliest halls in South India.

Secular buildings of this period are unfortunately not preserved and actual examples are wanting, though some idea of such buildings can be formed by a study of representations in Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and other places. These buildings were storeyed and gorgeous. The types of windows included the arched one with finial, the rectangular one and the latticed. Different kinds of balustrades were known; pilasters and polygonal pillars have fine capitals, some on the model of the earlier bell-shaped ones with *kalaśa* motif at the base. The roof is sometimes shaped after a wagonhead, sometimes after a simple rectangular hut and sometimes with a circular curvilinear top, with the first known as the *śāla* and the second *kūtāgāra*. Both are described in early literary accounts of palaces. Terraces and balconies also figure in these sculptures, some open and others canopied, the latter type known as *valabhi*. There are separate entrances and exits with fine arched *tōrana* decorations, as in the case of the gateway at Sanchi which was decorated with fresh garlands on occasions.

Jain Architecture

The earliest Jain contribution to architecture in Andhra was noticed at Guntupalli caves in the West Godavari District datable to the 2nd century B.C., basing on the inscription of the Maha Meghavahana, a chief of Kalinga. Penicalapadu in the Jammulamadugu Taluk of Cuddapah district, Kurkyala (Munulagutta) in Karimnagar district, Chippagiri in Kurnool district, Rayadurg in Anantapur district and Ramatirtham in Vizianagaram district are some of the important Jain sites. Jain temples were more or less similar to the Brahmanical temples having stepped pyramid *śikharas*. The excavations at Gummadam showed foundations of a square brick structure having *bhadra* projections on three sides showing simple *mancaka* type of *adhiṣṭhāna*, datable to the 5th-6th century in association with a Jain image in red granite stone. Another structural edifice in brick is seen at Gollathagudi near Jedcherla in the Mahabubnagar district. It has a *sanctum* with a *śikhara* of Dravidian order. It has a simple *mancaka* type of *adhiṣṭhāna* and its walls are decorated with pillar and pilaster mouldings. The *śikhara* is of storeyed pyramidal type decorated with beautiful figures in stucco, datable to the 6th century. Some of the brick structures with stone *maṇḍapas* are also seen at Keesaragutta near Hyderabad datable to the 6th-7th century.

With the patronage of some of the Eastern Chalukyas, Jainism became a strong rival to Hinduism in Andhra during the 7th century. The first recorded Jain establishment is the Nadumbi-Vasadi of Vijayawada known from the Musinikonda plates of Vishnuvardhana III datable to the 7th century. Another early Jain stone temple is noticed at Kambadur in Anantapur district. The super-structure of this is of a stepped pyramidal type. It has a *garbhagṛha* and a *mukha maṇḍapa*. Interestingly, on the lintel of the doorjamb is depicted a seated Jaina figure. Standing Jaina figures in *kāyōtsarga* posture are seen as *dwārapālas* as in Hindu temples. Basing on the architectural features, it is datable to the 8th-9th century.

The Vemulavada chiefs patronised Jainism as attested by the temple at Subhadhama-Basadi at Vemulavada. The later Chalukyas also were patrons of Jainism and constructed temples at Bodhan, Pattancheruvu, Pudur, Kulpak, Konakondla, Bairanpalli, etc. Caves and temples having stepped pyramidal *śikharas* are seen near Padmakshigutta at Hanumakonda and Madikonda near Kazipet in the Warangal district datable to the 9-10th c. Danavulapadu in the Cuddapah district and Peddatumbalam in the Kurnool district are important Jain centres during the medieval period.

An inscription from Amarapuram in the Madakasira Taluk of Anantapur district, dated 1278 states that the income from certain grants was used for the construction of a temple, Brahma-Jinalaya, with stone from the foundation to the pinnacle of the temple complete with a *mahā-maṇḍapa*, *bhadra maṇḍapa*, Lakshmi-*maṇḍapa*, *gōpura parisūtra* (enclosure), *vandanamāla* (festoons), *māna-stambha* and *mukha maṇḍapa*. The temple clearly suggests the components of a Jaina temple of the medieval period.

Some of the temples were attached to the *maṭhas*. A Jaina *maṭha* consisted of an *ardha mukhamaṇḍapa* with small *gōpuras* having Jaina figures in the niches. The other peculiar feature in such temples was the depiction of females trampling over *makara*, as *dwārapālas*.

Brahmanical Period

The early Brahmanical structures are of brick and square or apsidal in plan with a simple *adhiṣṭhāna* (of *mancaka* type). Some temples possessed *manḍapas* with *prākāra* walls. The most important of the earliest Brahmanical temples are noticed at Veerapuram, Chabole, Gudimallam, Chejerla, Rangapuram and Somasila.

Excavations at Veerapuram in Kurnool district brought to light a cluster of brick temples installed with pebble *lingas* enclosed by a *prākāra*. Each temple had a square sanctum approached by a flight of steps. A common *mandapa* for three temples, which look like *trikūṭa* temples, was also noticed.

Associated with the structures are found coins of Satavahanas and Maharatthis, terracotta figure of Ganesa, a stone plaque of Mahishamardani, etc., datable to the 2nd century. At Chabole, on the river Bhavanasi in Kurnool district, was noticed a square brick temple with a Brahmi label inscription reading *Kasya gambha* datable to the 2nd c.B.C. on palaeographic grounds. At Rangapuram, on the bank of the river Krishna in Mahabubnagar district, a square brick temple was unearthed. Similar brick temples datable to the Satavahana period are also reported at Somasila near the Krishna-Bhavanasi confluence. At Gudimallam, in the Chittoor district, an apsidal brick temple datable to the 2nd c.B.C. was reported. At Chejerla in the Guntur district, an apsidal brick temple with a *mancaka* type of *adhiṣṭhāna* datable to Satavahana times was found. Another cluster of Brahmanical temples is noticed at Vijayapuri, the capital city of the Ikshvaku rulers (3rd c.).

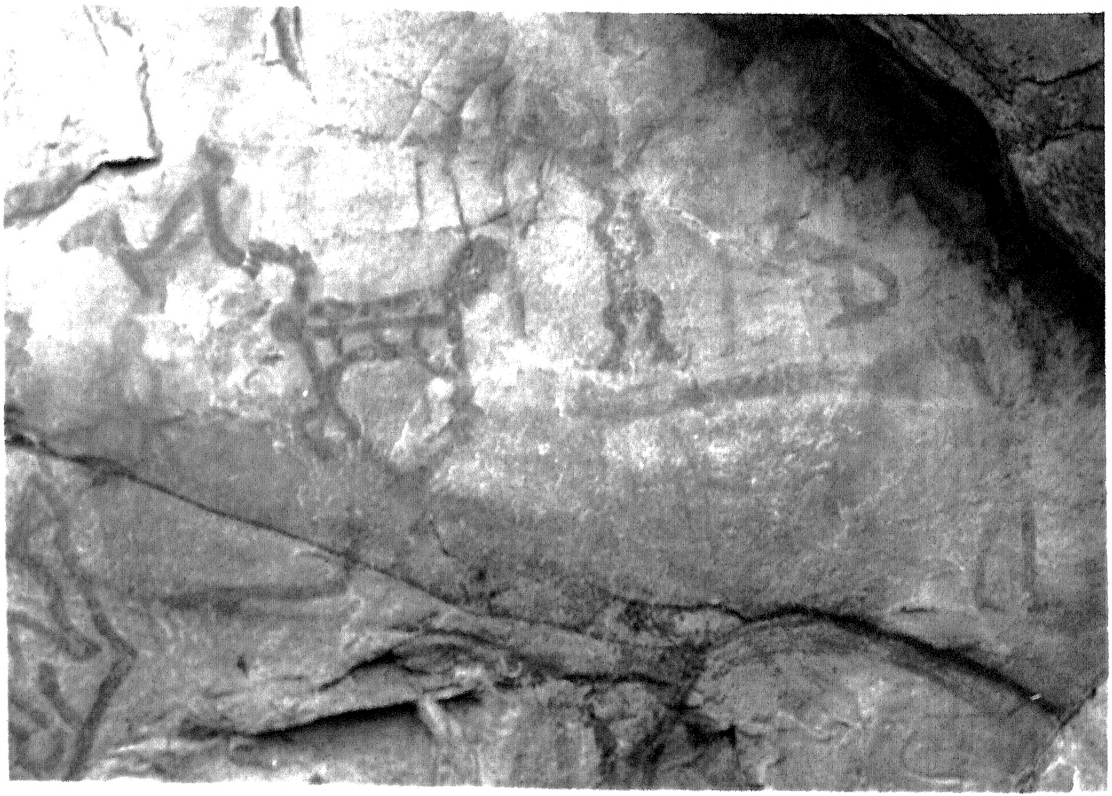
The Ikshvakus continued the tradition of temple building in brick, initiated by the Satavahanas. The temples of Pushpabhadraswami, Sarvadeva, Kartikeya, Astabhujaswami, Kubera, Nodagiswara and Navagraha are important in this context. The Pushpabhadraswami temple was the earliest one to have an apsidal *garbhagṛha* with a 16-pillared *mukha manḍapa, a dhwajastambha* and an enclosing wall with gateways. The Ashtabhuja temple had three sanctums with *dhwaja-stambha* in front of them. Two of these are apsidal in plan. The Navagraha temple complex contained square, circular and apsidal temples with an enclosure. The temple of Kubera is an apsidal one, having a hall with more than 100 pillars with the main entrance to the east. To the south of this is a stepped well. At Kudavelli, near the confluence of the rivers Krishna and Bhavanasi, a brick temple datable to this period was recently reported. During the Ikshvaku period construction of temples with all the components, such as *mukha manḍapas, dhwajastambhas*, compound walls and stepped wells was in vogue.

After the fall of the Satavahanas and Ikshvakus, Andhra was divided into small states and ruled by Anandagotris, early Pallavas, Salankayanas, Brihatphalayanas and Vishnukundis. The Anandagotris, contemporaries of the early Pallavas, renovated the existing temples. The Kapoteswara temple at Chejerla was of Buddhist origin, but was converted later into a Saivite religious centre. During this period, *antarāḷa* and *mahā manḍapa* were added to the apsidal shrine. The *adhiṣṭhāna* of the temple has *upāna, jagati, tripaṭṭakumuda* and *paṭṭika* of *pādabandha* class.

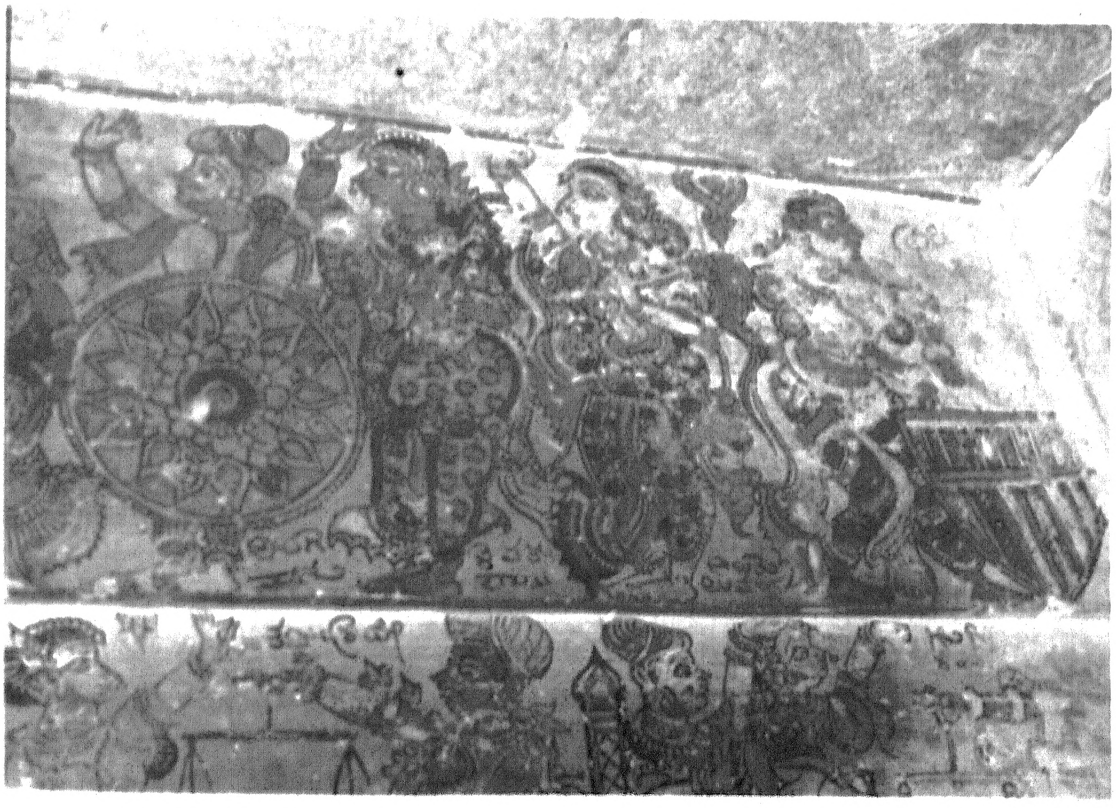
The early Pallavas ruled over the coastal and south-western Andhra for a considerable period. They were supporters of the movement of Brahmanical revival. Their inscriptions mention a few temples which existed at that time. The British museum plates of Charudevi mention the Kuli Mahataraka temple of Bhagavan Narayana at Dalura. The Uruvapalli plates of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa mention a temple of Vishnu at Kandukura.

Some of the Salankayanas followed Vaishnavism and the Pedavegi grant registers the gift of a village to the Trailokyanatha Vishnugrihaswamy temple by Nandi Varma II. Excavations conducted at Pedavegi, the capital city of the Salankayanas, revealed an extensive brick structure, rectangular in plan with the main entrance to the east. The wall over the *adhiṣṭhāna* is at a height of 1.60 mts. Niches are seen at regular intervals. On the basis of the layout of the structure, the complex appears to have four shrines at the four corners and the main shrine at the centre. This is the earliest example of the *pancāyatana* group in Andhra.

The Vishnukundis described themselves as "Parama maheswaras". Govinda Varma's Tummalagudem charter describes him as a builder of temples, *vihāras, stūpas*, assembly halls, wells, tanks and gardens. During this period a good number of brick temples were constructed as noticed at Keesaragutta, Yelesvaram and Rajahmundry. In the post-Ikshvaku period cave architecture of Brahmanical order was begun. A change from brick to rock-cut architecture is well attested during this period. The rock-cut shrines at Mogalrajapuram, Undavalli and Bhairavanikonda are the best examples of the Vishnukundi period. At Keesaragutta a square



Rock paintings - Kethavaram (Kurnool Dist.)



Veerabhadra Temple - Wallpainting (Macherla)

brick temple with neatly paved brick floor and a covered drain at the northeast corner to let out the ablution water was reported. At Yelesvaram a complex of Saivite brick temples, square in plan, with *lingas* at the centre are found. At Rajahmundry a brick temple of the Vishnukundi period was noticed near the Chandrika theatre. The diggings at Siddeswaram near Bhavanasi and Sangameswaram in Kurnool district brought to light foundations of brick temples. One of the brick structures showed a square sanctum and a porch approached by a flight of steps with balustrades on either side. The *adhiṣṭhana* above the *upāna* level is of "Kapotabandha" variety. The *adhiṣṭhâna* comprises of *upāna, jagati, kampa, tripaṭṭakumuḍa, kanta* and *kapōta*. Associated with the structure are recovered, early medieval pottery and stucco figures datable to the 6th-7th c.

As mentioned earlier, the cave temples at Vijayawada, Mogalrajapuram and Undavalli have been attributed to the Vishnukundi period. There are two rock-cut temples at Vijayawada, five at Mogalrajapuram and four at Undavalli. Those at Vijayawada and Mogalrajapuram are dedicated to the Trinity while those at Undavalli exclusively to Vishnu. Each of the caves contains a rectangular pillared hall with a single shrine chamber or sometimes with three cells. At Vijayawada, the Akkanna and Madanna caves are with triple rear cells and a common pillared verandah in front. The entablature of the Mogalrajapuram caves is carved with *kuḍus* and depicted with Brahma, Vishnu and Siva figures. Above the *vyāḷa* is a large bas-relief carving of Siva-Nataraja. The pillars of the Undavalli caves are crude with octagonal shafts ended by square blocks and topped by *taranga pōḍikas*. At Bhiravanikonda in the Udayagiri Taluk of Nellore district are cave groups dedicated to Siva. They are similar in plan with a square chamber at rear and a pillared *maṇḍapa* in the front. A few rock-cut caves found on the banks of the Manneru near the bridge in Manthani taluk, belong to Vishnukundi period. Pulakesi II (609-642), the Western Chalukya king, led campaigns against Kosala, Kanauj and Andhra and brought the region between the east and the west coasts under the Chalukya control. Temples built during the Western Chalukya period are seen at Alampur, Kudavelli, Panyam, Satyavolu, Mahanandi and Kadamakalva. Red sand stone was used to construct these temples.

At Alampur, in the Mahabubnagar district, are nine temples locally known as Nava-Brahma group of temples. All the temples except one are constructed in *rēkhānāgara* type. These temples are provided with closed *pradakṣiṇa-patha, mukha maṇḍapa* and *mukha catuṣki*. Latticed windows, idols in the niches, Saivite panels on the walls, provision of *śukanāsi* are the important features of the Western Chalukya temples in Andhra. Kumara Brahma temple is the earliest one in the Alampur group. The *adhiṣṭhāna* consists of *upāna, padma, jagati, kumuda* and *kapōta*. Large-sized *bhadrâvalōkanas* are arranged on the walls. The roof of the *pradakṣiṇa patha* is with slabs arranged in a slopy manner, whereas the flat roof covers the nave lengthwise over the pilasters. The *tribhūmi śikhara* over the roof is *dvyanga* in plan, possessing *vēṇukōśa* and *lata* with *śalāpanjara*. *Grīva* and *āmalaka* are the crowning members. The pillars in *mukha catuṣki* and *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* are of *rucaka* order. The pillars contain a shaft, octagonal in the middle and square at the top. Above is *taranga* of *tāḷapatra* - designed *pōḍika*. The pillars are carved with beautiful foliages and figures of *makara, gaja, mithuna* and lotus medallions. The next is Arkabrahma temple similar in plan but devoid of the *garbhagṛha*. Balabrahma and Virabrahma temples are also similar in plan to the above. Swarga Brahma temple is considered to have been erected by the queen Lokamahadevi during Vinayaditya's time. Provision of *antarāḷa* is a new feature in this temple. The *śikhara* is four-storeyed which has *śukanāsi* to the height of the second storey with Siva-Nataraja panel carved in the front arch. Above the *śikhara* is a *grīva*, circular in plan, super-imposed by an *āmalaka* and a double *kalaśa*. The pillars are decorated with *ghaṭa pallava* and *pūrna ghaṭa* motifs. The temple of Garudabrahma temple is similar in plan to that of Swargabrahma. The Viswabrahma temple has more ornamental features on the walls than the others. *Simhapāda* pillars appear for the first time in the Garuda Brahma temple. The Padmabrahma temple, the largest of the group oriented to the east, resembles that of the Swarga Brahma one. The Taraka Brahma temple is also oriented to the east. The plan of the temple consists of *garbhagṛha, antarāḷa* and *mukha maṇḍapa*. The two storeyed *vimāna* has *karṇakūṭa* and *kapōta*, followed by *kānta, prastara*, and *vimāna śikhara*.

Typical examples of the Western Chalukya architecture are the Sangameswara temple at Kudavelle in the Mahbubnagar district, the Mahanandiswara temple at Mahanandi, Panikeswara temple at Panyam, Sivanandeswara temple at Kadamakalva in the Kurnool district and the Ramalingeswara temple at Satyavolu in the Prakasam district. The architectural features of the Western Chalukya period are the ground plan with *garbhālaya, gūḍha maṇḍapa* and *mukha catuṣki* followed by an addition of simple *antarāḷa*, niches on the walls, grilled windows and flat roof of the *garbhālaya* supported by four pillars. Temples of 'sandhara' variety with *pradakṣiṇa-patha* with sloped roof and simple *adhiṣṭhāna* and of *rēkhānāgara* variety with two to five stories arranged by *śukanāsis* and ribbed circular *āmalakas* are noteworthy. Sometimes *parivāra* shrines are also provided as seen in Kadamakalva temple. The doorways are of *tri-chatuh-* and *panca-śākha* variety with *dwārapālas* and Ganga and Yamuna figures at the bottom. The victorious campaign of Pulakesi II in the eastern tract of Andhra led to the formation of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom in 624 with Kubja Vishnuvardhana as its first ruler. During the period from the mid-7th to 12th c., many temples dedicated to Siva were constructed. Most of the temples were of stone though brick was also used. The salient features of the Eastern Chalukya architecture are: the temples are square in plan devoid of pillars in *garbhagṛha*, the *vimāna* is devoid of *śukanāsi*, storeyed *vimānas* reached by flights of steps, 'bhedabheda' variety of *adhiṣṭhānas, karṇa* and *bhadra* projections on the walls adorned with *panjara kosās* topped by *makara-tōraṇas* enclosed by *prākāra* walls, absence of *mukha-catuṣki*, and the introduction of structural *gōpuras*.

The earliest temple of the Eastern Chalukya period constructed entirely by dressed stones is the Jalapeswara temple at Pondugula in Guntur district. It has *garbhagṛha antarāḷa* and *mahā-maṇḍapa*. The *adhiṣṭhāna* is of the *pādabandha* class. *Bhadra* and *hāra* patterns are seen on the walls. *Kuḍya-kōṣṭa* is seen on the *vimāna* portion. The Siva temple at Terala in the same district is similar in plan and is identical with the Pondugula temple. Temples of Gunaga Vijayaditya period found at Biccavolu namely, Golingeswara, Rajarajeswara and Chandrasekhara temples contain all these features. Some of the temples of this period such as those at Daksharamam and Bhimavaram are storeyed ones in which the ground floor is either functional or solid and the upper floor is reached through a flight of steps from inside the ground floor or from outside. In the upper floor the usual pillared hall has the sanctum with large sized *jālakas* and an opening towards the east. The Bhimeswara temples at Daksharamam and Bhimavaram are ascribed to Chalukya Bhima I. The temple at Daksharamam is enclosed by two *prākaras* with four *gōpuras*. The Bhimeswara temple at Chebrolu is of *sandhāra* variety with *garbhālaya, ardhamaṇḍapa* and *mukha-maṇḍapa*. The *sarvatōbhadra* temple has doorways on all the four sides. The Amaresvara temple at Amaravati is in similar style.

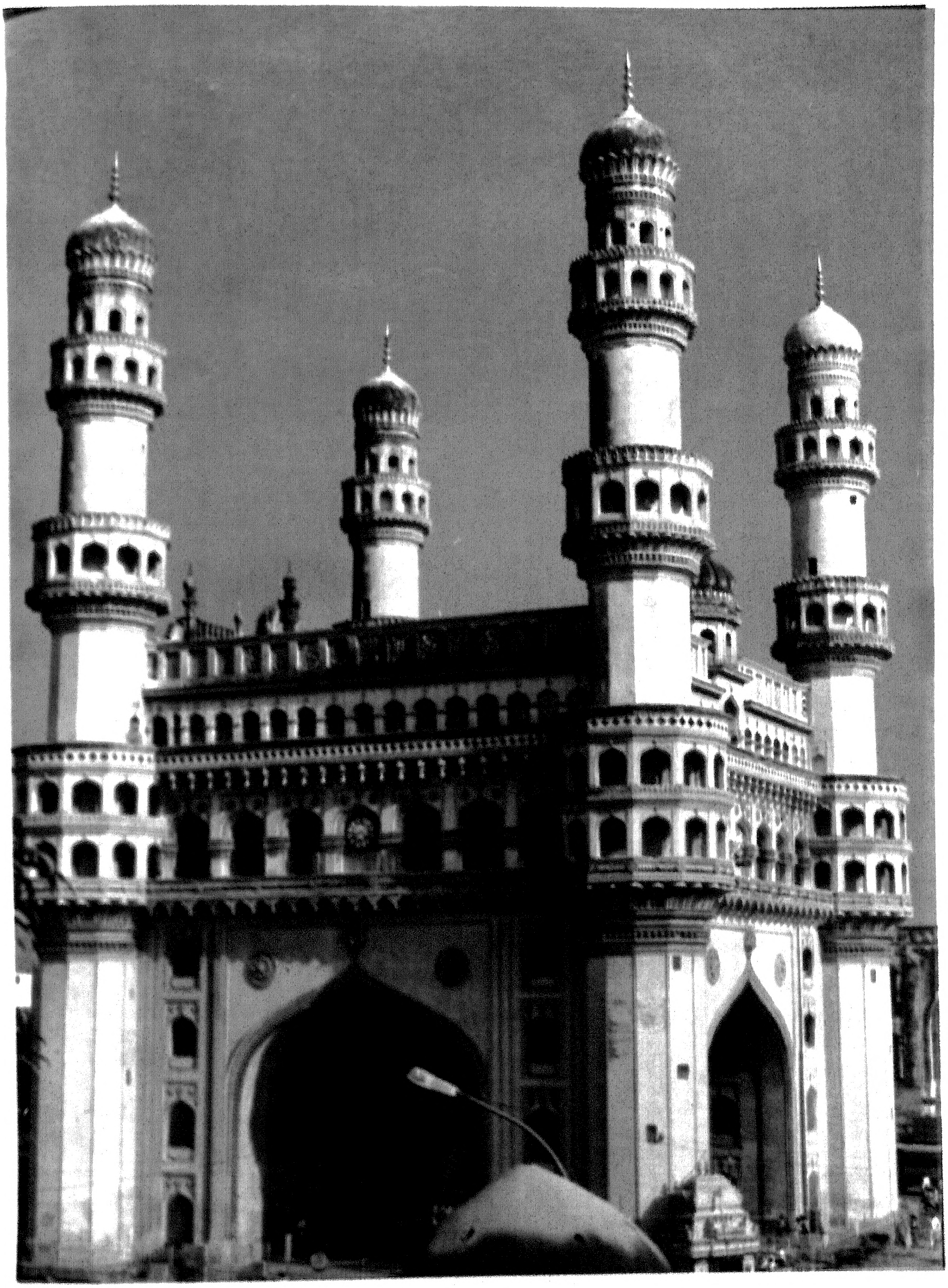
The temples built at Rupala Sangameswaram, Tandrapadu, Veldurti, Pratakota, Malleswaram, Gudem, Miyapur, etc. belong to the Rashtrakuta period. The architecture of the Rashtrakutas has a close resemblance to that of the Pallavas, probably due to their marital relations with the latter. The temple at Rupala Sangameswaram consists of *garbhālaya, antarāḷa* and *mahā-maṇḍapa* with a pillared porch in the front. The *adhiṣṭāna* is of *bhēdābhēda* type. The niches are crowned by *makara tōraṇas*. The *prastara* is composed of *uttara, bhūtamāla* and *kapōta* and *vyāḷavarga*. The *vimāna* is of three storeys. It has square *kānta, śikhara* and *stūpi*. The *mahā-manḍapa* is provided with three entrances and flights of steps. The pillars, heavy in size, are with *aṣṭapada, kalaśa, phalaka* and *pōdika*. Basing on a label inscription, it is dated to the 9th c. The Rajamana temple at Veldurti is identical with and similar in execution to the Rupala Sangameswaram temple. The temples at Pratakota and certain temples at Papanasi near Alampur are similar to the above in plan, art motifs, pillars and *vimānas*. The group of temples at Gudem and Somasila - all in the Mahbubnagar district - underwent renovations during the Rashtrakuta period. The dilapidated temple at Miyapur with rectangular *maṇḍapa* with its doorway flanked by life size *dwārapālas* is typical of Rashtrakuta style. During the Rashtrakuta period, Dravida *vimāna* was favoured along with the use of *bhēdābhēda* type of *adhiṣṭhānas*, variations in pillar types, decorations on the walls, highly carved *makara tōraṇas*, *ratha* type of *vimānas*, arrangement of *vimāna dēvatas* as seen at Bhujangeswara and Rupala Sangameswara temples.

The Nolambas were a feudatory family under the Gangas, Rashtrakutas and Chalukyas from the 8th to the 10th c. They ruled over the area of present-day Anantapur district and had their capital at Henjeru or Hemavati, now in the Madakasira Taluk of Anantapur district . The temples of the Nolambas are seen at Hemavati, Dharmapuri and Arlaguppe. The Doddeswara temple at Hemavati consists of *garbhagṛha, antarāḷa* and *mahā-maṇḍapa*. The *adhiṣṭhāna* is of *pādabandha* variety. The pilasters on the wall are tall. Ganga, Yamuna, *dwārapālas* and *nidhi* figures are carved at the bases of the door frames. The *mahā-maṇḍapa* has four rows of pillars with four pillars in each row. This temple is dated to the 10th c. The other important temples of the nolambas are those of Siddheswara and Mallikarjuna.

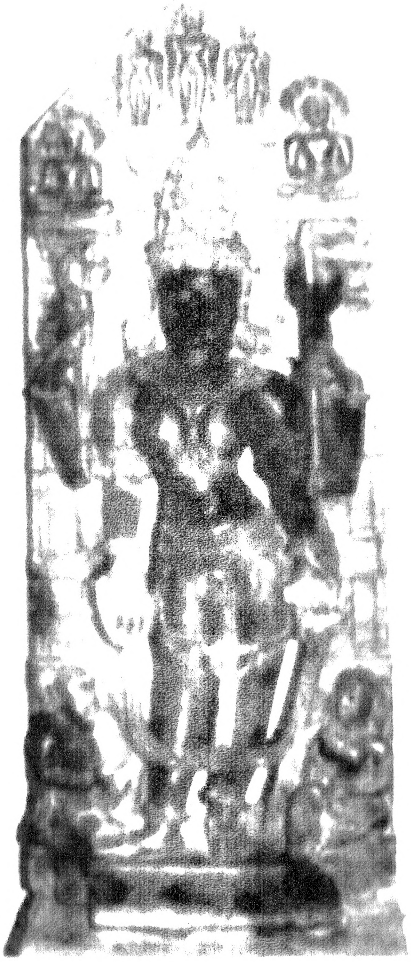
The Eastern Gangas commenced their rule over Kalinga, in 493 c. The important architectural features of the Eastern Ganga temples - four corner temples, Jaganmohana and the five *pancāyatana* shrines in Orissan style - are seen at Mukhalingam. The Someswara temple is typical 'Rekha Deval'. The presence of the 'khakhar' and 'pidha deval' show the Orissan influence. The sanctums have corbelled roofs instead of flat roofs. There is a corbelled arch above the doorway of the sanctum, constructed to relieve the heavy load over it. The architects opted for the local khondalite stones for temple building. The study of the iconography of the Madhukesvara temple enables us to assign to it a date between 8th-10th c. The Bhimeswara and Someswara temples were built during the 11th c. Other important temples of the Eastern Gangas are seen at Jayati, Arasavilli and Galavolli in the north-eastern coastal Andhra.

The Telugu Chodas of Kanduru exercised their authority over the Kandurnadu with their capital at Koduru and later at Panagallu from the 11th to 13th c. The Telugu Chodas built great temples at Perur, Panagallu, Kanduru, Kolanupaka, Gattutummena, Uppunutala and Sirikonda. Generally each of these temples contain *garbhālaya, antharāḷa* and *sabhā-mandapa* as seen at Sirikonda and Panagallu. Another variety at Panagallu with long rectangular hall with five rows of pillars is noteworthy.

The later Chalukyas who ruled from Kalyan had the western part of Andhra under their control for a considerable time since Taila II (973-997). During their reign, magnificent temples were built with elaborate plans and elevations. A new type of temple plan - the stellate - was their innovation. Introduction of *kakṣāsanas*, continuation of *śukanāsi* over *ardhamaṇḍapas*, plan of *trikūṭa* temples with *ranga-maṇḍapam*, stepped pyramidal *vimānas*, erection of free-standing *toraṇas* and double-storeyed *maṇḍapas* are the other architectural features. Important temples of Kalyani Chalukya period are at Patancheru, Kothapalle, Nandikandi, Puduru, Gangapur, Somasila, Malleswaram and Pedathumbalam. The Rameswara temple at Nandikandi, in Medak district, is of bhumija type and star-shaped in plan. The temple is provided with square *garbhagṛha*, rectangular *ardhamaṇḍapa* and square *rangamaṇḍapa* with porches on three sides. The wall portion is decorated with pillars crowned by miniature *vimānas* which continue upto the *vimāna*. The *śukanāsi* is seen on the *ardhamanḍapa*. There is a *tōraṇa* of *rucaka* pillars. The Chennakesava temple at Gangapur is in *pancāyatana* layout. The wall is divided into *karṇa* and *bhadra* projections. The *kōṣṭas* on the wall are of three storeyed variety.

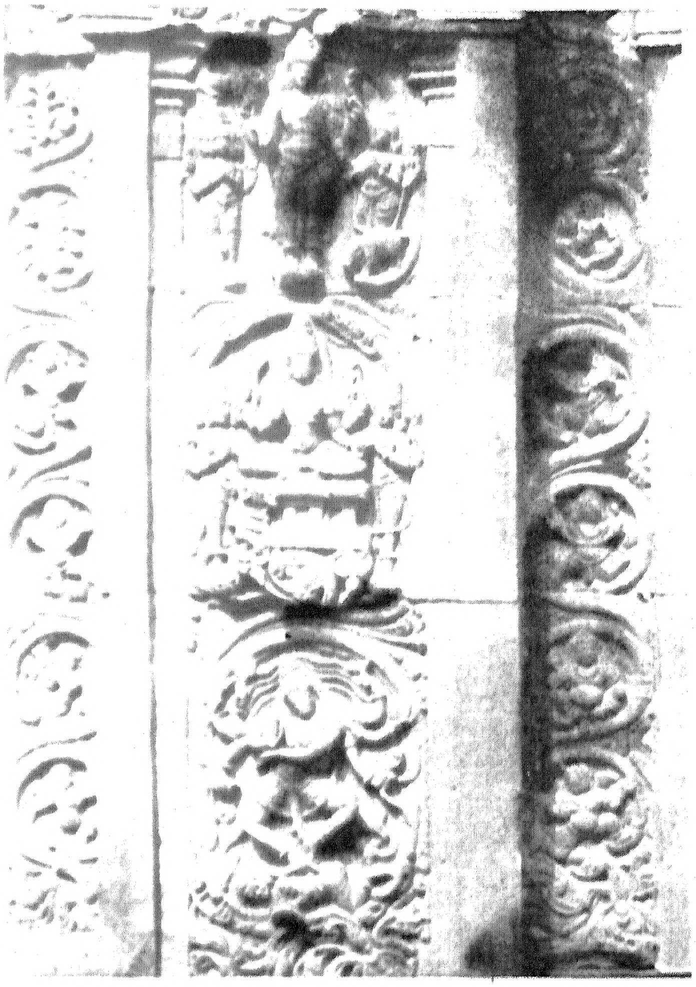


Charminar - Hyderabad



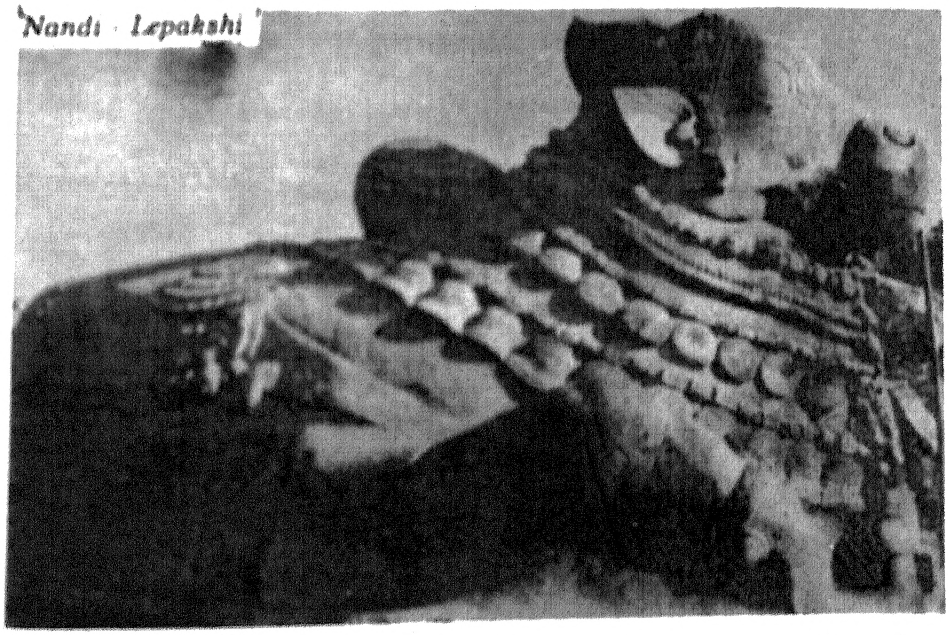
Jaina Saraswati - A.P. State Museum

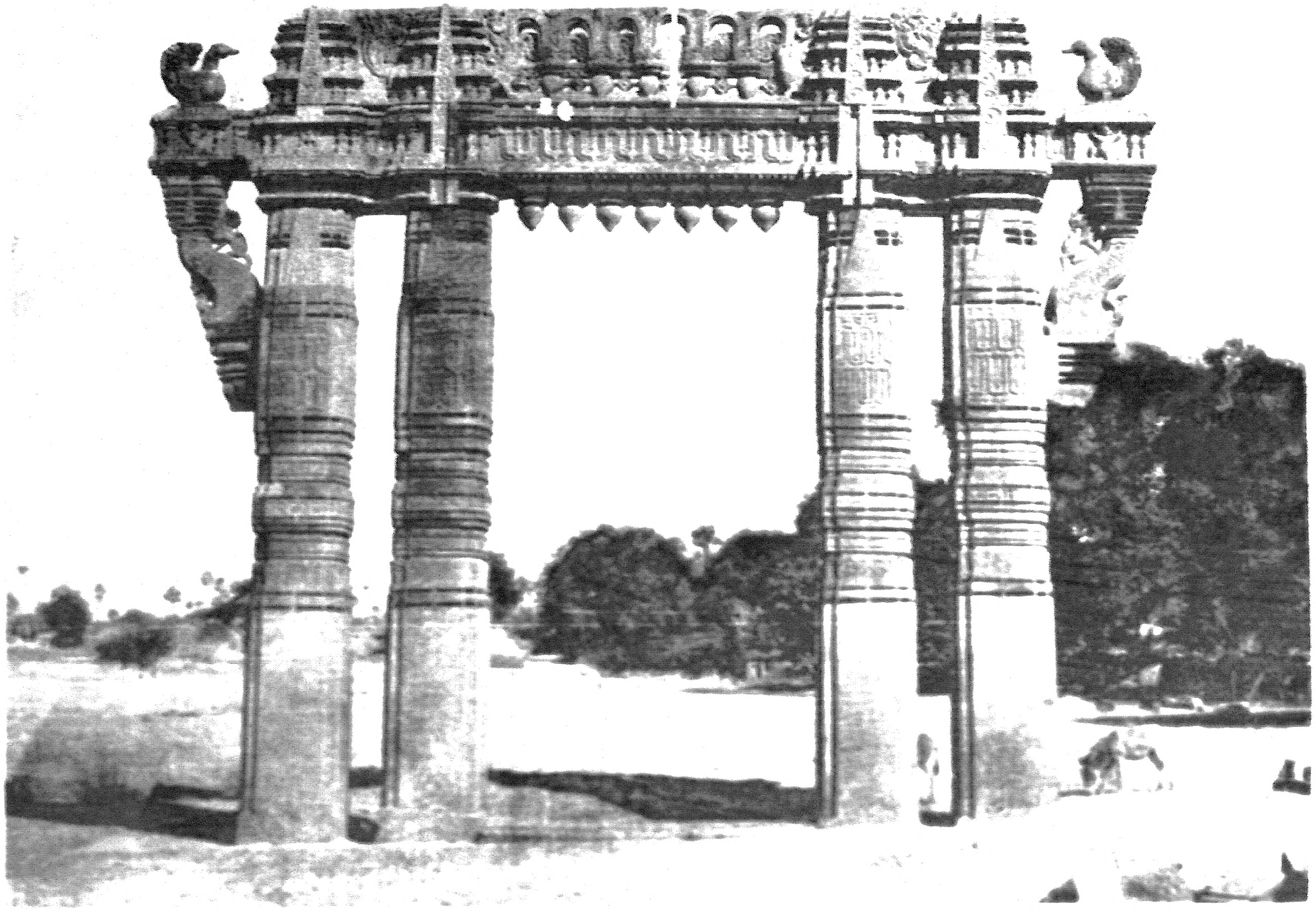
Hyderabad



Saivite Pannel - Panugal (Nalgonda Dist.)

Nandi - Lepakshi





Kākatiya Tōraṇam - Warangal Fort

The Cholas of Renadu, said to be the descendants of Karikala Chola, established their ingdom in the Cuddapah region and ruled from the 6th to 10th c. The temples of Renadu re constructed in a specific type of architecture. The temples at Muthukuru, Pitikayagullu, lameswaram, Chilamakur and Pedamudiam are constructed by the Telugu Cholas of Renadu. he Agastyeswara temple at Chilamakuru in Cuddapah district belongs to the period of ikramaditya Chola of the 8th c. It is apsidal in plan, annexed by a 16-pillared *mahâmaṇḍapa*. he *śikhara* is constructed with dressed stones. The front side of the gable is fashioned ke a *caitya* window. The Pitakeswara temple complex at Pitikayagullu in Prakasam district omprises the main temple and *parivara* shrines. The main temple is with *garbhālaya* and aha-*maṇḍapa*. *Parivâra* shrines are located around this shrine. They are square, rectangular nd apsidal in plan. All these temples are built in brick and belong to the 8th c. The arasurameswara temple at Attirala and the Pallisvaramandaya Mahendra temple in Chittoor listrict represent the characteristic features of Renadu Chola architecture.

Though the Kakatiyas of Warangal (1000-1323) adopted architectural styles of the later halukyas, they also innovated new technical devices in their architectural edifices. The temples how *êkaśâla, yugaḷa, trikûṭa, pancakûṭa* varieties besides pillared *maṇḍapas*. The temples vere built over an imposing and spacious *upapīṭha*, which served as *pradakshaṇa-patha*. he important temples are the 1000-pillared temple at Hanumakonda, the Ramappa temple at alampet, and those at Ghanpur, Ramanujapuram, Jangoan, Manthani, Kaleswaram, Jakaram, ejjanki, Kusumanchi etc. The walls of the *garbhagṛha* and *antarāḷa* in all these temples re profusely decorated with miniature sculptures, and miniature *vimānas*. The doorways and *wâra-śikharas* are finely carved and the architraves bear fine figures of Siva and Nataraja.

The Kakatiya architects showed adequate interest in the spatial organisation of the temples. he *prâkâra* walls, entrance *maṇḍapas*, pillared pavilions, *tōraṇas, maṇḍapas* and the subsidiary hrines are appropriately distributed around the main temple. The temples possessed *dēva ōṣṭhas* or niches to enhance exterior elegance. The Kakatiya pillars display a large variety f designs. They also used *madanikas* or graceful female figures as brackets to support the nassive cornices of the *sabhâ-maṇḍapa*. The *vimânas* of the Kakatiya temples occur both in tepped pyramidal and storeyed pyramidal types. Most of the temples had brick-built *vimānas*. ight weight bricks or floating bricks were used in the construction of *vimānas* as seen at amappa temple. Next to the Mauryan, it was only the Kakatiya architect that employed he polished dolerite stones for architectural components such as door-jambs, ceiling panels, illars etc. to provide beauty and grace.

After the fall of the Kakatiyas, Vijayanagara dynasty dominated the south-west part of ndhra, i.e., Rayalaseema. The rulers of Vijayanagara (14-17th c.) were great patrons of art and rchitecture. The best examples are the temples at Tadipatri, Malkapuram, Narayanavanam, Mangapuram, Tirupati, Kalahasti, Somapalli, Dichipalli, Srisailam, Manchalakatta, Jataprole, tc. The Vijayanagara architects dispensed with the *upapīṭha* for their temples. In the Vijayanagara *adhiṣṭhānas*, *trippaṭṭa kumuda* was taken along with a semi-circular shape decorated with a series of intricately carved cross bands buckled to resemble a chain. The niches are artistically decorated with ornamentation. The exterior wall surface of the temples is ornated with *makara tōraṇas, śalākōṣṭas, kūṭakōṣṭas*, pilasters, *kumbha-panjaras*, bas-reliefs, portraits, scenes from epics, *sthalapurāṇa* legends and local history. During this period, the *gôpuras* of the outer *prākāras* were built. The pillars are monolithic, often decorated with *gaja-kêsari*, horse-riders, *vyāḷa* figures, musical pillars in *maṇḍapas* etc. The most striking contributions of the period are separate *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*, addition of structures like Devi shrines and *pâkasâlas*.

The Saracenic influence, which is only suggestive in some of the Vijayanagara secular buildings, had its heyday in Telangana during the Qutb Shahi period. The dome, the arch and the minaret became the characteristic features of the buildings during this period. Though some architects from the foreign Muslim countries took part in the construction of these buildings, the native genius too played its role and a happy blending of these two is to be found in buildings such as Charminar. This effort at synthesis was continued even in the time of Asifjahis and a happy assimilation of these two styles of architecture is to be seen in the construction of the main building of the Osmaina University.

SCULPTURE

Sculpture of the Asokan period is considered to be the earliest available one in India as on today. Andhra sculpture also goes back to that date. Surprisingly, the early carvings from Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta have striking resemblances to those of Bharhut, thereby asserting that this phase of art in India was closely knit together. The same artistic heritage, which accounts for a strikingly similar identity, can be seen both in the Satavahana and Kalinga periods also. This oneness found in artistic expression is a part of a cultural heritage that the Satavahanas and the Kalingas inherited from the Mauryas. The carvings and the paintings found in the various parts of the early Andhra empire reveal both maturity and conceptual identity, which are evidenced by the findings both in the eastern and western parts of the large Satavahana empire. The rich sculptural heritage in Andhra during this period can be seen at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Goli, Gummadidurru, Jaggayyapeta, Bhattiprolu and Ghantasala, where several beautiful sculptures were unearthed from the ruins of the *stûpas*.

The *stūpa* at Amaravati, which enshrined a fragment of the Buddha's relic, was probably one of the many that Asoka erected all over the land. It was beautifully decorated with carvings in marble. These carvings can be classified and assigned to four periods. The earliest are of the second century B.C. and closely resemble the carvings from Bharhut and paintings from Cave X of Ajanta. Those of the second period are of the 1st century. The third period of art is represented by the profuse carvings on the railing and was ascribed to the efforts of the great master, Nagarjuna. The fourth and the last phase is of the beginning of the 3rd century. A remarkable sculpture from the first phase of Amaravati, with an inscription mentioning the name of a Yaksha, proves clearly that Yaksha worship was in vogue in the Krishna valley, as in Central and North India. One of the finest carvings of this period is the one from Jaggayyapeta representing Mandhata causing a rain of coins. The second period of sculpture is interesting. For the first time, here as in Mathura, about the same time, the figure of the Buddha in human form is introduced though in all early sculptures this was scrupulously avoided and there was only a symbolic representation.

The third period of art at Amaravati is noteworthy for the large number of scenes that illustrated *Jātaka* stories and stories from the Buddha's life. The high water-mark of artistic ability in the Satavahana age is to be seen in the delightful carvings of the third period.

During the time of the Satavahanas there was Hindu artistic expression as well. The Satavahanas, noted for their religious tolerance, were followers of the Brahmanical faith and performed many Vedic sacrifices. The famous image of Siva on the *linga* at Gudimallam, assigned to the 2nd century B.C., is a unique piece of early Satavahana art. This is probably one of the most remarkable figures of Siva combining Agni and Rudra concepts of the Vedic tradition in a figure that closely follows the Yaksha model in contemporary sculpture in North India.

The Ikshvakus, like the Satavahanas, were followers of the Brahmanical faith and performed many sacrifices. They too were noted for their religious tolerance and many princesses from the royal household actively participated in building Buddhist monuments at Nagarjunakonda, which are among the most important ones in Andhra. The carvings at Nagarjunakonda reveal a development of the art from that of Amaravati and are almost contemporary with the last phase there. At Nagarjunakonda, Goli and Gummadidurru, the style of carving is similar and represents the same phase of development. The carvings are lively and the themes cover many *Jātaka* tales and stories from the Buddha's life. Here, as in Amaravati, some foreign motifs were used with studied skill to enliven the tedium. The railing of the *stūpa*, the *āyaka* pillars and the lion-guarded gateways are all well decorated and form a special feature of decoration of the *stūpas* in Andhra. The semi-circular moon-stones with rows of running animals and creeper patterns at Nagarjunakonda remind us of the links that the Krishna valley had during this period with Sri Lanka, where similar moon-stones occur.

At the same time, other Buddhist monuments are found further north near Anakapalle (at Sankaram) where rock-cut figures of the Buddha reveal how wide the Buddhist influence had spread during the Satavahana realm.

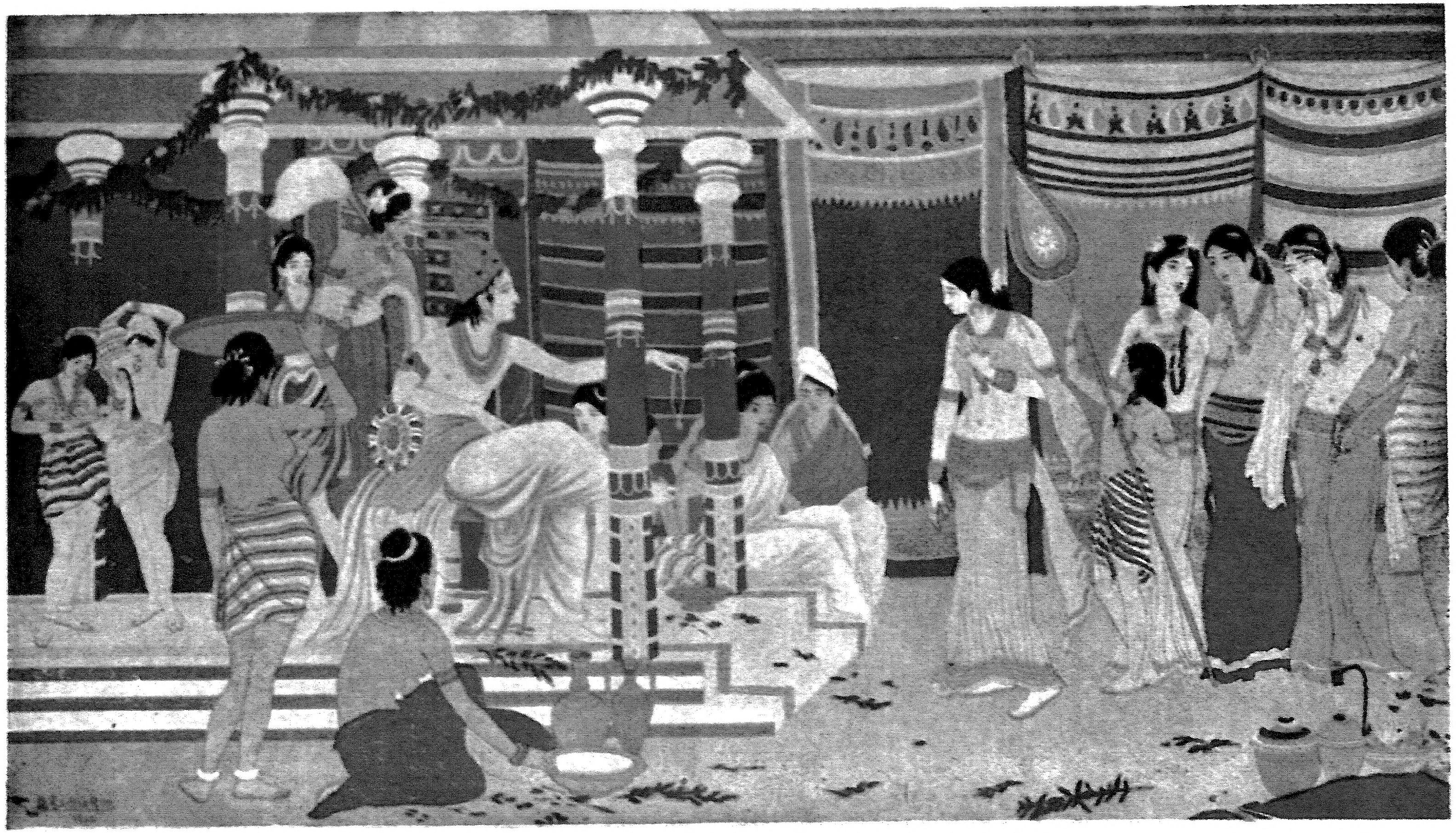
However, it must be conceded that much of the Buddhist sculptural wealth - especially that of the Mahayana period - was irrecoverably lost. We learn from the Mahanaya texts that the worship of Avalokitesvara Bodhisatva had its beginnings in Andhra. As such, there must have been many temples with idols of Avalokitesvara and Tara in Andhra during the pre-Chalukya period. But curiously enough, we do not come across such idols excepting the one, recovered from a debris of a temple of Siva at Chimakurti, Prakasam District. This idol, beautifully carved and embellished, provides us with a glimpse of the artistic ability of the Buddhist sculptor.

Not only stone, but wood, stucco and metal were also utilised during this period as mediums for sculptural depiction. We have definite evidence both from literary and inscriptional sources of such an endeavour. But the icons or figurines in wood must have decayed as the medium itself is an easily perishable one. Figurines in stucco, though available, are deformed and sometimes unrecognisable. Most of the metal figures, though not perishable, must have been melted away by greedy vandals. However, the small metal icons obtained in the excavations at Nagarjunakonda and the two-thirds life size idol of Lord Buddha recovered from a stream at Nelakondapalli stand as evidences of the maturity, proficiency and technical skill of the sculptors of the ancient period in utilising the *cire perdu* process *(madhūcchiṣṭa vidhāna)* in metal casting. This idol of the Buddha is assigned to the 4th-5th century.

The next phase of sculpture in Andhra is that of the Vishnukundis (5th-6th c.). The Undavalli and Mogalrajapuram caves, in and around Vijayawada, are of this period and represent the sculptor's art before the advent of the Chalukyas. In the Undavalli caves, many of the figures have been unfortunately ruined beyond recognition by modern plastering. Wherever carvings can be made out, they show vigour and skill in the portrayal of both man and animal. But it is in the better preserved Mogalrajapuram caves that we see more of the sculptor's genius. The row of lions and elephants beneath the figure of eight-armed dancing Siva that crowns the facade of one of the caves is exceedingly realistic and the faces peeping from within the *kuḍus* of this are most charming. The multi-armed figure of Siva here, even in its mutilated condition, impresses as a great masterpiece of art. In this, it combines the traditions of both the North and the South. But, in the portrayal of Krishna, the Andhra sculptures of the day differed from those of both the Northern and the other Southern schools. During the Gupta period, in the North, Krishna was portrayed in a human form with two arms, while at Mahabalipuram and Mogalrajapuram and also in the later phase of Ellora, Krishna is deified with an addtional pair of arms. The horned *dwārapālas* guarding the gateway in these caves are the precursors of the later Pallava ones and deserve our special attention for their influence on later sculptures.

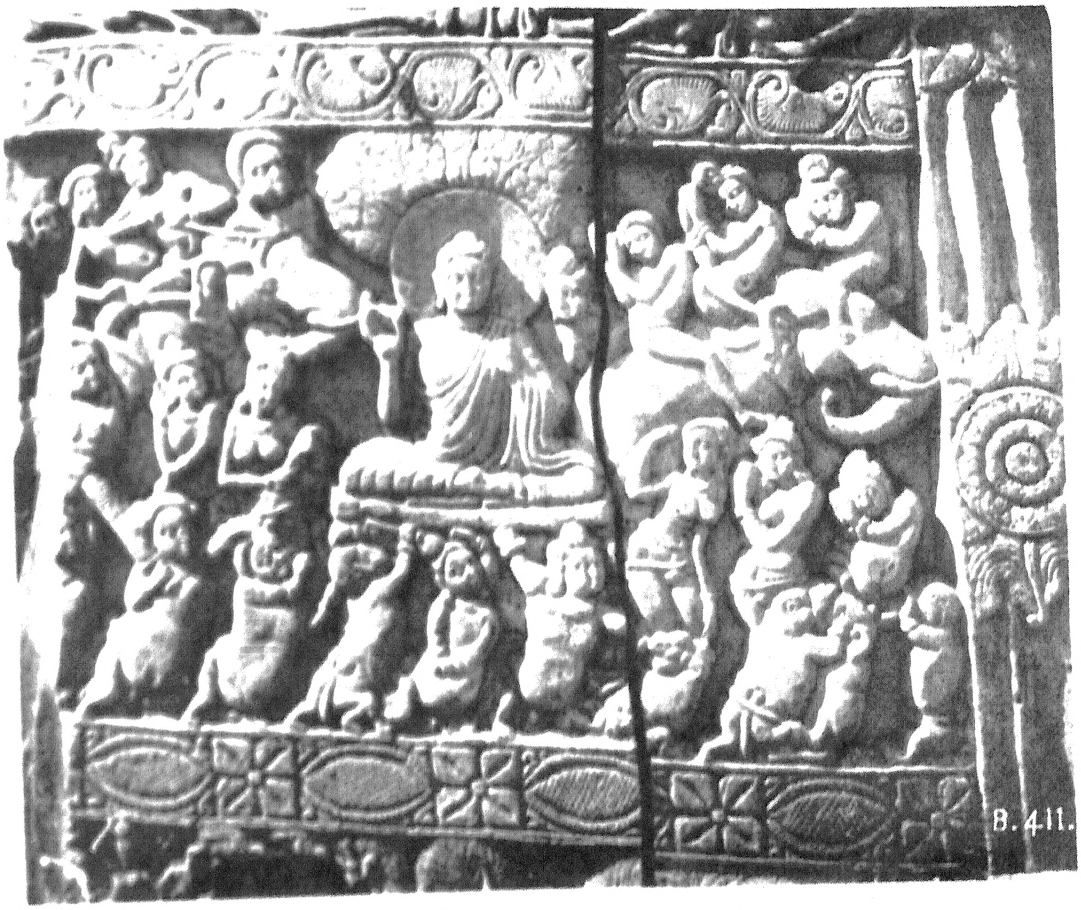
The intermediate step between the caves of Mogalrajapuram and the caves of the Pallavas (which are distributed in a wide area from Chengleput to Trichi district) may be seen in the cave temples at Bhairavunikonda in the Nellore District. These cave temples are nearer to the Telugu idiom in sculpture than to that of the Tamil one although those further south developed their own individuality. The Panchasiva group from Madugula should also be assigned to this period.

It is not very clear whether the image of Siva at Madugula, with an axe in one of his single pair of arms and with his Nandi close to him, is a piece of Vishnukundi sculpture or of the Eastern Chalukyan. Similar is the case of the broken bust of Kubera with a beautiful *makuṭa*. Both these fine pieces of sculpture are in the Vijayawada Museum and show the advanced skill of the workmen. Some of the large images of the Buddha, of almost life size, found at Amaravati and in different places like Alluru (near Vijayawada) are preserved in the

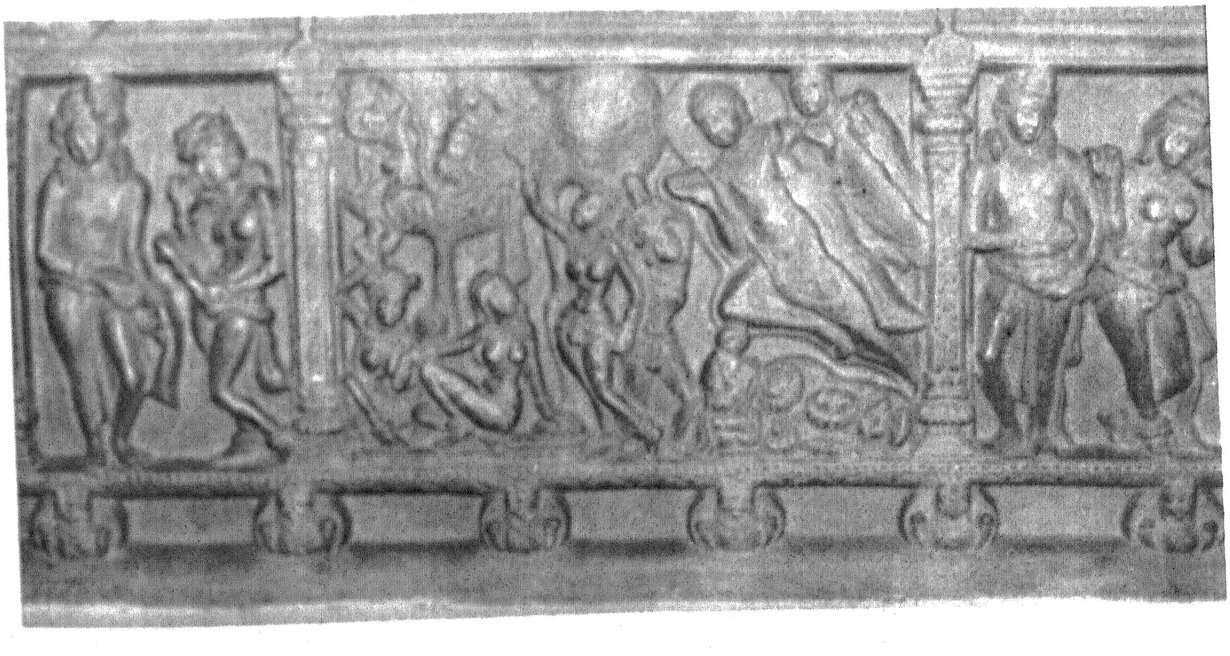


Siddhārta Rāgōdayam

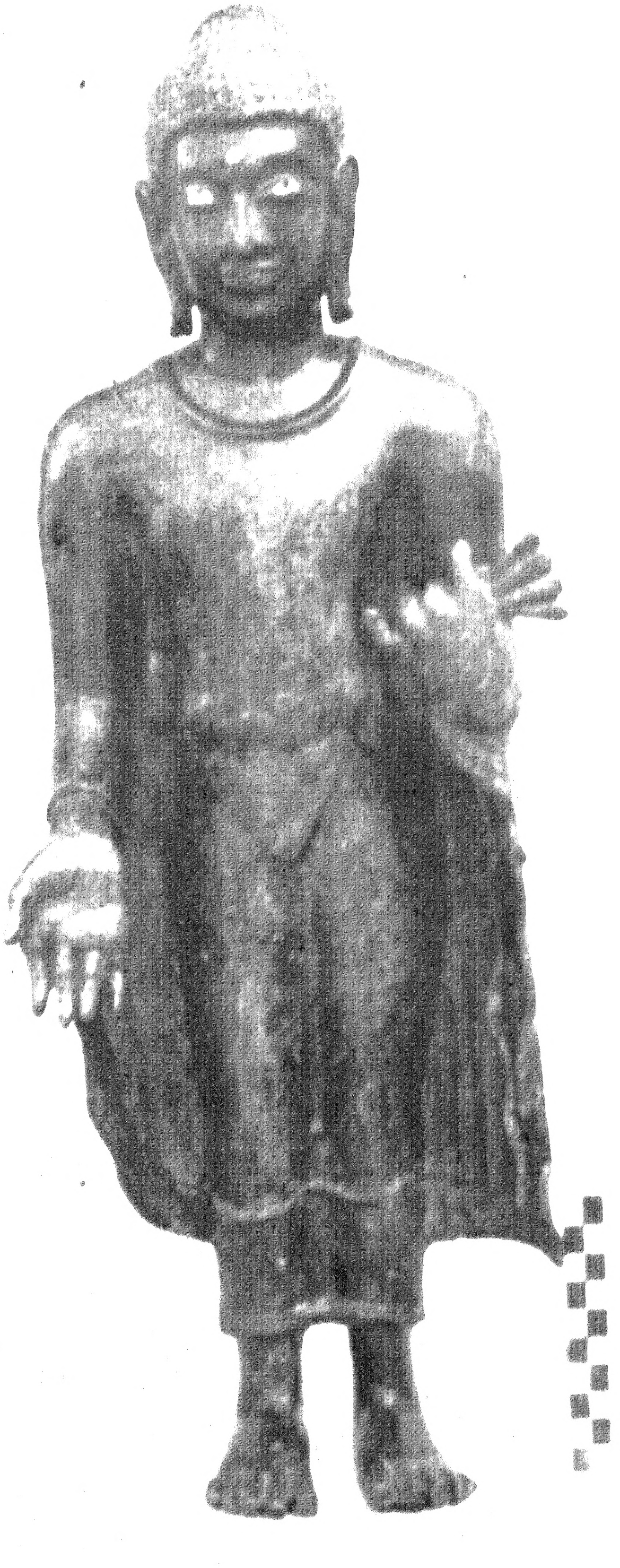
by Damerla Ramarao



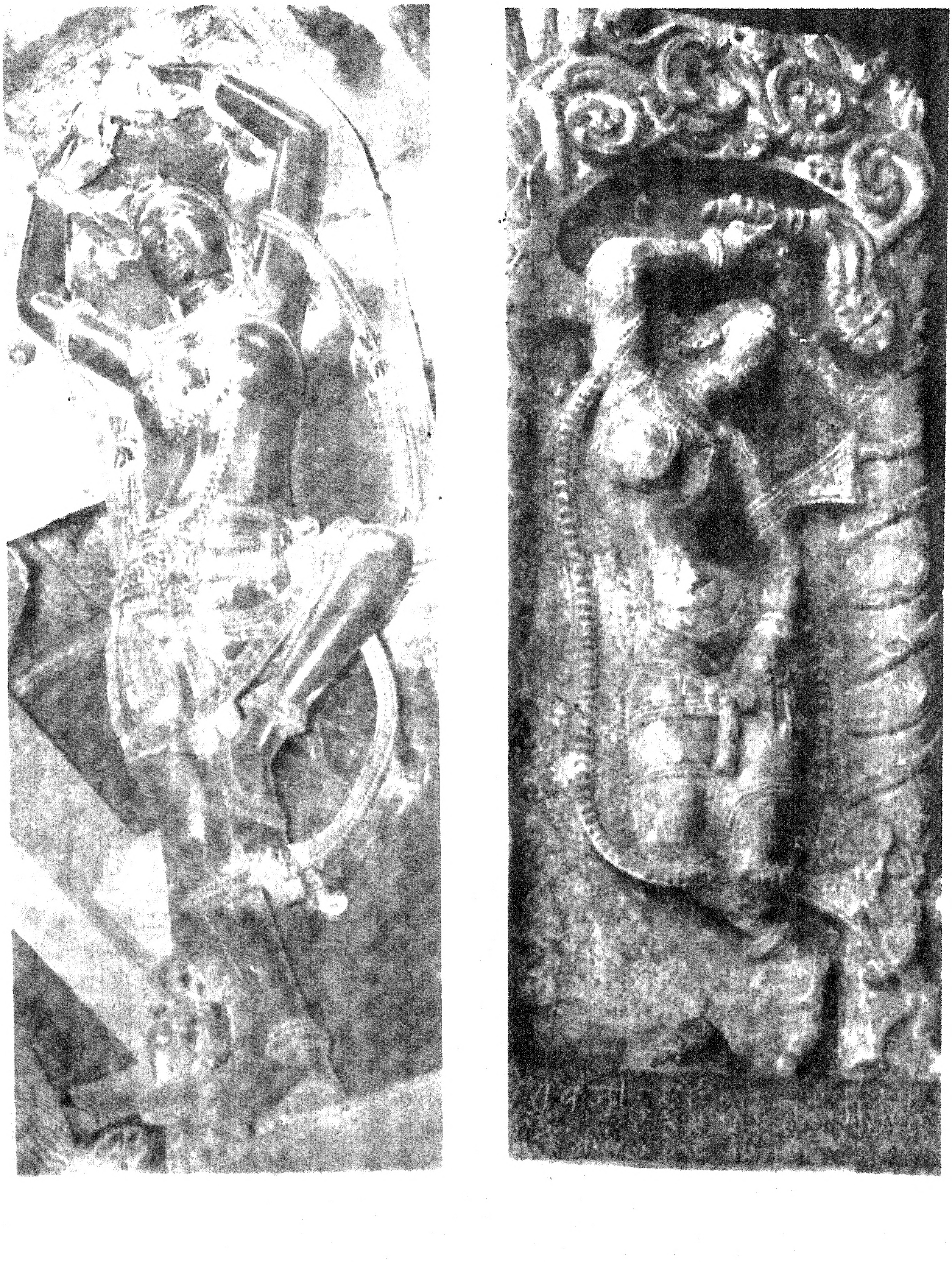
Panel Representing the Buddhist Temptation Nagarjunakonda (Guntur Dist.)



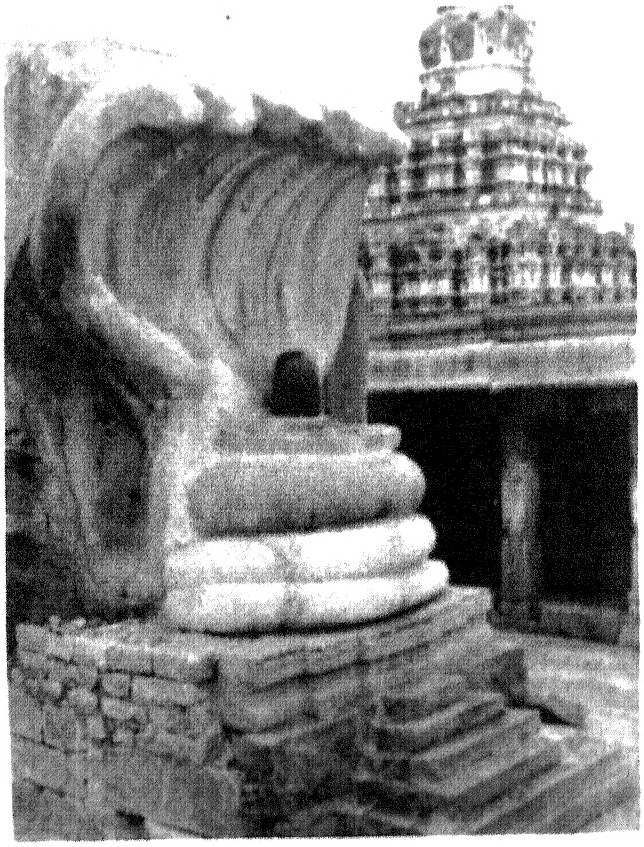
Buddhist panel - Amaravathi (Guntur Dist.)



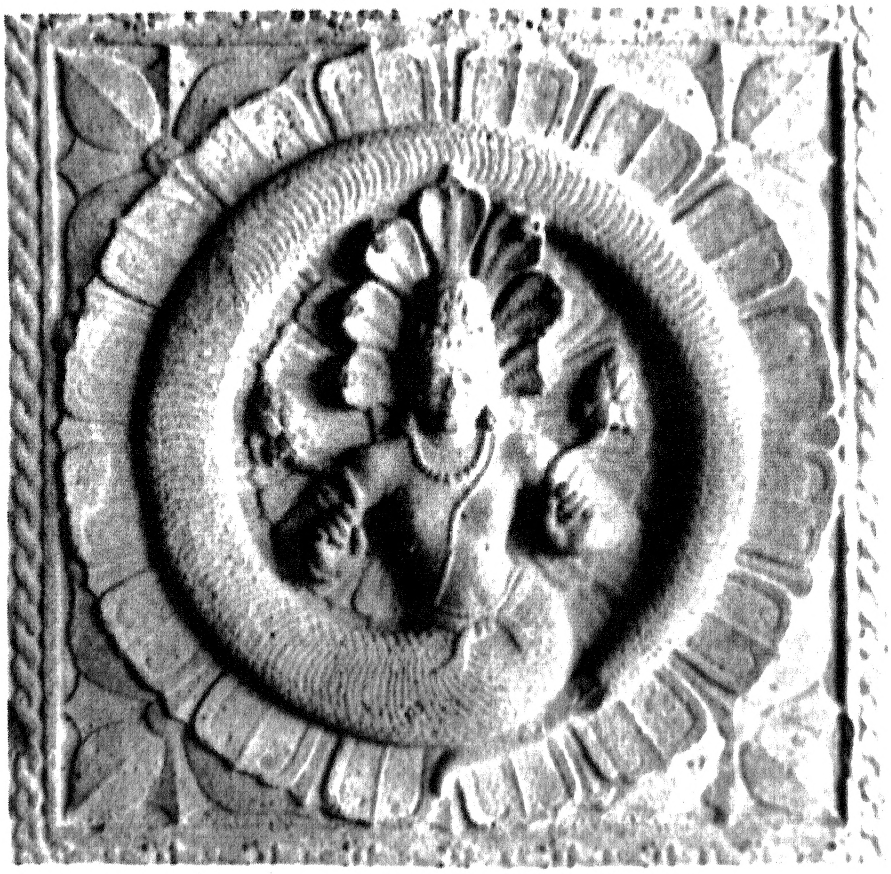
Lord Buddha (Bronze) - Nelakonda Palli Khammam Dist



Panels - Ramappa Temple - Warangal



Lepakshi Temple



Naga - Alampur (Mahabubnagar Dist)

Madras and Vijayawada Museums and also at Amaravati. These are to be assigned to about this period. By the end of this period, (early 7th century) the country was occupied by the Eastern Chalukyas who contributed in no small measure to the development of arts.

In the early stages the sculptures of the Eastern Chalukyas were huge and inspired by Western Chalukya traditions. It is interesting to compare these huge monoliths of the period with the colossal figures that occur in the caves of Mangalesa at Badami. This was the grand style of preparing huge figures, a style set by the Guptas a little earlier, as seen in the case of *Varāha* at Udayagiri in central India. At Vijayawada, a number of monolithic sculptures are found, some of which are now preserved in the Madras Museum. These are all in the early Chalukya style. A pair of *dwārapālas* of exceptional beauty, both of them real giants - one wearing *yajnōpavīta* of lotuses and lillies and another with bells suspended from it at intervals, both wearing armlets and ornaments with lion-faced decoration, with their hands in characteristic postures of *tarjani* and *vismaya* and holding a noose and a colossal club - are masterpieces of early Eastern Chalukya art that probably adorned a Siva temple. One of these, which is inscribed on the back, gives the reading 'Gundaya' and *Vēginātha velanāḍu*, meaning the personal name Gundaya and his service as the sculptor of the lord of Vengi, the Eastern Chalukya king. The large sized elephants, also from one of the derelict temples of probably the same period as that of the *dwārapālas*, should, for their elegance and natural beauty, be compared to similar early representation of the animal in the great relief of Arjuna's penance at Mahabalipuram. A Ganesa brought from Vijayawada to the Madras Museum is a large sized one with a single pair of arms. There are other *dwārapālas* and Ganesas of similar execution still in Vijayawada, all of them fine examples of the grand art of the early Chalukyas. At Vengi there is a huge Ganesa lying mutilated. But, by far, the most beautiful of this early type of monolithic Ganesas, with a single pair of arms and lacking the crown, as in the case of early Western Chalukya Ganesa from the Mangalesa caves at Badami, is the one which is hewn out of a solid piece of rock standing in one of the fields at Biccavolu near Rajahmundry.

At Vijayawada itself, there are at present several Nandis of Eastern Chalukya period which, with their fine garlands of bells, closely resemble those of the Western Chalukya art. At some distance from the Akkanna-Madanna cave in Jammidoddi in Vijayawada, some carvings of the Eastern Chalukya school of about the 8th century are preserved along with the capitals of some pillars which probably composed a *maṇḍapa*.

At Biccavolu, near Rajahmundry, there are a number of temples in fairly good state of preservation with carvings in their niches. The *makara-tōraṇa* pattern, with floriated tail on top niche, recalls similar work in the Pallava temples. Nataraja is presented with four arms as in the southern sculptures, though the northern feature, representing him multi-armed, was already present at Mogalrajapuram. Seated Siva as Virabhadra from a group of *matṛkas* is of fine workmanship. Only a *Kaumāri* and *Cāmuṇḍa* are still preserved in the group of *matṛkas*. Though *Kaumāri* is beautifully fashioned, *Cāmuṇḍa*, as in later medieval sculpture, is represented here in a fearsome form. The peacock of Skanda and the swan of Brahma, represented beside the two deities, look quite natural. Ganga, the river goddess personified, is also depicted in a charming manner. As seen from some of the carvings of Ganesa on the *vimāna*, the additional pair of arms has not yet been added and the natural elephant-head is not covered by a crown. From a representation in bronze on a seal of this period, it can be seen that the early tradtion of representing Ganesa in this fashion continued till about the 9th-10th centuries. These interesting sculptures have not yet been properly studied.

Somewhat earlier than these (probably to be assigned to the 8th century) are the fine panels in pink stone in the Vishnu temple at Samalkot. A small figure of Ganesa of fine workmanship is found here. Among the larger panels which are all fixed in the walls of a later date, one showing Vishnu on Garuda is remarkable. There are similarly other panels of good workmanship which still await detailed study. These sculptures are probably rescued from an earlier structure and preserved fortunately on the walls belonging relatively to a later date.

The next phase of art - that of the Kakatiyas - is of the same style but with a little more elaborately decorated figures and is a continuation of the Eastern Chalukya type rather than the Western one because the latter is simpler and the former more elaborate. However elaborate it is, the Kakatiya sculpture is not comparable to the Hoyasala sculpture, which is overloaded with ornamentation. In Kakatiya sculpture, the fine pillars that almost glisten like polished ones made of horn and turned on the lathe, have bracketed figures in various interesting dance poses. A large lintel found at Warangal and now preserved in the National Museum at Delhi is a fine piece to illustrate typical Kakatiya art. Here, the *makara-tôraṇa* is most intricately worked and the figure of dancing Natesa is exquisite, not to speak of other figures in the panel. Other gateways found at Warangal show equal grace in their sculptural work and recall similar medieval gateways at Dabhoi in Baroda with elaborate carving. As in Warangal, there are Kakatiya temples in Palampet and Hanumakonda, where also the same kind of carving in pleasing Chalukya style occurs. There are other temples like those at Pillalamarri, Nagulapadu etc., in Telangana and Macherla, Gurazala, etc., in Palnad area where carvings of the Kakatiya period still await study. Some of the temples in Telangana which belong to the Kakatiya period have not only a high and elaborately carved plinth as in Hoyasala temples but in addition have carved stone screens and roofs that recall those of the Mahadeva temple at Khajuraho and other temples in that vicinity. At Tripurantakam in Prakasam district there is a Siva temple on the hill with fine Kakatiya carvings, and down below, in the vicinity of a Durga temple, there is a group of hero-stones, in which sculpture of this period abounds. Some of these are full of life and spirit. A Mahishamardani Durga of exquisite workmanship, from the hill temple at Tripurantakam, is a masterpiece of Kakatiya art, now preserved in the Madras Museum.

The next phase of art, under the Reddis, is not essentially different from the Kakatiya art which it closely followed. In the Palnad area in and around Guntur, there are many temples displaying the art of this period (14th c.). The Siva temple at Srisailam in Kurnool District received great attention by the Reddi kings by way of additions and renovations. The carvings all along the *prākāra* wall, depicting several scenes from the lives of Saiva saints, should be assigned to this period, though the sculpture of a princess and a standing warrior and other miscellaneous figures in Chalukya style should be referred to the Kakatiya period.

The Vijayanagara period is rightly considered a golden age in the history of the iconography of Andhra as well as the rest of south India. Many an artisan, well equipped with hereditary skill of metal-casting worked during that period to provide the many temples that were constructed through the patronage offered by kings, nobles and artistocrats, with graceful idols of various deities of the Hindu pantheon. Besides, for religious purposes, the art of metal sculpture was then utilised in casting statues of kings and nobles as well. The enticing statue of Srikrishnadeva Raya, along with those of his two queens at Tirupati stands as a testimony to the zeal and skill of those unknown committed artisans.

The Vijayanagara emperors ushered in a new phase of art which mostly followed the southern traditions. They were great builders and there was an intense temple-building activity. Fine examples of their early monolithic sculpture are the Ganesa and Narasimha, at Hampi, both mutilated, a fine but huge image of Ranganatha near the Chakratirtha tank at Tiruprati, the marvellous representation of Chakrapurusha close to it, of Panduranga also in its vicinity, and a few other sculptures representing *Dwārapāla* and attendants, all lying strewn about in Tirupati. Some of the finest carvings of the early Vijayanagara period are from Tadipatri, a treasure-house of fine Vijayanagara sculpture. In the Vishnu temple near the river at Tadipatri, where the *gōpuram* has mostly tumbled down, the workmanship of the figures in a pleasing pale greenish stone is admirable.

Hampi, the capital of the Vijayanagara emperors, though in utter ruins, has still a number of fine carvings typical of Vijayanagara work. In the Hazara Ramaswami temple, there are many panels representing the story of Rama. These closely resemble similar representations at Penugonda, where the temple of Siva and Vishnu of the same period have scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* and the stories of the Saiva saints. All these carvings are in a rather miniature size. Other carvings at Hampi show rows of soldiers on horseback, elephants in procession, dancers and musicians and scenes of *kōlāṭam*. In the temple of Vithala at Hampi, the sculptor created a beautiful monolithic car (*ratha*) on wheels which is one of the most beautiful creations of the Vijayanagara sculpture. It is interesting to compare this *ratha* with a similar one from the temple at Tadipatri.

The temple of Virabhadra at Lepakshi, built by Virupanna, a chieftain of the Vijayanagar empire, contains a *nāṭya-maṇḍapa* with fine large sculptures representing dancing Siva with musical attendants and nymphs. The huge monolithic Nandi here is one of the finest of its kind. In the Vellore fort there is a temple of exquisite workmanship and the carving, specially in the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*, is so rich that it may be considered to be an epitome of Vijayanagara art. The prancing lions and horses that composed on the columns of this beautiful *maṇḍapa* and the life-like monkeys and doves carved on its roof and the rockcut chains that move freely like metal ones are indeed splendid examples of this art. Among the Vijayanagara sculptures, there are many that represent portraits of donors like the king, the noblemen, the queen and the other princesses. The perfection of the same can be seen from the fine early portrait bronzes like those of Krishnadeva Raya and his queens with their names inscribed and that of Venkatapati Raya, all displayed in the front *maṇḍapa* of the hill temple at Tirupati, where they stand with folded hands in eternal adoration for the Lord of the Seven Hills. The Vijayanagara period marks the last great phase of Andhra art after which complete degeneration set in.

With the advent of the British rule, Andhra sculpture also, as the other traditional arts, began to decline and the state of affairs continues to be the same even now. Though in the embellishment of the newly-constructed religious buildings, traditional sculptural idiom is still adhered to, it is all stereotyped. But it can be said that after India achieved independence an effort is being put forth in Andhra Pradesh, as in the other parts of India, to revive the traditional art of sculpture. Newly constructed *maṇḍapa* at Bhadrachalam is a striking example of such an endeavour. The Vijayanagara idiom of sculpture can be seen here in a revived form. In the newly-constructed Jain temples at Hyderabad and Kolanupaka and the Venkateswara temple at Kalapahad, Hyderabad, we find in the sculptures a refreshing revival of the traditional styles, especially the Rajastani one.

In the modern period, Andhra sculpture, as well as other fine arts, is influenced by the western artistic styles giving birth to a new concept of art, which may be termed as modern art. Of the various western concepts of art it is the abstract sculptural art that has been favoured by some artists of Andhra. Veerabrahmachari, Ravindrareddi, G.Y. Giri, M.G. Reddi, Ulchi Balu and Dorairaju are some of the artists of the new idiom who have put forth a good effort. P.T. Reddi, who is well-known in the field of painting, has turned his attention towards this abstract sculpture and created some nice pieces both in metal and wood. Ganapati Sthapati, a renowned traditional sculptor, has recently created a mammoth monolithic Buddha (17.3 mts. tall) which overlooks the Hyderabad landscape from its pedestal on the Zibraltor Rock in the Hussain Sagar lake.

PAINTING

The story of Andhra Painting has gathered around it so much of myth and legend that anyone who tries to trace its evolution through centuries would eventually face several problems, most baffling of which is to find suitable specimens on which he can rely for his narration. His problems start with the earliest chapter itself.

Many theories have been advanced and many discussions initiated to determine the land and the people to which the painters of Ajanta belonged. The sum and substance of all of them is that no definite conclusion concerning the issue can be drawn. True that the Ajanta, the treasure house of painting, is a common heritage of all Indians. Several ancient dynasties, like the Satavahanas, the Vakatakas and the Chalukyas of Badami, were associated with it. The contention now being made by the Andhras, the Karnatakas, the Maharashtrians or some northerners that it is their exclusive patrimony is not supported by positive historical evidences.

Nevertheless, the paintings in the earliest of the Ajanta caves, caves IX and X, are believed to have been done at the instance of a Satavahana ruler of the second or the first century B.C. The name of Gautamiputra Satakarni is found inscribed in one of the caves, lending support to the belief. So, it may be presumed that the artists engaged in these caves were Andhras. Although these paintings happen to be some of the oldest of Indian paintings, what strikes us is the highly developed art exhibited in them. The skill of the artists' workmanship bears testimony to the marvellous progress achieved in the art of the day.

The subject of the fresco in cave X is a Buddhist tale. On the left is depicted a king with his retinue offering worship to the Bodhi tree. On its right we find a troupe of fifteen giving a dance performance. This is a masterly act of juxtaposing spiritual and secular aspects of life simultaneously expressing repose as well as action. Shat-danta *jātaka* is illustrated on the right side wall. The skill of the artist can be noticed in the vibrating line, so vital to the Indian painting, while drawing a herd of elephants. Portrayal of action is the rule that guides the Indian art and still-life seldom finds a place in it. The portrayal of the princess at the sight of the six-tusked elephant is, indeed, like a well-picturised scene from a play.

There are other grounds to strongly believe that the creators of these frescos would have been Andhras. The Buddhism depicted in both the instances - worship to the Bodhi tree and shat-danta *jātaka* is of the Hinayana variety popular in Andhra. The facial features, dress and department of the figures in both the frescos are Saka and Dravidian in character. The pallette of the Andhra artist then and even later, well into the second century A.D., remained the same - containing only yellow, ochre, indigo, lime-white, lac-red and lamp-black.

Aesthetic activity of ancient India seems to have considered architecture as the principal art and treated sculpture and painting as ancillaries. Accordingly, painting became a decorative element. Both the architect and the sculptor depended on their own drawings. As such, the sculptures help us to make an indirect estimate regarding the contemporary state of drawing. Demonstrating the similarity of skill and features of the shat-danta *jātaka* in Ajanta and those exhibited in the sculptures of the Amaravati *stūpa*, Yazdani came to the conclusion that the art of Ajanta - at any rate, the earlier part of it - was in reality Andhra art. A hypothesis may be advanced on the basis of such a view. Over four hundred years (from the 2nd c. B.C. to the 2nd c. A.D.) one finds a gradual perfection in architecture and sculpture - from the *caityas* of Kondane and Karle to the magnificent *stūpa* of Amaravati. Similar progress and perfection may have been attained in painting also.

Only scanty information is available at present about the progress in the art of painting in Andhra during the period that followed the Satavahana period. But circumstantial evidence leads one to believe that the Ikshavakus and, following them, the Pallavas must have encouraged this art along with architecture and sculpture. No paintings of their times are now to be seen in the Telugu region, but the Sittannavasal paintings of the Pallavas (5-6 c.) bear clear signs of the influence of Amaravati and Ajanta, showing the continuity of the school.

The Vishnukundis, the Chalukyas and the Kakatiyas also could have contributed to this art but we have no tangible evidence to prove it. Ravages of time and vandalism of the enemies left no traces behind. It was once thought that the period between the 7th and the 16th centuries was a dark age in the history of painting in the south. But the recent discoveries of wall painting in Sittannavasal, Kanchi and other places prove that the art continued to flourish until the 12th c. However, the state of this art in the 12-14th c. is still unknown.

Coming to the Vijayanagara period, we come across remnants of some paintings in Hampi, which may be ascribed to the earlier part of the period. Though there seems to be a fall of standards when compared with those of Ajanta, these, however, show an attempt at resurgence. Besides, the writings of chroniclers of the times mention that painting was learnt and practised in the royal household also.

The Lepakshi paintings represent the state of this art in the later part of the Vijayanagara period. The artist here displays inherent strength and delicacy but his art shows signs of stereotype. Murals found at Chippagiri and Sompalle also may be taken as roughly belonging to this period. Speaking about Lepakshi, A.S. Raman observes: 'The sculptures and the murals on view here are worthy examples of medieval art at its exotic best. The figures no doubt are stylised, but they have a distinctive grace and vitality. The colours are indigenous and the heavy ornate drapery is consistent with local custom and fashion. The passion and abandon suggest a generation of unspoilt artists whose agony and ecstasy match their fidelity to detail. The range of colours is limited. But they are rich, vibrant and intense'.

Coeqval with the Vijayanagar style of painting there prevailed in the Telugu area, under the Qutb Shahi rule quite a different style, termed as 'Deccani' painting by the historians. Though this style abundantly shows that it was inspired to a large extent by Persian, Turkish, Moghul and Rajastani styles, some critics aver that the Deccani style in its early period was to some extent influenced by Vijayanagar style too. In their view, the Deccani painting, 'Ragamala', now in the Prince of Wales Museum clearly shows the influence of the Vijayanagar art. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Deccani style owes much to Persian style than to any other style. The paintings in the manuscript of Shirin Khusrau of Khudabaksh library, Patna, written and painted in 1571 at the instance of Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda, are completely in the Persian manner.

Apart from the above mentioned manuscript, no record of paintings that could be assigned to the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah or his predecessors is available at present. But the *Kulliyāt* of Mohammed Qutb Shah (1581-1612), illustrated by the court calligrapher Zain-ud-Din Ali Shiraji contains miniatures in elegant Persian style. But the artist, with a veiw to satisfy local tastes, preferred to introduce Golkonda dresses in it. During the reign of Abdullah (1614-1672) the Golkonda artist tried successfully to discard the Persian influence and to bring into his art the charm and elegance of the Deccan - its fauna and flora, the 'Dhoti' and 'Khambal' (the local woolen rug). It may be said that the paintings during the reign of Abdullah, truly represent the Golkonda style.

The Asafjahi rulers, who succeeded Qutb Shahis in Andhra, favoured mostly the Moghul and Rajastani styles. However, the powerful tradition of the Golkonda school had persisted and, as a result, 'Hyderabad School' that made no small contribution to the glory of Indian miniature painting came into vogue. A majority of the paintings of the Hyderabad School are portraits of rulers, princes, nobles, women, saints and 'Raga Raginis'. Though some of these exhibit serenity and stylishness, it must be conceded that some paintings - such as 'two embracing females' - display very competent draftsmanship and fine colouring. The Raga Ragini paintings of the period - now in the Johnson Album, India office and in other collections - have an aura of their own with their lyrical quality, carefully finished landscape and deft colouring.

The art of painting received ample patronage in the time of Asaf Jah II, who was a good artist himself. Rai Venkatachalam was the court artist and was given a yearly jagir of Rs. 12,000. Though, portaiture, as before, was favoured during the regime, large scale painting on cloth was also encouraged. The most important of such paintings executed by Vankatachallam are two procession scenes of Asaf Jah II, now in the Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad. This artist protrayed himself in one of these processions.

The Hindu officials of Asaf Jah rulers, like Chandu Lal, Nanak Ram, etc. too commissioned some paintings during the period. Though these paintings have some similarities of motifs with those of the Deccan paintings, they reveal a different type in idiom - Hindu in feeling, subject matter and costumes. The same applies to the paintings executed in the courts of the rulers of Gadwal and Wanaparthi Samsthanams.

Though the Andhras, as illustrated above, had a glorious artistic tradition to follow, the anarchical state of affairs before the advent of the modern period left no trace of it. As such, the aspiring artists had to seek guidance from elsewhere. Modern Andhra Painting is said to be the priceless gift of Renaissance in the 20th century, which had its early centres at Calcutta and Bombay. It has emerged out of the intellectual awakening, new dynamism and emotional outburst of the intelligentsia of the nation. As far as Andhra is concerned, the credit should go to O.J. Couldrey for canalising the artistic taste of his young students at Rajahmundry.

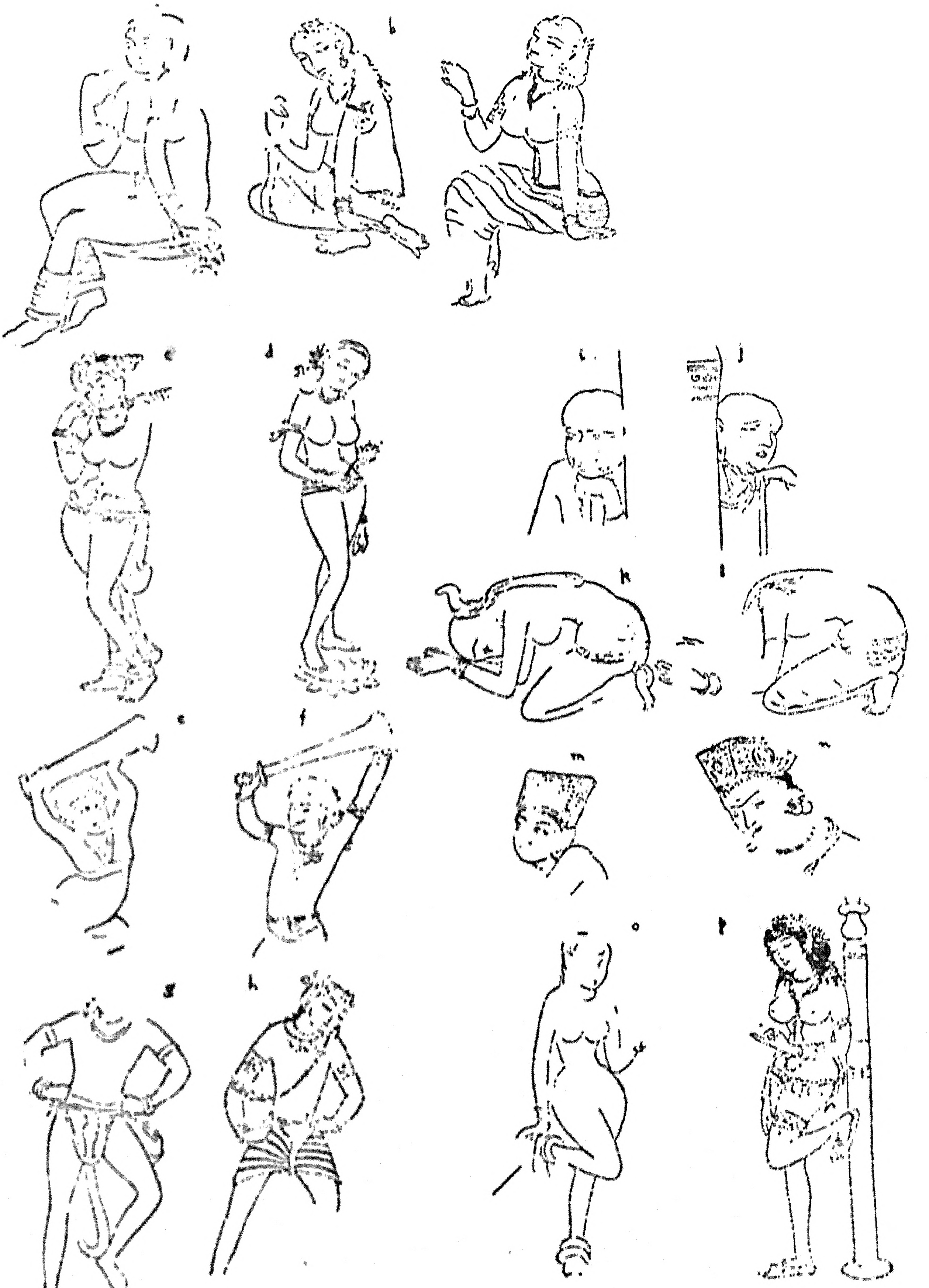
Of those that were inspired by Couldrey, the most notable was Damerla Rama Rao (1897-1927). Rama Rao received training at Bombay and studied the Bengali school led by Abonindranath Tagore and Jamini Roy but ultimately developed an individual style of his own combining the best of both the schools. Though he depended on colour for depth, line was all important in this work to bring life into it. He called his style the Andhra tradition. After his premature death, his wife, Satyavani and his sister, Butchi Krishnamma continued it. An art centre was established at Rajahmundry in his memory and the noted artist, Rajaji, was its head for a long time.

Rama Rao drew towards him several artists who profited by his association like V.V. Bhagirathi (1901-50) Varada Venkataratnam (1895-1953), C. Bhashyakarla Rao (1896-1971) and Chamakura Satyanarayana. Bhagirathi was noted for his landscapes in water colours. Although he had to lead a life of hardships due to penury, he continued to work as he saw the art as a way to serve God. Venkataratnam was a self-made artist with no formal training. His art was exhibited in India and abroad. Bhashyakarla Rao, popularly known as C.B.Rao, was one of those inspired by Couldrey and is considered as one of the pioneers of modern art. Chamakura Satyanarayana, a younger brother of C.B.Rao became a celebrity in portraiture.

The National College of Machilipatnam was another centre of art, where Promod Kumar Chatterji headed the art section. Though he belonged to the Bengali school, Chatterji made some suitable changes in the style to suit the environment in Andhra. The training available at Machilipatnam was not comparable to that of the J.J. School of Arts, Bombay. But Promod Kumar Chatterji could inspire and guide several artists, who later became famous. Kautha Brothers - Ramamohana Sastry (1906-76) and Anandamohana Sastry (1908-40) - were among them. The former worked at the Royal College of Arts, London for a few years and specialised in 'Dry Point' method. He published in a book form fourteen drawings of illustrious persons he met (*Fourteen Portraits*, 1964) and wrote several articles on art. The younger brother Anandamohana Sastry who met with a premature death was a prolific artist with more than a hundred paintings to his credit. Fourteen of his painting were collected as an album (*Colour in Life,* 1975) by Ramamohana Sastry. Landscapes, portraits and imaginary portraits of Puranic characters are among the paintings of Anandamohana Sastry.

Adavi Bapi Raju (1895-1952), a noted artist, novelist and poet was another product of the National College. A colourful personality Bapi Raju had studied and practised the art extensively. For sometime, he headed the art department of films also. Bapi Raju was the first to write many articles introducing the various schools and trends in the Western Art to the Andhras.

Among others are Ankala Venkata Subba Rao, who protrayed legendary personalities and scenes of Andhra history very impressively and Gurram Mallayya, who worked in various media.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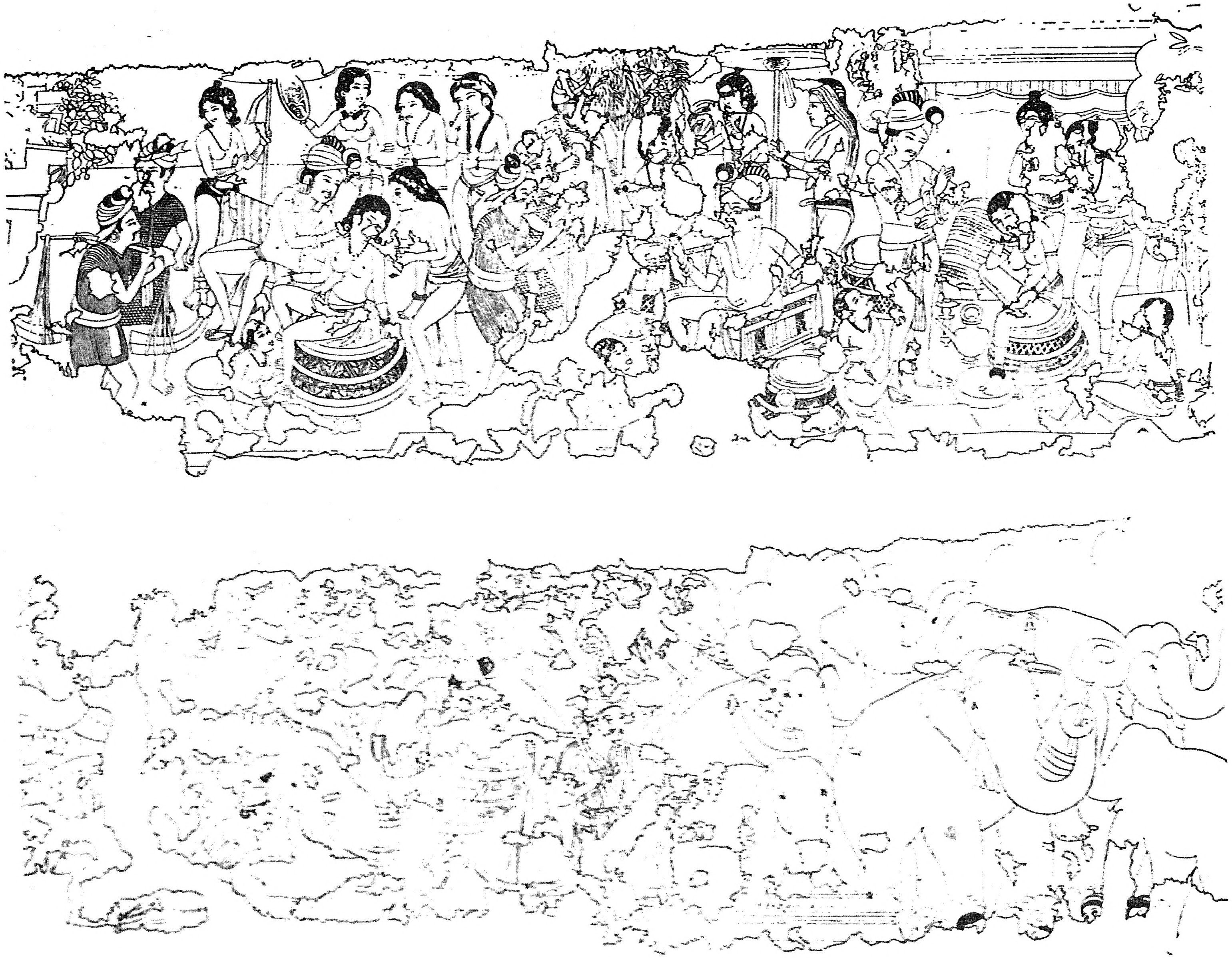
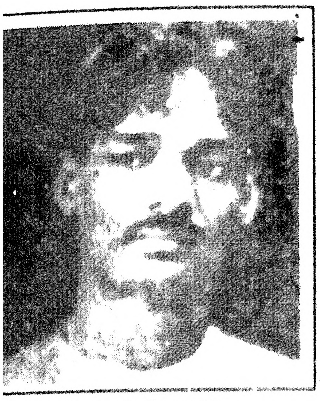
Echoes of Amarāvati in Ajaṇṭā



Two scenes from the story of the six-tusked elephant – a jataka story narrated through painting, Ajanta, Cave No.10

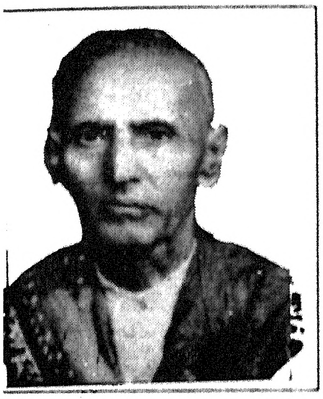
EMINENT PERSONALITIES


Damerla Ramarao

Varada Venkataratnam

Mokkapati Krishnamurthy

K.Rajaiah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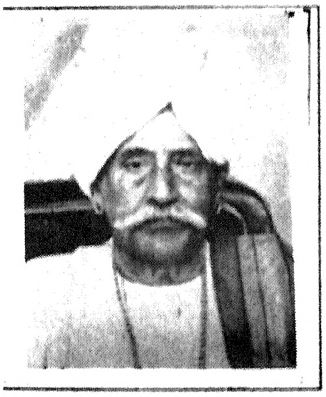
Chinta Venkata Ramaiah

Vedantam Raghavaiah

Vempati China Satyam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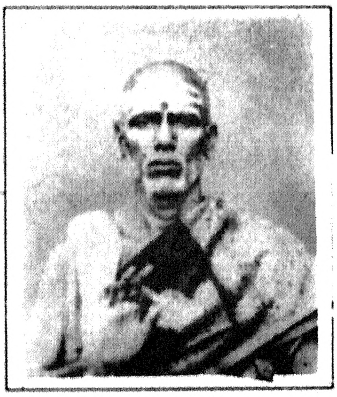
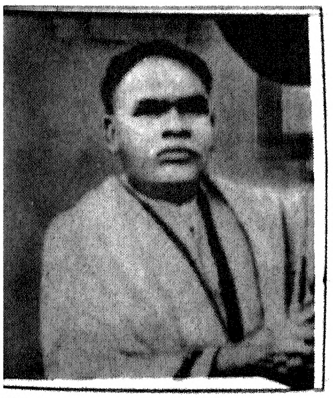

Susarla Dakshina Murthy

Parupalli Ramakrishnaiah

Mangalampalli Balamurali Krishna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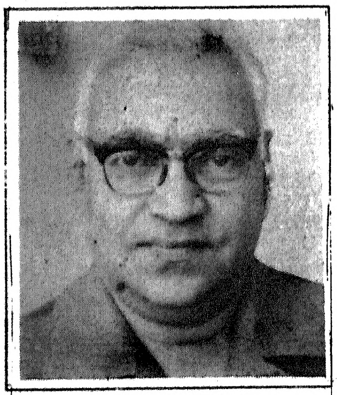
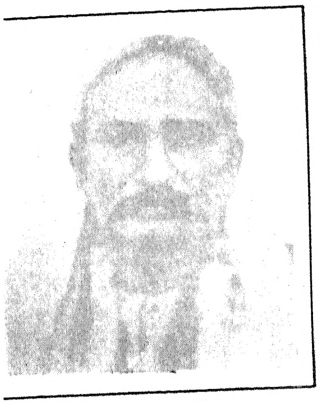
Dwaram Venkataswamy Naidu


Emani Sankara Sastry

Sheik China Moulana

EMINENT PERSONALITIES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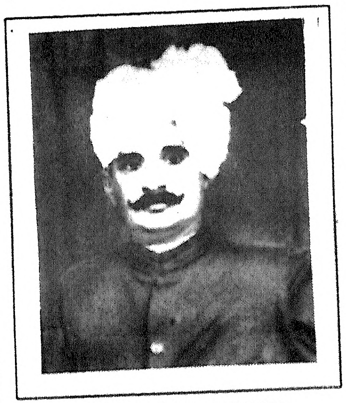
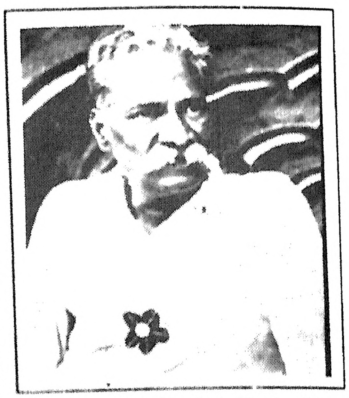

Yadavalli Suryanarayana

Sthanam Narasimha Rao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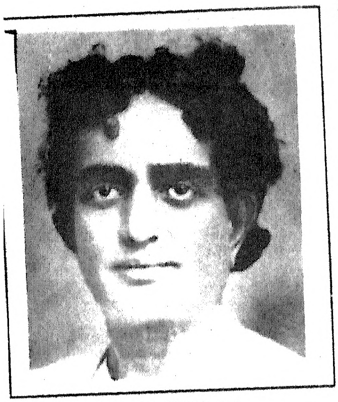
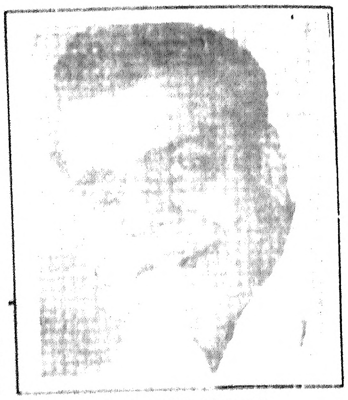
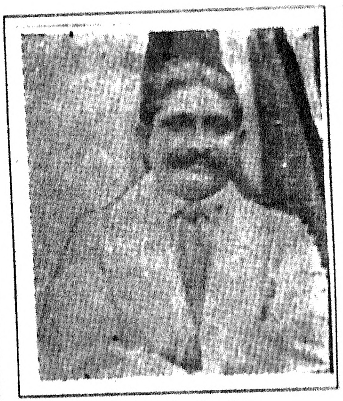

Bellary Raghava

Garikapti Raja Rao

A.R.Krishna


C Nagabhushanam

Vanarasa Govinda Rao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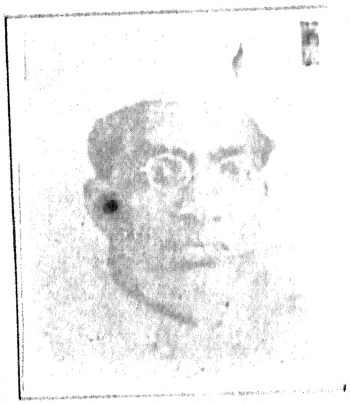
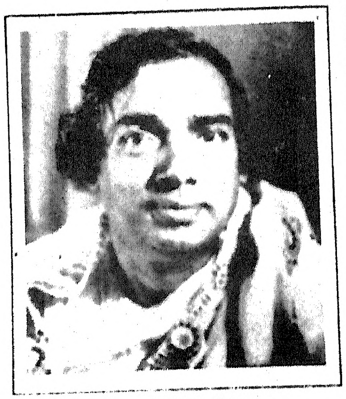
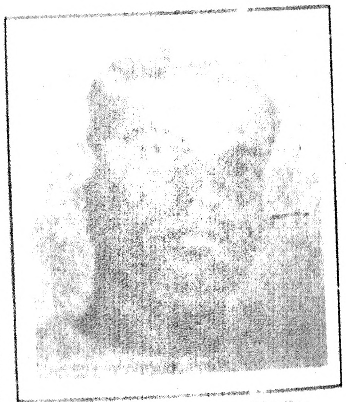

Mote Narayana Rao

K V Gopala Swamy


D V Subba Rao

Surabhi Kamalabai

Banda Kanakalingeswara Rao


Peesapati Narasimha Murthy

The school of Arts, Madras was another centre that produced many celebrated artists, under the guidance of another stalwart, Devi Prasada Roy. Mokkapati Krishnamurti (1910-62), Pilaka Narasimha Murthy, Antyakula Paidi Raju (b.1919), K. Srinivasulu, Dhanapal and Ram Gopal are among them. Mokkapati brought to his paintings a lyrical charm and showed preference to a 'sublime expression of inner beauty of things'. While Damerla achieved an individual idiom of his own through combining the best of the Bombay and the Bengali schools, Mokkapati achieved it through a combination of the Bengali and the Madras schools. Pilaka Narasimha Murthy and Srinivasulu have rendered a great service to art by copying the Lepakshi murals in an authentic and acceptable manner. Both of them, residing in Madras, integrated the Lepakshi style into their own work. Pilaka also copied the frescoes of Sigiria. Srinivasulu has concentrated on temples and rural scenes in a decorative idiom.

Paidi Raju (b.1919) mostly follows the traditional style. Though he was initially absorbed in folk style, he turned his interest to the modern trends. Dhanapal also settled down at Madras. Ram Gopal is an adept both in the Western and Indian techniques.

The Hyderabad art centre also produced a number of noted artists inspired by the Bombay school as well as the Santiniketan tradition. A celebrity among the artists of this group is P.T. Reddy, a classicist turned modernist. Reddy's is a complex personality and he usually paints his responses to events that moved him. There is not only firmness but fluency in his line, plasticity as well as vibrancy in his colour, tempered by crispness in his composition.

Kondapalli Seshagiri Rao, a devoted artist, has studied the Bengali school of Santineketan and the Chinese techniques, which he incorporated in his work. Sayeed Ahmed, also of Hyderabad, made faithful copies of the murals of Ajanta. V. Madhusudana Rao and K. Rajaiah (b.1925) follow the modern idiom but their work reflects religious symbolism. The former is an artist who earned a well-deserved reputation for his portraits. Rajaiah's art follows the vigorous style of the Andhra folk art. C.S.N. Patnaik (b.1925) and P.R.Raju are the other well-known artists from Hyderabad.

There are some artists like Kumarila Swamy, Veluri Radhakrishna, N. Krishna Reddy, and S.V. Rama Rao who reside outside the state and as such do not exercise their influence on the trends here.

N. Krishna Reddy, a versatile artist, who is at his best in his sculptures and graphics, settled down at Paris and has achieved considerable success. Though his idiom is international, his inspiration is profoundly Indian. Living in U.S., S.V. Rama Rao, whose paintings bear compelling mystique of universal import, combines 'the colour of the East with the shapes and forms of the west'.

Formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh and the establishment of A.P. Lalit Kala Akademi led to a greater cohesion among the artists and development of the art.

PERFORMING ARTS

DANCE

One of the many branches of performing arts that flourished under the patronage of Telugu kings is *Nāṭya*, both in its classical *(mārga)* and folk *(dēśi)* variations. Many of the dance forms mentioned in literary texts or available in sculptural renderings may not be identified now, but the fact that Andhras practised the art of dance with great devotion and perfection remains. The evidences of such a practice can be drawn both from temple sculptures and from literary texts. Again, the literary texts in which references to the prevailing dance forms can be found are of two types - the poetic texts in which dance performances and the patronage of the kings extended to the art are described; and the scientific texts on the art and technique of dance, including commentaries on earlier treatises on dance. Andhra abounds in both these evidences.

The earliest dance sculpture in Andhra dates back to about 2nd c. B.C. and is found in Amaravati. This sculpture, showing a group dance of four danseuses, reveals the choreographic possibilities explained later by Bharata as *piṇḍi bandhas* and are made concrete in this beautiful depiction in stone. This could be the variety called *rāsaka* described by Jayapa as a *dēśi nṛtya*. Another Amaravati sculpture, preserved in the British Museum, is a dance scene with a danseuse accompanied by two ladies, one playing on the flute and the other on the *vīṇa*. A sculpture at Goli, Guntur district, shows a lady playing on the harp. Another sculpture at Nagarjunakonda shows a lady playing on the *vīṇa*.

In the second stage of excavations conducted at Nagarjunakonda, the ruins of an amphi-theatre, a sculpture depicting a scene of group dance by three danseuses and a seal of a lady 'Sarasika' by name were also found. Circumstantial evidences clearly showed that 'Sarasika' was the head of the theatre. The dancing ladies in the sculpture are shown as wearing *ardhōrukas* (knickers), a mode of costume not advocated by Bharata. Curiously enough, as late as in the 13th century too, we find such costumes, in the dance sculptures of Ramappa Temple, at Palampet. This leads us to the conclusion that there prevailed in Andhra, for a long time, some types of indigenous dances, along with those that were recognised by Bharata.

Concurring with the sculptural evidence is the literary evidence that amply proves that all performing arts were practised by the people of those early centuries before and after the Christian era started. Hala, the Satavahana king (1st c.) in his *Gāthāsaptaśati*, described in several instances, the playing on *vīṇa* or a *maddela* and the make-up of a *naṭi*. Contemporaneous to *Gāthāsaptaśati* is Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* which mentions that Andhras belonged to the southern part of India and all southerners were greatly interested in *nṛtta, gīta, vādya* and *lalitābhinaya*. It contains references to *Āndhri*, a dialect used in the dances of the region.

The text on which even today most of the dance styles of India are based is Nandikeswara's *Abhinaya Darpaṇa*. Critics think that Nandikeswara is none other than Tandu Maharshi, mentioned in *Nāṭya Śāstra*. Whether this contention can successfully be proved or not, what is more important is the fact that all the available manuscripts of *Abhinaya Darpaṇa* are in Telugu script and so, it is naturally deduced that the author is from this land.

Epigraphical evidences show that many Chalukya kings were great patrons of dance and music. Gunaga Vijayaditya had a title "Gandharva Vidya Praveena". He donated a part of the village, 'Attili', to a dancer, Chellavva. Similarly, Amma Raju II (10th c.) donated a village to a dancer, Chanekamba. During the Chalukya period, several temples had provided *nāṭya maṇḍapas* for the temple dances to offer their worship to the deity through dance.

Nannechoda's *Kumārasambhavam* contains references to the existing dancing halls. It was Palkuriki Somanatha (13th c.) who has elaborately described the dance and drama forms that existed during his period. Both *Basava Purāṇa* and *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra* contain long descriptions of dance performances, especially the *dēsi* traditions.

That dance was a popular art practised in this period is attested by the triple testimony of epigraphy, sculpture and literature. The rulers and nobles vied with each other in patronising the fine arts. The Dharmasagar inscription refers to the gift of some plots of land for musicians and ten dancing girls. The Ganapati Deva inscription of Chebrolu speaks of houses being granted to sixteen dancing girls.

Along with these epigraphs, the sculptures of the temples built by the Kakatiya kings confirm the continuity of the dance traditions and their association with the temples. The most noteworthy dance sculptures of the Kakatiya period are those of the Ramappa temple at Palampet. These dance sculptures have an additional significance, for they were done in the reign of the same Ganapati under whom Jayapa wrote his *Nṛttaratnāvaḷi*, a treatise on dance. The Swayambhulingeswara temple in the Warangal fort has also miniature representations of Siva's dance.

On the literary side, we have both Sanskrit and Telugu works which bear witness to the extensive practice of dance in this age. On the Sanskrit side, we have the above mentioned *Nṛttaratnāvaḷi* by Jayapa, the 'Gajasenapati' of the Kakatiya king, Ganapati. It is perhaps the most important *Nāṭya* work produced in the Telugu country, for it is not only used by Vema in his *Sangīta Cintāmaṇi* but also in the north by Kumbhakarna in his *Sangītarāja*. The work was, according to Jayapa's own statement, composed in kali 4355, i.e. 1253-54. Apart from the excellent resume it gives of *Nāṭya* as dealt with by Bharata and his commentators, the work is the most valuable one for the description of *Dēśi* dances as they were in vogue in Jayapa's time - The work is in eight chapters and chapters 6-8 deal with *Dēśi-nṛtta*. In the portion dealing with *Mārga-nṛtta* as dealt with by Bharata, Jayapa shows not only his intimate acquaintance with the text of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śastra*, but, what is more valuable, a thorough knowledge of Abhinavagupta's commentary; far more surprising and precious are Jayapa's references to the interpretations of Bharata by Kirtidhara. From this it is clear that manuscripts of the rare works of these important writers were available in the south and were in actual use in those days. In the chapters on *Dēśi* we may note the following folk and regional dances described by Jayapa, some of which are not to be seen in the *Sangītaratnākara* written at the rival court of the Yadavas: *Pēraṇi, Preķķhaṇa, Rāsaka, Carcari, Nāṭyarāsaki, Danḍarasaka, Sivapriya, Cindu, Kanduka, Bhāṇḍika, Chatisari(?), Cāraṇa Bahurūpa*, and *Kōlāta*.

Some of the Telugu works reveal substantial information and material pertaining to the art. For example, in the *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra* of Somanatha, we have in the *Parvata prakaraṇa* not only a resume of the technical terms of dance, but a description of the folk dances. This is particularly valuable from the point of view of the folk dances described in the *Nṛttaratnāvaḷi*. This work confirms the dual association of dance and the temple, for the work describes these dances as part of the Mahasivaratri festival at Srisailam shrine. Not only the folk dances, but also the shadow plays and puppet shows are described in this book.

Somanatha gives us a lot of information about the technique of dance as prevalent in those days. He starts first with the ornaments and make up of the dancers. The use of 'shorts' is mentioned which may be noted. Then there is music and dance as soon as the dancers arrive; this is *pūrva ranga*, behind the curtain at the end of which the dancers appear before the curtain. Then follows the description of the *angas, pratyangas* and *upāngas*, of instrumental music with a list of *dēśi* terms. Equally noteworthy is Somanatha's description of dancers who strut or step or jump or utter sounds or act otherwise like different birds and animals, such as peacock, swan, deer, tiger and serpent. The *angas* of *dēśi lāsya* are set forth in different works. Jayapa gives and defines forty-six of them in Chapter VI of his work.

Basavapurāṇa, by the same author, gives us some descriptions of dances, which were less extensive and discontinuous. Somanatha refers to *Kōlāṭa* or *Danḍarāsaka*, for the first time here. The reference to *Kōlāṭa* at the time of Basava's marriage in this book is the first one made to this kind of dance. He also mentions other types of dances such as *Gonḍli* and *Pēraṇi*. Later on are mentioned *Ānandagītas, Śankaragītas* and more significantly *Jatigītas*. On the occasion of Basava's visit to Kalyan, *Pēraṇi* is mentioned. It was said to have been performed according to the tradition of the dance masters of Saurastra. This throws significant light on the history and early environment of the Saivite *Pēraṇi*. The *purvānga* music, the removal of the curtain, *Dēśi Lāsyāngas, Mukharasa Sousthava, Lāli, Bhāva, Dhūkali, Jhankali, Thēva, Vibhrama* and *Rēkha* are also referred to in this context.

Krīḍābhirāmam, a Telugu work of the 15th c., tells of a courtesan of high repute, Machal devi, a dancer patronised by Prataparudra, the Kakatiya king.

Among the Reddi rulers of Kondavidu, we find a royal writer Kumaragiri (c. 1386-1402) who was the author of a treatise on dance called *Vasantarājīyam*. No manuscript of this work has so far come to light, but citations from this are made by other writers.

Srinatha, the poet-laureate of the Reddi court in his *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* speaks of a dancing girl of Banaras known as Karpuratilaka, who danced in the court of Ratnesa. While describing the dance, he mentions *Kuṇḍalinṛtta* and the different views on dance promulgated by Kohala and other *acāryas*.

The most distinguished among the Recharla kings was Simhabhupala, entitled Sarvajna, who gave us not only the *Rasārṇava Sudhākara* on *rasa* and dance, but also the *Sangīta Sudhākara*, a commentary on the *Sangītaratnākara* which deals with dance in its last chapter. This was the period when the dance-drama form called *Yakṣagāna* originated.

The state of dance in the Vijayanagara age can best be known through the writings of a foreign visitor Abdur Razak, who visited the court of Devaraya II. While describing a magnificent performance of dance during the *dasara* festival at the court of the king, he says: "Between this place and pavilions there was an open space beautifully laid out, in which singers and story tellers exercised their respective arts. The singers were for the most part young girls, with cheeks like the moon, and faces blooming as the spring, and adorned with beautiful garments, and displaying figures which ravished the heart like fresh roses. They were seated behind a beautiful curtain, opposite the king. Suddenly, the curtain was removed on both sides, and the girls began to move their feet with such grace that wisdom lost its sense and the soul was intoxicated with delight."

Under Krishnadevaraya (1509-30), Lakshminarayana, the dance teacher of the ladies of the court, wrote the *Sangīta Sūryōdaya* which has a chapter on dance. He borrows from Sarangadeva profusely and also quotes Kohala. Much more than literature, the sculptures of Hampi and the accounts of the court life in the capital by foreign travellers like Barbosa, Paes and others bear witness to the extent to which this art was patronised in this period. The most noteworthy part of the account of Paes is his description of the dance hall of Vijayanagar where the dancing girls learn and display their art.

"This is a long hall and not very wide, all of stone sculptures of pillars which are at a distance of quite an arm's length from the wall. The designs of those panels show the position at the end of dance in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in the proper position at the end of a dance: this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where they end the dance. By that they keep in mind what they have to do. At the end of this house on the other side is a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs. They teach them to make the whole body supple, in order to make their dancing more graceful. At the other end, on the right, is the place where the king places himself to watch them dancing : all the floors and walls where he sits are covered with gold and in the middle of the wall is the golden image of a woman of the size of a girl of twelve years, with her arms in the position which she occupies in the end of a dance." All that we now see of that hall among the ruins of Hampi is the throne platform along the side of which run dance-friezes.

During the Vijayangar period itself a new kind of dance-drama in Telugu was developed on the banks of the river Krishna. The originator of this form of dance was Siddhendra Yogi (14th c.) of Kuchipudi, Krishna district. He taught it to the Brahmin boys of the village, who handed it over from generation to generation. In spite of anarchical circumstances and lack of state patronage after the 17th century, the devoted troupes of Kuchipudi artists kept alive their indigenous dance-drama in tact, relying to a good extent on the good will of the people.

The richness of Kuchipudi dance-drama is nowhere better evident than in the *kalāpam*, developed as a highly expressive form of *abhinaya*. *Bhāmākalāpam*, Kuchipudi's main item in its repetoire, is based on a thin story line of Satyabhama's anger towards Krishna and her love-lorn sorrow to win him back. It is almost a solo dance, for Satyabhama (Bhama) is the main narrator-performer. *Vipralambha Sṛṇgāra* is Satyabhama's bemoaning condition. While expressing her sorrow, she recalls several of Krishna's amorous encounters with her during which she acts her *avasthas* of *aṣṭa-vidha-nāyikas* (eight types of a heroine's condition). The entire *alamkāra śāstra* aided by *nṛtya, gāna* and *abhinaya* is envisioned by the audience in a rare treat of aesthetic enjoyment. The other, less important, characters in the play are Madhavi, the female confidant of Bhama who also plays the role of Madhava, Krishna's confidant and Krishna himself. In this rare form of classical dance-drama, in which male actors impersonate as female characters Vedantam Satyanarayana Sarma has been the greatest.

If the key *rasa* of *Bhāmākalāpam* is *sṛṇgāra*, the main concern of *Golla kalāpam* is philosophy. It is, in fact, a conversation between a milk maid and a Brahmin. It is the milk-maid's entreaties that make it highly philosophical. The performance contains a whole range of issues seminal to human existence, from the stage s child is conceived until his death; the nature of virtue and sin and finally the concept of *karma*.

The Kuchipudi troupes also perform several dance-dramas including *Prahlāda, Ushā Pariṇayam, Śaśirēkhā Pariṇayam* and *Hariscandra*. There is a close resemblance between the Kuchipudi style and that of the Melattur Bhagavathulu in Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu, who till today, perform plays in Telugu. Though it is often claimed that some performing families migrated to Melattur and helped to spread the art in the area, it is more probable that the Melattur Yakshaganas are direct descendents of the Tanjore tradition.

Equally important in the history of dance in Andhra are the Telugu *padams* or songs intended for dance *(abhinaya)*. Kshetrayya (17th c.) was a pioneer in the field. He was a resident of Movva in Krishna district but later on moved to South India and visited the courts of the Nayaka kings.

After the fall of Vijayanagar, the Telugu fine arts took shelter in the court of the Nayakas of Tanjore and Madura. Though no writer of the age produced any original work on dance, the teachers of the times wrote comprehensive commentaries and glosses in Telugu for the standard Sanskrit Texts. So, there is hardly now a standard music or dance treatise, which has not got a Telugu gloss atleast in a manuscript. Since then, Telugu dominated the arts of music and dance in South India and a knowledge of Telugu was till very recently a part of Karnatic musician's general equipment.

Raghunatharaya (1614-1631), a Nayaka king of Tanjore, in his *Vālmīki Caritra* mentions several dances prevalent during his time. Among them are *pēriṇi, daṇḍa lāsyam, pēkkaṇi* and *kuṇḍali* which have already been established dance forms at least since the Kakatiya times. This proves that there has been an unbroken tradition of these dances in Andhra, patronised by succesive dynasties of kings. Both Vijaya Raghava's poetic texts and Chengalva Kalakavi's *Rājagōpāla Vilāsam* bear ample testimony to the fact that Raghunatha's court was always adorned by the best of the danseuses. The Tanjore and the Nayaka kings of Madura were not only great patrons of dance, drama and music, but were poets of considerable merit. Their interest in the writing and performance of *yakṣagānas* was an extension of their basic interest in dance and music.

During the early British period, patronage of arts had been undertaken by the zamindars, who kept up the tradition of daily worship through dances in temples under their tutelage. Two such temples that had a long tradition of *ārādhana* dances are the Kunti Madhava temple at Pithapuram and Kalahasteeswara temple at Srikalahasti. At both places and in many other tempels an exemplary art of dance, now called 'abhinaya', was developed. This dance gives greater emphasis to an emotive expression of either a *ślōka* or *pada* and as *sāttvika abhinaya* is predominant, the female dancer sits and performs. The exposition of the *rasa* and its multifold expressive modes become the core of the dance. Duggirala Jagadamba, Annabathula Bulivenkataratnamma, Srivirajitam, Nayudupeta Rajamma were great exponents of this art. However, even this is lost to us as many of the dancers left their professions to lead normal family lives.

On the other hand, the major change that had come in the Kuchipudi style is the emergence of 'solo' dance. This was initiated in the early part of this century by Vedantam Laximinarayana Sastry and since then became one of the major classical dances of India.

While Chinta Venkataramaiah, Vedantam Ramakrishnaiah and Chinta Krishna Murthy revived the potentialities of the Kuchipudi dance-drama with Vedantam Satyanarayana Sarma as the leading actor who inpersonates in female roles and for it has earned national and international recognition, Vedantam Jagannatha Sarma, Vempati Satyam, Vempati China Satyam and scores of others have modified the solo system, by adding graceful movements and Mhythmic flow to their innovations. China Satyam's newly choreographed Yakshaganas are both vibrant and lyrical and brought him fame both in and out of the country. Korada Narasimha Rao, Yammini Krishna Murthy, Manju Bhargavi, Raja Reddy and Radha Reddy, Uma Rama Rao and Shobha Naidu are the other contemporary exponents of the art.

Nataraja Ramakrishna, the scholar-dancer-teacher is easily the most knowledgeable of the non-Kuchipudi dance traditions of Andhra. He has revived the temple dances of Andhra which include both *Pārijātham* (prevalent in the East Godavari district and performed by female artists) and *Pēriṇi*, a male dance performed in the rituals of Siva. He has also authored several books on these traditions.

MUSIC

The Evolution of Indian Music

There are two distinct schools of thought proclaiming two different theories for the evolution of music. While one school traces the origin of the present classical music to the folk tradition, the other school turns diametrically opposite and attributes the origin to Vedic hymns. In fact there is not much of a controversy in their attributions. Folk tradition is as old as the Vedic lore, if not earlier. Both are anonymous. But it is a matter of pure scientific approach that takes us to a path where both the above schools merge into one.

Basically the hymns of *Sāmavēda* were recited in the three registers - *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita*. It took a long time to develop these three notes into seven as follows :

Prathama	corresponding	to	Ma
Dvitiya	"	"	Ga
Tritiya	"	"	Ri
Caturtha	"	"	Sa
Mandara	"	"	Dha
Aisvarya	"	"	Ni
Krushta	"	"	Pa

Similarly the nomads and the tribal people had their own music to express their sorrow or joy. We cannot safely conclude that folk music alone contributed to the evolution of classical music. Yet the names of the various ragas suggest that folklore did have an impact on the evolution of Indian music.

However, the codification of the essential principles of Indian music is traditionally attributed to Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*. The greatest service that he rendered to the cause of Indian music was that he recognised, besides the seven pure fundamental or Prakriti *svaras*, eleven other Vikriti *svaras* which formed the foundation of Indian Classical Music. The technical method of recognition of these *svaras*, was as follows: If each pure *svara* in the fundamental octave is made in its turn the starting point *(grāha)* and the octave completed, we get other Vikriti *svaras* which are related to the *grahasvara* in a particular way. Thus, there may result in a profusion of Vikriti *svaras* of which only eleven were chosen as germane to the Svara Prastara accepted by Bharata. These eleven Vikritis are : 1. Shadjodeechyavati, 2. Shadja kaisiki, 3. Shadja madhyama, 4. Raktha Gandhari, 5. Gandhari udeechayavati, 6. Madhyamodeechyavati, 7. Gandhara Panchami, 8. Andhri, 9. Nandayanti, 10. Karmaravi and 11. Kaisiki. Of these 1,5 and 6 bear the appellation Northern, indicating their occurance in the northern country. 'Andhri' plainly indicates the Andhra country as the country of its innovation.

From this we can conclude that, a particular variety of raga, contributed by the Andhras, was very prevalent in south India. But we do not know its actual form today. As even like the other seventeen varieties, this also was unrecognisably merged into the stream of Indian *rāga* tradition. Bharata said that *Āndhri* was a hybrid of Gandhari and Shadja varieties, but Matanga indicated that it was a hybrid of Arshabhi and Gandhari. That means that the variety has changed its form even by the time of Matanga.

This integrating work of Bharata was continued by his followers. These later-day musicologists recognised the multifariousness of these evolved varieties, and incorporated them all into a system comprising *grāmarāgas, uparāgas, suddharāgas, Bhāshas, Vibhāshas, Bhāshāngas* and *Kriyāngas*. But there appeared quite a good number of muscial compositions, which could not be reduced to order in the system mentioned above. The recognition of the principle that practice always goes ahead of theory makes it incumbent on the part of the learned to reorient their rules so as to bring the newer compositions into their fold. On account of learned musicians not being intent on creating a symbolic notation for their compositions, the *lakṣana* of many of them remained dubious. And the compositions almost disappeared behind the screen of oblivion. But notices of the taste of the ancient Andhras for the fine arts can be had from the ancient books such as *Gātha Saptaśati* of Hala. He says in a couplet: "Prakrit doublets, the styles of music, the melodies born out of veena and chic youthful women are the sources of rasa. Life is a burden to those who do not know this."

Basically the system of Indian music remained as one all over the country, at least until the 13th century. The gap between the North and the South began widening as the North suffered more conquests of foreign rulers than the South. Naturally the impact of the foreign rulers, mostly Muslims, left an indelible impression on the music of the North while the South remained unaffected. The land of the Telugus being geographically located between the North and the South played an important role in preserving the South Indian tradition while absorbing the Northern tradition. The *Gītagōvinda* of Jayadeva in the 12th century might have been the beginning of an end of one system of music all over the country. As this gap widened the music in South India came to be called as Karnatic music while that in North India became what is called today the Hindustani music.

The Karnatic Music

Like any other form of art, music also is considered by Indians as a means of attaining liberation or Moksha. There are innumerable instances in all works of literature, music and dance which specifically denote the spirituality and the sacredness of music. Music is believed to be of divine origin which is the basis for its continuity. Gradually at some undocumented time, two distinct traditions of classical music have taken shape. It is not surprising, taking into consideration the cultural variety and the geographical diversity of India, that these two traditions, each a variation of the ancient system, have evolved.

An overview of the treatises on music written by different authors at different times gives us a clear picture of the evolution and development of music.

Sanskrit Treatises

For most of the works on music, the dates are not known. In spite of the controversy over their authorship sometimes, and their periods most often, we can take some important books which have contributed immensely to the development of music. Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* mainly deals with Gandharva type of music.

According to *Nāṭya Śāstra*, we find, that by then the seven tones - S, R, G, M, P, D and N were used along with two displaced or flat tones, *Antara Gāndhara* and *Kākali Niṣāda*. Even later texts of Matanga (5th-7th c.) and Parsvadeva (9th-11th c.) do not show any evidences of more displaced tones except the above two.

Sarangadeva (13th c.) mentions 12 displaced tones but as time passed on Venkatamakhi (17th c.) accepted only 5 displaced tones. It is possible that the number of displaced tones were restricted so as to fit in the structure of the *rāgas* at different times.

Though both the Hindustani and Karnatic traditions share a corpus of similar ideas and nomenclature, the Karnatic tradition varies from its Hindustani counterpart in the number of pitches (*svaras*) available. The total number of Karnatic *svaras* is given below :

1. Sadja
2. Suddha Ri
3. Chatusruti Ri
4. Satsruti Ri
5. Suddha Ga
6. Sadharana Ga
7. Antara Ga
8. Suddha Ma
9. Prati Ma
10. Pancama
11. Suddha Dha
12. Catusruti Dha
13. Satsruti Dha
14. Suddha Ni
15. Kaishika Ni
16. Kakali Ni

Raga

One of the most salient features of Indian music is the *rāga* system. Musicologists believe that *rāgas* evolved in or around 5th century B.C. We have ample evidences of the existence of *rāgas* in the Ramayana and Mahabharata. Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* mentions at least 18 *Jāti rāgas*. But it is Matanga, who in his *Bṛhaddēśi*, first defined a raga. According to him, raga may be defined broadly as a melodic scheme characterised by a definite scale, which evokes pleasure to the listeners. *Rāgas* are basically formed by *Mēḷas*. A *mēḷa* is a composite body of tones in ascent and descent order. From this we know that, by a process of permutations and combinations of the seven tones *(svaras)*, different ragas are formed. Theoretically, the number of *rāgas* is infinite, but in practice there evolved a definite number of *rāgas*.

Some of the *rāgas* are designed to express specific moods. There are some other *rāgas* which are attributed to a particular time of the day. For example Bhupala *rāga* is supposed to be sung at the early hours of the day, but the time-theory of *rāgas*, generally speaking, is only advisory and not mandatory. All *rāgas* evoke aesthetic enjoyment.

The Classification of Ragas

As mentioned earlier the modern concept of *rāga* dates from the time of Matanga (5th c.). However the idea of the classification of ragas evolved better in the Karnatic style of music than in the Hindustani music. The Karnatic system consists of 72 *mēla rāgas* (scale types), 36 with Suddha Madhyama and 36 with Prati Madhyama. The 72 present scales in the *mēḷakarta rāga* system are grouped into 12 sub-divisions (Chakras), each comprising six *mēḷas* and they are given names - Indu, Netra, Agni, Veda, Bana, Rutu, Rishi, Vasu, Brahma, Disi, Rudra and Aditya.

The scales in the *Mēḷakarta rāga* system are not actual *rāgas*, they are scale types which are also called *Janaka rāgas* - those which generate other ragas. Others called *Janya rāgas* are grouped with the *mēḷakarta rāgas*.

Janaka rāgas possess all the seven notes in both ascent and descent order. *Janya rāgas* are those which are born or derived from the *mēḷakarta rāgas*. Every *Janya rāga* has its parent scale. *Janya rāgas* are classified into Varja, Vakra, Upanga and Bhashanga ragas. *Janya rāgas* generally omit one or more of the seven pitches. Some of the *Mēḷakarta* ragas have quite a number of *Janya rāgas* associated with them, while the others have only a few. Venkatamakhi advocated this classification in his work *Caturdaṇḍi Prakāśika* (1666). Sometimes we find that the theory influenced the practice of Karnatic music because of the restriction in the sphere of melody. However, all the 72 *mēḷakartas* admit at least 8 kinds of *Janya rāgas*.

Mathematically the possible number of *Janya rāgas* for every *mēḷakarta* is 483. As such the total number of *Janya rāgas* that are possible is 483x72=34,776 of which nearly 6,144 are repeated in consequent pairs of *mēḷakartas*. However, flexibility in practice and adaptability of the audience to the newness of a raga and its nuances give the final verdict on the actual number of popular *rāgas*.

Tala

Rhythm or tala in Karnatic music differs in its composition to a great extent from its Hindustani counterpart. Three primary elements are used in the formation of *tāla*. They are

1. Anudruta with a single count - U
2. Druta with a double count - O
3. Laghu with variable number of counts - I

In order to specify the number of counts in Laghu the following categories are commonly used.

Laghu of three counts	- Trisra jati	1^{3}
Laghu of four counts	- Chatursra jati	1^{4}
Laghu of five counts	- Khanda jati	1^{5}
Laghu of seven counts	- Misra jati	1^{7}
Laghu of nine counts	- Sankirna jati	1^{9}

Basically there are seven talas : 1. Dhruva, 2. Matya, 3. Rūpaka, 4. Jampa, 5. Triputa, 6. Ata, 7. Eka.

All these seven talas permit the five varieties of laghus or groups of counts. Thus the total number of talas based on the seven principal talas becomes 35.

The Chaturasra jati triputa tala, otherwise known as Adi tala, is one of the most widely used talas in Karnatic music. There are some other important groups of talas frequently used in South Indian music. They are Chapu talas. A Telugu manuscript *Rāga Tāḷa Cintāmaṇi* (17th c.) mentions 124 talas. There are also classifications like margi and desi with further sub-divisions. The *Sangīta Ratnākara* mentions 120 desi talas. All these endeavours finally lead us to the conclusion; "Tala is to music what metre is to poetry".

The Contribution of Telugus to Karnatic Music

In the field of theoretical output, the Andhras are second to none in their achievements. Of the theorists before the 13th century, it is difficult to recognise who were Andhras and who were not. Of the musicologists expressly known to be of Andhra extraction, Jayapa Senani, the brother-in-law of Kakatiya Ganapatideva, was the most ancient (1250). He composed two works known as *Gīta Ratnāvaḷi* and *Nṛtta Ratnāvaḷi*. The latter work has been preserved to us. The existence of the former is inferred from the fact that some of the verses of the former were quoted in the latter work. *Nṛtta Ratnāvaḷi* was quoted by Kumbhakarna Maharaj (15th c.) in his work *Sangītājam*.

Basavapurāṇa and *Panditārādhya Caritra* of Palkuruki Somana contain only lists of ragas, and as such do not contribute any help to reconstruct the history of Andhra Music of those times. The only thing that is known from the lists is the fact that the musical art was very much in vogue in those days.

Govinda Dikshita of the 17th century mentions a musical treatise *Sangīta Sāra* as composed by Vidyaranya Swami of the mid-14th century. But this book is not available.

Rachakonda Sarvajna Singabhupala's *Sangīta Sudhākaram*, a commentary on *Sangītaratnākara* of Sarangadeva is the greatest work of that century. This is the oldest commentary on *Sangīta Ratnākara* of Sarangadeva, a Kashmiri Brahmin pandit, who held the office of warden of the ceremonies at the court of the ruler of Devagiri and, is the most exhaustive treatise on music, gathering together all the methods of the past and the contemporary musicologists. After Singa Bhupala, Chatura Kallinatha of the court of Immadideva Raya of Vijayanagar wrote another commentary known as *Kaḷānidhi* on *Sangīta Ratnākara*. We hear that there are still two or three commentaries or *tikās* of this. Even this *Sangīta Ratnākara* could not bring the extant musical practice, which is an ever changing entity, into its fold. That is the reason why Vidyaranya and others trod different paths. The author of *Sangīta Sudhākara* adversely criticised *Sangīta Ratnākara* on the plea that its rules were contradictory to practice, that the practical demonstrations in it were unintelligible and inadequate, that the characteristics of *rāgas* that were mentioned in the book were not elaborated, and arrogantly remarked that was why *Vaiṇikas* and singers did not pay any attention at all to the book.

Peda Komati Vemabhupati of the 15th century, who ruled Kondavidu after Kumaragiri, and who was a patron of Srinatha and Vamanabhatta, wrote *Sangīta Cintāmaṇi*. There are only two incomplete manuscripts of this work in the Travancore library.

In the same century, Saluva Gopendra Tippabhupala, the vassal of Immadideva Raya of Vijayanagar, wrote a work on *tāla*, known as *Tāḷa Dīpika*. Perhaps this is the first work exclusively dedicated to the elaboration of 'Tala'. Besides this, it is likely that the same Tippabhupala composed some 'Prabandhams' celebrating Lord Siva, as illustrations of the various *tāḷas*.

Bandaru Lakshminarayana, the warden of ceremonies of the court of Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar (16th c.), was the dance and music master in the royal household. He wrote a treatise on music known as *Sangīta Suryōdaya* which still remains as a palm-leaf manuscript in Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

In 1595 the protege of Aliya Rama Raya, and guardian of the fortress of Kondavidu, Ramāmātya by name, wrote *Svaramēḷa Kaḷānidhi*. In this book the nature of *svaras* and *mēḷas* which are the principal topics of musicology were more elaborately treated than in many ancient books. He added five more *mēḷarāgas* to the 15 of Vidyaranya and elaborated those 20 *mēḷas*. He mentioned 73 ragas as originated from these *mēḷakarthas*. He also gave the notational characteristics for 43 of these *rāgas*. It seems to be pretty certain that the *Svaramēla Kalānidhi* of Ramamatya was an event in the evolution of Karnatic music. He boldly asserted that theoretical rules which run counter to practice must have to be changed in the light of practice.

Of the books on musical theory that saw the light of the day in the 17th century, Somanatha's *Rāgavibōdha* was easily the best. He himself provided a *ṭīka* for his work. Somanatha, like Ramamatya accepted fourteen svaras (Suddha and Vikriti combined). He elaborated 22 methods of playing the subtle distinctions of *rāga* and *svaras* and invented written symbols for them. By his example he showed how to elaborate each *rāga* by the method of *svara sancāra* and thus rendered yeoman service to the cause of Andhra Music.

Of what constitutes the present-day Karnatic music, a lion's share is attributed to the Telugu composers - *Vāggēyakāras*. Though not a *Vāggēyakāra* himself, the first Telugu composer who composed verses in Sanskrit entitled *Kṛṣṇa karṇāmṛtam* was Lila Suka considered next only to Jayadeva. In the same century, Krishnamacharya composed prosaic lyrics (called *vacanas*) on the presiding deity of Simhachalam. Tallapaka Annamacharya who belongs to the 15th century composed 30,000 *padams* in praise of Lord Venkateswara. The first ever composer who divided his compositions into *Pallavi, anupallavi* and *caraṇams* and mentioned the *rāgas* for all his compositions, Annamacharya is considered to be the founder-father of *pada* compositions. Even Purandaradasa, who is considered to be the father of Karnatic music, was influenced by Annamacharya's compositions. Apart from this Annamacharya wrote a book entitled *Sankīrtana Lakṣaṇamu* which is a treatise on the characteristics of the musical compositions. Yakshaganas were first composed by the Telugus in the 16th century. The *Krsna Līlā* of Narayana Teertha is one of the most fascinating contributions of Telugus to the field of Karnatic music. The form of dance which came to be known as 'Kuchipudi' is said to have attained classical structure at the hands of Siddhendra yogi. Another great devotee whose compositions form a part of music concerts in the south, even today, is Bhadrachala Ramadas (1620-1680).

It is in the 17th century that another trend-setter, with his erotic lyrics changed the direction of Karnatic music. He was Kshetrayya, who composed about 4,000 *padams* and opened a new chapter and gave a new impetus to Karnatic music. Most of the *rāgas* took definite shape in his compositions.

Musical Trinity

The golden age of Karnatic music began in 1763 and ended in 1847. Within a span of 12 years (1763-75) all the three great personalities were born: Syama Sastry in 1763, Tyagaraja in 1767 and Muttuswamy Dikshitar in 1775. All the three were scholars in Sanskrit and Telugu and the present-day Karnatic music owes its richness to these three dedicated souls.

While Syama Sastry, whose compositions are about three hundred, are found in Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit, those of Muthuswami Dikshitar were composed mostly in Sanskrit.

Tyagaraja occupies a unique place in the history of Karnatic music. Though the number of compositions authored by him is still a matter of controversy, it looks as though there can be no Karnatic music without Tyagaraja's compositions. He composed in about 210 ragas - 31 songs in Todi, 30 in Sankarabharanam, 19 in Bhairavi, 17 in Saurashtra, 19 in Kalyani, 15 in Madhyamavati, 13 in Athana and 12 in Kambhoji. These major compositions hold an unparalleled place in the field of Karnatic music. Tyagaraja, the most illustrious of the music composers of South India and one of the greatest musical geniuses of all times, is an Andhra and composed in Telugu.

Several renowned musicians have contributed to the spread of karnatic music in Andhra. Not only were they great performers, but were also devoted gurus who taught their disciples with selfless love and affection. The earliest to gain such reputation in the entire South India was Susarla Dakshina Murthy Sastry (1860-1922). Parupalli Ramakrishnaiah (1883-1952) was a direct disciple of Susarla and was responible for training several students who were to become famous later. M.Balamuralikrishna is one such whose traditional musical rendering has always been sharpened by his own creative innovation. An equally erudite composer, Balamuralikrishna has rightly earned a place of honour among the first-ranking musicians of India today. Sripada Pinakapani, another great *guru*, has been honoured both for his scholarship and his facile performances. Among others in the *guru-śiṣya sampradāya*, mention must be made of Voleti Venkateswarlu, Srirangam Gopalaratnam, Nedunuri Krishna Murthy and Nookala China Satyanarayana who earned a nation-wide recognition as musicians.

Musical Instruments

Nāṭya Śāstra classified musical instruments (vādyas) into four types: 1. Stringed (*tantrī*: chordophones), 2. Wind (*suṣira* : aerophones), 3. Percussion (*avanaddha* : membranophones) and those struck against each other such as cymbals (*ghana* : autophones). The last are time-keeping instruments and are the earliest.

Flute is another ancient instrument. The earlier flutes were direct flutes. The side blown instruments came later.Prapancham Seetharam and N.S. Srinivasan have been popular flutists.

Initially mridanga, the most ancient drum, as the very name suggests, used to be made out of clay. Gradually they came to be made out of wood and animal membrane. Several Andhra artists have mastered this instrument. Aswadhati Rama Murthy in the early part of the century, Kolanka Venkataraju, Dandamudi Rama Mohan Rao and Yella Venkateswara Rao in the present generation have earned wide acclamation for their art.

Veena also is one of the most ancient musical instruments mentioned in Vedic and post-Vedic literature. In Andhra stalwarts like Venkataramana Das, Tumurada Sangameswara Sastry, Emani Sankara Sastry and his disciple Chitti Babu are some of the noted exponents of Veena in the modern age. Even orchestra is found to be existent in ancient times. Bharata mentioned at least four kinds of orchestra. Sarangadeva divided the orchestra into 3 main heads. Even in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* we find references to the *samūha gīta* accompanied by different musical instruments like veena, venu and mridanga. Vocal music and instrumental music have had a healthy interaction between each other from ancient times.

Hindustani Music

Though the Andhras naturally favoured Karnatic music and developed it, the influence of Hindustani system of music was also felt in some pockets of the Andhra territory - mainly in the areas of the former Hyderabad state. Even the Coastal Andhra produced an eminent violonist of the Hindustani School, Garikapati Kotaiah Devara (1861-1924) who was appointed a court musician by the Nizam. M.Ramalinga Sastri was well-known as a musicologist. Ambaprasad of Hyderabad was well-known for his proficiency in Hindustani instrumental Music having mastered harmonium. The Theatre of Andhra was also influenced to some extent by various Hindustani musical modes mainly through the *nāṭya sangīt* of Maharashtra.

Western Influence

The most striking contribution of the west to Indian music is Violin. At least three persons who brought violin into Karnatic music are to be mentioned in this regard: Varahappiar, the Tanjore Court Minister at the end of 18th century, Baluswami Dikshitar (1786-1858), the younger brother of the great composer Muthuswami Dikshitar and Vadivelu (1810-1845). Although the violin is played as a solo instrument also by a few Karnatic musicians, its primary role in the South is to accompany the vocalist. Dwaram Venkataswamy Naidu (1893-1964) of Vizianagaram was among the earliest solo performers of violin who popularised and made a definite contribution to South Indian music.Dwaram Narasinga Rao, Annavarapu Ramaswamy and N.Ch. Krishnamacharyulu have equal facility both as accompanists and as solo performers.

The reed instruments, important to contemporary Indian classical music, are of the double-reed type. The predominant double-reed instrument in Karnatic music is Nadaswara or Nagaswaram, traditionally associated with performance in temples.Daliparti Pichihari and Sheik China Maulana have earned nation-wide reputation as Nadaswaram players.

The influence of the west did not just stop with the addition of some instruments to Karnatic music. Though orchestra seems to be existent in ancient India, it has taken a different shape only with the western influence. The main component - harmonisation - is a major impact of the west on the Indian orchestra. In Indian music the text being the predominantly important factor, vocal music can never be relegated to the secondary position. All India Radio, Vijayawada was the first institution to initiate steps to broadcast classical orchestral music in Andhra. However, there is a continuous invasion of western instruments into the domain of Indian music in general, and Karnatic music in particular. Guitar, Mandolin, Saxophone and more recently some of the electronic instruments, are trying to intrude into the Karnatic music territory. Among youngsters who have taken to these instruments, mention must be made of Srinivas who has already secured a place of honour for his masterly use of mandoline.

THEATRE

There are several indications, both from temple sculptures and inscriptional sources, that theatrical activities flourished in Andhra Pradesh at least from the 2nd c. B.C. However, the first categorical mention of the existence of theatrical performances was made in the early part of the 13th c. by Palkuriki Somanatha in his two pioneering poetical texts - *Basava Purāṇamu* and *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritramu*. Somanatha mentioned that "Siriyalu Charitra" was performed as *sānga-bhaṣhānga-kriyānga paṭu nāṭakamu (Basava Purāṇamu)* and the stories of devotees were performed in the form of dramas *(Panḍitārādhya Caritramu)*. Somanatha's description that they were *sānga-bhāṣanga- kriyānga-paṭu nāṭakamulu* proves that the dramatic and performative art was in a mature stage by that time. The word *sānga* means that which contained all the *angas*, i.e. all the *pūrvarangas*, of *nāndi, prastāvana* etc. A play which is enacted through the four *abhinayas* and which contained all the *angas* can be called *sānga*. The words *bhāṣānga* and *kriyānga* would mean the words spoken and the actions done (as evidenced from the use of the words in similar meanings by Tallapaka Peda Tirumalacharya). Both of them, then, would mean the *vācika* and *āngika abhinaya-s*. Since the method of using these two *abhinayas* in a play production are elaborately discussed in Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, the Telugu plays mentioned by Somanatha must have been such that were written and enacted according to the well-established traditions of the *Nātya Śāstra*. Vallabharaya in his *Krīḍābhirāmamu* (15th c.) cited that the story of Machaldevi, who adorned the court of Prataparudra, was performed as a play. According to inscriptions, an actor Sri Ranga Raju who was credited with the title 'Vidwat-sabha-ranjaka' and was in the court of Srikrishnadevaraya performed a play entitled *Tāyikonda Nātakam* with his family members - both male and female.

According to the Machupalli *kaifīyat*, Kuchipudi Bhagavathulu performed a *kēḷika* in the royal palace of Veera Narasimha Raya (1503-09). Since the days of the Nayaka kings, Yakshaganas were performed in the Tanjore royal court. We also know the names of some of those actors who performed the Yakshaganas from the manuscript texts. Those were mainly musical and dance dramas.

However, modern Telugu theatre had its beginnings only in 1880 when Kandukuri Veeresalingam produced his *Vyavahāra Dharmabōdhini* at Rajahmundry. The history of the theatre during these one hundred and odd years can be divided into six phases on the basis of the stages of its development. They are:

1. Beginnings	1880-1886
2. The Age of Consolidation	1886-1912
3. The Age of Professionalism	1912-1928
4. The Age of Transition	1928-1944
5. The Age of Competitions	1944-1956
6. The Age of Experiments or Contemporary Theatre	1956-

However, mention must be made of a few important dramatic associations that were active prior to 1880. These associations which were producing non-Telugu plays until then had prepared the ground for the emergence of modern theatre in Telugu.

Early Attempts

Jagannadha Vilasini Sabha (Vizianagaram) : This association was started by Vijayarama Gajapati Maharajah in 1874. His successor, Ananda Gajapati Maharajah also patronised it and showed a keen interest in its activities. Ganti Butchi Sastry was the actor-manager behind its success and so the association was popularly known as "Butchi Sastry Company". As this association performed only Sanskrit plays like *Abhijnāna Sākuntalam* and *Uttara Rāma Caritra*, it was also called the "Sanskrit Academy". It was known for its emphasis on *vācika abhinaya*. It was this association that first performed Gurazada's *Kanyāśulkam* (in its first version) in August, 1892.

The Oriental Dramatic Company (Madras) : This was started by Gomatham C.V. Sreenivasacharyulu during 1879-80 at Madras. He was not only its president, but the most important actor also. He was renowned especially for his role of 'Dushyanta' in *Sākuntalam*, for which he earned the title "Indian Garrick". When he moved to Vizianagaram later, he served as the director of the Sanskrit Academy. He laid great stress on *sāttvika abhinaya*.

Dharwada Nataka Samajam : In 1880, a theatrical company called "Dharwada Nataka Samajam" (from Dharwada, now in Karnataka) toured the coastal districts of Andhra, performing plays in Hindi. Their performances showed a marked contrast from the existing *Vīdhi Nāṭakams* of Andhra. The Samajam used fine *cemki* costumes, glittering ornaments, and gas lights. The curtains moved upwards and sideways. The Sutradhara and Nati provided the prologue and the Vidushaka, humorous interludes. There was an invocation to Gajanana. The announcement of the story line from time to time made the play in an unknown language easy to understand. They started the practice of selling tickets. All the actors were well disciplined; they ably fitted the roles. Male actors did female roles. Good, controlled acting, suitable *ahārya*, melodious singing and clear intonation of voice made their plays immediate successes. All these features attracted the Telugu actors and producers also. As a result, several theatrical associations were started in almost every town in coastal Andhra. The theatrical practices of the Dharwada Company were continued in Andhra almost until 1920.

1. Beginnings (1880-86)

In 1880, prior to the tour of the Dharwada Nataka Samajam, a play, *Vyavahāra Dharmabōdhini*, was staged by some elders and students under the able stewardship of the playwright Kandukrui Veeresalingam at Rajahmundry. This was the first modern play that was performed. With the inspiration of this play's success and the new impetus given by the popular performances of the Dharwada Nataka Samajam, Kandukuri started an association and produced two more plays - *Ratnāvaḷi* and *Camatkāra Ratnāvaḷi* in the same thatched shed in which the Dharwada Samajam performed its plays and which was left by them in tact. This was the first theatrical association founded for performing only Telugu plays. However, it did not continue for a long time as the parents of the students vehemently objected to their children's participation.

In 1880-81, a Telugu pandit by name Kondubhotla Subrahmanya Sastry established "Hindu Nataka Samajam" at Guntur mainly consisting of his own students. He wrote about 30 plays, all of which were performed by this group, directed by Kondubhotla. They also toured extensively and staged these plays outside Guntur. As dialogue is prominent in their plays which did not contain poems *(padyams)*, they were called 'speech-dramas'. A well-known poet-dramatist like Chilakamarti Laxmi Narasimham, in his *Autobiography*, commended Sastry's plays saying that they proved how even prose plays would make fine performances. The renowned nationalist leader, Konda Venkatappaiah, took female roles in this association in his student days.

As another theatrical association was started at Guntur in course of time, this group came to be popularly called the 'First Company'.

"The Juvenile Hindu Theatre" (1880-82) of Machilipatnam started its activities by staging Telugu plays, but soon followed the Dharwada Nataka Samajam by performing Hindi plays. Between 1884-86, Nadendla Purushottama Kavi wrote 32 plays in Hindusthani for this theatre. He was also their director. By 1884 uninterrupted theatrical performances continued under its new name, National Theatrical Soceity. Kundurti Adinarayana Rao was its main singer-actor and the well-built Mogiligiddala Ramanuja Rao enacted the hero roles. In the second phase of its development, Emani Laxmana Swamy, the renowned actor, became its main performer. By 1900, the group acquired for itself an auditorium called "Sarada Vilas".

Influenced by the Dharwada Company, Raja Ankitam Jagga Rao founded 'Jaganmitra Samajam' in 1882 at Visakhapatnam. This theatre used to get new costumes and curtains designed according to the needs of the different plays they performed. During intervals in the performance, they introduced moral and humorous discourses and farces. The Samajam earned high regard as all the actors in it were educated and came from noble families. Setti Laxminarasimham, the playwright, was a member of this group. Raja Vikramadeva Verma took over the stewardship of this theatre by about 1900. They also ticketed their performances and the money they received thereby was used for public causes.

Vaddadi Subbarayudu, a well respected playwright started his "Hindu Natakojjivaka Samajam" at Rajahmundry in 1884. The samajam staged his own *Vēṇī Samhāram* and other plays. Vaddadi was also an actor of repute and was known especialy for his roles of Dharmaraja and Aswathama. Chilakamarti wrote that Vaddadi's rendering of poems and *daṇḍakams* was highly evocative and inspiring.

When the National Theatrical Society switched over to Hindi plays, another association was started to stage exclusively Telugu plays at Machilipatnam (Hindu Theatre, 1884). Like the Jaganmitra Samajam of Visakhapatnam, this also received honest encomiums because of the educated actors in it who played their roles with great involvement and understanding. Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao, a doyen of Telugu journalism and a great nationalist, was a member of this group, enacting female roles.

Another "Hindu Nataka Samajam" was started in Kakinada in the year 1885. Jayanthi Bhavanarayana, an actor-playwright was associated with it in the first phase and well-known actors like Vedurumudi Seshagiri Rao and Muppidi Jagga Raju in its second phase. Jagga Raju was specially known for his impersonating in the female roles and later became famous in the commercial theatres of Eluru and Vijayawada. Singitham Abbayi, a body-builder and wrestler, was its manager, as was the practice of all theatres of the day to enlist such support.

In 1884-85 the Dharwada Nataka Samajam toured Andhra a second time. At their Eluru camp, an actor, Vamana Bhat Joshi, came away from it and started a company with local actors. He called it "Eluru Company" which specialized in performing Hindi plays.

During this early stage of development, teachers in schools and colleges not only wrote plays, but directed and produced them on the stage, gathering some students and other colleagues as actors. The participation of the students in theatrical activities was so vehemently opposed in the initial stages that Kandukuri had to suspend his theatrical activities. However, when respectable people - officers, advocates, teachers and other elite of the towns - started participating in plays, this resistance gradually dwindled.

2. Age of Consolidation (1886-1912)

Very soon theatrical associations gained strength and popularity. They started constructing their own theatres. Some of the major theatre groups (called *sabha-s* or *samājam-s* or simply 'Companies') toured all over Andhra extensively. The work of the major playwrights came into fruition during these years. This expansion in theatre activity resulted in the emergence of several major playwrights.

Sarasa Vinodini Sabha (Bellary) : Started as a Debating Society in 1879, Sarasa Vinodini Sabha was one of the first major theatre companies that influenced the activities of the Telugu theatre. Its founder-president was Dharmavaram Ramakrishnamacharyulu, who was adorned with the title, "Andhra Nataka Pitamaha". A scholar in Telugu, Sanskrit and Kannada, he was the author of over 30 plays and directed and produced them under the aegis of Sarasa Vinodini Sabha. He was also a great singer-actor who took leading roles in most of his plays. It was he that initiated a new trend in plays - the *padya nāṭakam*, containing metrical stanzas and songs. A well-disciplined association, the Sabha toured extensively in coastal Andhra, Rayalseema and Telangana areas, besides its successful tours outside Andhra - especially to Madras and Bangalore. Its productions influenced the starting of "Suguna Vilasa Sabha" in Madras by Sambandham Mudaliar.

Hindu Nataka Samajam (Rajahmundry) : Immaneni Hanumantha Rao Naidu, a school teacher along with Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu, later to become a national leader and the first Chie Minister of Andhra, founded "Hindu Nataka Samajam" at Rajahmundry in 1889. The Samajam performed mainly Chilakamarti Laxminarasimham's plays. The association had ups and downs in its initial stages. After a set-back of its activities in 1894, it was revived in 1901 with Chilakamarti as its president. Prakasam used to take up female roles in this association Muppidi Jagga Raju was the other actor who took up female roles.

Hindu Nataka Samajam (Guntur) : Hindu Nataka Samajam of Guntur (popularly called the First Company) flourished due to the inimitable acting talents of Hari Prasada Rao. Others who earned fame as important actors were Naushervanji and Balijepalli Laxmikantham, the author of *Satya Hariścandrīyamu*. Hari Prasada Rao introduced the method of singing the 'padyam' and the song in the coastal Andhra area (already initiated by Dharmvaram in Bellary). For his acting and his musical and meaningful rendering of the metrical stanza, he was honoured with the title "Andhra Nataka Pitamaha".

The Second Company at Guntur (its real name was "Vibudha Ranjani Sringara Hindu Nataka Samajam") became famous due to a great and established actor, Malladi Govinda Sastry, known for his role of Krishna.

By about 1898 Dharanipragada Surayya, a philanthropist and patron of theatre, started his 'National Theatre' at Rajahmundry. This was perhaps the first professional theatre company in Andhra which paid monthly salaries to its actors.

In Nellore was started an association, with the illustrious scholar-playwright, Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, as the president, "Andhra Bhashabhimani Samajam" in 1899. Its main attraction was Kandadai Srinivasan, known for his sensitive interpretation of the character of Dushyanta in *Sākuntalam* and also the main roles in Vedam's plays. Its rival organisation was "Vardhamana Samajam" with another well-known actor, Nelluru Nagaraja Rao, as its chief performer.

An association which competed with Dharmavaram's "Sarasa Vinodini Sabha" in Bellary was "Sumanorama Sabha" established by Kolachalam Srinivasa Rao, the doyen of the Historical play in Telugu. The illustrious actor-director, Bellary Raghava (Tadipatri Raghavacharyulu) was an important member of this association whose portrayals of such characters as Ramadas and Pathan had since become models of great acting. Kolachalam wrote *The Dramatic History of the World* in English in 1909, the first such attempt by an Indian.

In order to alleviate the condition of the women who belonged to the world's most ancient profession and to reform them and bring them into the main stream of life, Marepalli Ramachandra Sastry, a scholar, poet and dramatist, started "Sangeeta Maninee Samajam" in 1902 at Visakhapatnam. Even male roles were done by females in this Samajam. Such all-women associations were started at Guntur, Machilipatnam, Gudur and other places. In Parlakimidi (now in Orissa) was started the "Amateur Dramatic Association" in which Gidugu Sitapati, a veteran literateur, played the main roles. Similarly, another scholar-actor, Chatti China Purnaiah Pantulu, was the mainstay of "Rama Vilasini Samajam" of Srikakulam.

Surabhi Nataka Samajam : Vanarasa Govinda Rao started "Sri Sarada Mano Vinodini Sangeeta Nataka Sabha" by about 1887 at a village, Surabhi, in Rayachoti Taluk of Cuddapah district. As it was started in Surabhi, this Samajam came to be known as Surabhi Nataka Samajam and all actors as "Surabhi" people. During the early years of its development, Raptati Subba Das was its writer-director. When in all the other theatrical companies (except in all-female companies) men played female roles, in the Surabhi Samajam men played male roles and women the female roles. All the actors belonged to one family. By 1910, some members of the family branched off from the main company and started their own separate units. The number of such units had enlarged over the next twenty years and became nearly forty individual companies. They later joined together into a colloquium and called it Surabhi Nataka Kala Sangham.

Vanarasa Govinda Rao did yeoman service not only to Surabhi samajams, but to Telugu theatre as well. It was because of his efforts that Andhra Nataka Kala Parishat was started in 1929 at Tenali. He was justly remembered as "Andhra Nataka Kaloddharaka".

"Surabhi Nataka Samajam" is the only commercial theatre that lived through the vicissitudes of time and completed hundred years of active theatre work, especially in the rural areas of Andhra. It is an ideal theatre company, for each actor or actress is paid a monthly salary. It was the first theatre group in Andhra in which women played the female roles. Each child is brought up in the stage tradition in a hereditary way. Some members of the group prepare the curtains and some provide music. The work is assigned to them by the Manager-Director based on their abilities. All of them participate in the construction of their theatre made of tin sheets. Similarly, all of them work in the backstage, providing the rich fare of "trick" scenes and quick changes of scenery. This travelling professional-cum-commercial theatre of Andhra is now facing acute financial stringency and several of the groups closed down their theatres - a sad reflection on the changing times and public apathy.

This second stage in the development of Telugu theatre is an important one for many reasons. Sustained theatre activity became possible with the advent of serious-minded theatre groups and the construction of permanent theatres. Each group had one or two major actors known all over Andhra and so it was possible for each major group to tour successfully with their plays. Men still played female roles except in Surabhi samajams and the best among them had a great demand. With the tour of some Parsee theatres in Andhra area during 1890 to 1900, the traditional approach to lighting, costume and make-up changed considerably. 'Wire-works' and quick changes in sceneries became popular. Though the violin and mridangam accompanied musical rendering in the beginning, harmonium and tabla replaced them by 1904. The credit for introducing the accompaniment of harmonium goes to Krittiventi Subba Rao of Machilipatnam. Lighting was done with large kerosene lamps called 'lusters'. Each company employed a *sūtradhāri* and a *hāsyagāḍu*. While the former initiated the play by rendering the invocation and explaining the story, the latter provided humour during intervals.

This is an age of consolidation when actors worked together under a director. Discipline was the key-word for their success.

3. Age of Professionalism (1912-1928)

Though amateur theatre activity continued, several commercial theatres were founded during this period and successfully catered to the needs of the growing audiences.

Hindu Nataka Samajam (Rajahmundry) : This Samajam, which was revived in 1901, was taken over in 1908 by two stalwarts who transformed it into a commercial venture. Satyavolu Gunneswara Rao who was an adept in handling such a commercial theatre, looked after the external needs of the company by providing the required personnel for music, scene design and the like. Krittiventi Nageśwara Rao, his partner in the venture, was an able director who took up on himself the production aspects. Their association lasted only for four years, but even during that short period, it created a sensation. The company enlisted the support of the best talent availabe in the country. Their major asset was Papatla Kanthaiah, a Hindusthani musician, who took over as the music director of the company. He was himself a composer of merit. In the next thirty years, his musical compositions received unprecedented reception from the audience. Similarly, A.S. Ram was brought from Bombay to look after the preparation of costumes and designs. He also presented humorous episodes during intervals. In short, the Samajam ably combined in itself the talents of acting and singing. Its additional attractions were wire-work, beautiful scenic background, dances, humour, etc. Its plays were so popular that spectators from Barhampur in the North and Madras in the South used to book their tickets in advance!

When Gunneswara Rao and Nageswara Rao parted company in 1912, the former started his own company, "Chintamani Nataka Samajam", which was popularly called "Gunneswara Rao Company". He also constructed "Chintamani theatre" to house it. Since it has no financial constraints, it could attract the services of many well-known actors into it. Gunneswara Rao successfully ran the company until 1927.

Mylavaram Company (Bezwada) : Rajah Suraneni Papaya Rao Bahadur, the Rajah of Mylavaram, established "Bala Bharathi Samajam" in his native village, Mylavaram, in 1913. When the "Mylavaram Theatre" was constructed in Bezwada (1916), the company was shifted and came to be popularly known as "Mylavaram Company". Many actors joined the company because of higher payments. Papatla Kanthaiah left Rajahmundry to join it. A.T. Ramanjulu from Hyderabad and Bagganna, a well-known tabalist were also engaged. This musical trinity created a sensational history.

Quite a few innovations go to the credit of Mylavaram Company. For the first time, orchestra was shifted into the pit in front of the stage. It was the first company which used make-up materials like cakes and crepe hair. It had the benefit of employing eminent actors like Yadavalli Suryanarayana for the hero characters, Guraza Naidu for ferocious roles, Uppuluri Sanjeeva Rao for female roles, and 'Andhra Gandharva' Daita Gopalam and Addanki Sreerama Murty for 'character' roles. Their major productions included *Sāvitri* by Sreeramula Sachidananda Sastry and *Draupadī Vastrāpaharaṇam* by Malladi Achyutarama Sastry.

Mote Company (Eluru) : Mote Narayana Rao Zamindar's "Seetharama Anjaneya Nataka Samajam", popularly called "Mote-vari company" was started by him in 1921 at Eluru. As a man who had first-hand knowledge of the western theatre performances, Narayana Rao conducted the affaris of his company on sound lines. All the major actors and technicians from Mylavaram Company now joined this company. One of its major productions was a translation of *Mṛccha-kaṭikam.*

During 1920-21, several other semi-professional theatres also became popular. Mention must be made of "Rama Vilasa Sabha" of Chittoor, which had the services of V. Nagaiah who became a legendary figure on the Telugu screen later on. Another "Rama Vilasa Sabha" at Tenali became famous with plays like *Kanyāśulkam, Pratāparudṛīyam* and *Rōsanārā* and could be proud of a whole bunch of illustrious actors, Govindrajula Venkata Subba Rao, Sthanam Narasimha Rao and Madhàvapeddi Venkataramaiah.

Considerable changes have taken place, during this period, even in amateur and semi-professional theatre groups. As the persons heading these organizations were only active enthusiasts and were not directly involved in any aspect of production, specialists were appointed as 'conductors' to train the actors (especially in muscial rendering). Soon came the 'prompter' to 'hold the book'. Each major company had also employed a *vastād* (a wrestler) to keep away unruly elements.

Another recognizable change in the format of the dramatic text occured during this time. As *padya nātakam* and the singing of metrical stanzas and songs became the order of the day, new types of plays were written with *padyams* and *pāṭas* in (songs) abundance. Such plays had added a prefix 'Sangita' to denote thier partiality to music (e.g. *Sangīta Hariścandra* and *Sangīta Kṛṣna Līlalu*). This naturally resulted in the belief that a good actor was one who could sing well, thereby sacrifycing other, important aspects of acting.

Another feature of this period was the starting of competitions. These competitions were often limited to one character in a play. Sometimes a single play was the 'subject' for competitions when several troupes staged the same play and the best adjudged. The first known competition took place on 13-6-1913 in which several actors performed the role of Arjuna in *Gayōpākhyānam*. In December 1915, an association, "Andhra Nataka Protsahaka Sangham" was started in Machilipatnam and conducted competitions of the play *Citra Naḷīyam*. Several such attempts followed.

During this period, dramatic activity had spread even to villages. With the starting of the Library Movement in 1914 and the establishment of libraries, they had become centres of cultural regeneration. Each library had a 'dramatic wing' also, which staged plays on important occasions.

As the companies brought all the reputed actors into its fold, new talent took up the mantle. However, the commercial theatres became extinct by 1930, partly because they were crushed by their own heavy financial burdens and partly because of the economic depression.

4. Age of Transition (1928-1943)

With the closure of the commercial theatres and the general weakening of theatre activity, a new set-up soon came into existence. This was the 'contract drama'. A contractor would 'contract' a drama to be performed at a particular place on a particular night. He would also 'contract' the actors who were required to be present at the prescribed place along with their costume. This enabled the contractor to commission different actors from different places. This practice was a success in the beginning because it enabled the audience to see great actors of different parts of the state, who were already famous for certain roles, in a single performance. The contractors, in their enthusiasm to include as many reputed actors as possible in one show, started hiring two or three actors for a single role. For example, two to three actors were hired for the role of Krishna or Arjuna in the same performance, each one appearing in a different scene. Though this practice of the contract dramas is very much in vogue, D.V. Subba Rao's National Theatrical Company at Machilipatnam, P. Suri Babu's Raja Rajeswari Natya Mandali at Vijayawada, Pisapati's Andhra Arts at Tenali and P. Rama Subba Reddy's Ramakrishna Natya Mandali at Nellore remained thoroughly professional and staged their performances, usually with their own troupes only. However, there is one positive element in the contract dramas : when the professional and commercial theatre became extinct, it was the contractors who kept the "Padya Natakam" alive, though it crippled the peformances in many ways.

There are other important features of the transition period that have had far-reaching implications. One such is the influence of western drama, especially the Realistic drama on Telugu theatre. Bellary Raghava was directly responsible for ushering in this new theatre movement in Andhra. A great actor, director and producer, Raghava visited England in 1928 and when he came back, he advocated that Telugu theatre should follow the practices of the western theatre. He insisted that the female roles should be taken up only by women and there should be a greater emphasis on *sāttvika abhinaya*. He also wanted that a greater stress should be laid on social plays in prose. He himself practised these in his productions. Along with P.V. Rajamannar, he brought about a much-needed social perspective to drama, which, until then concentrated on mythological and historical themes. When Raghava performed a social problem play, *Tappevaridi* in 1930, with Sarojini and Annapurna in the cast at the Museum Theatre, Madras, a new theatrical movement was ushered in.

This period also saw the emergence of 'Andhra Nataka Kala Parishad' which in later years was to play a leading role in consolidating the theatre activities. The Parishad started on 19-6-1928 at Tenali, mainly due to the untiring efforts of 'Andhra Nataka Kaloddharaka' Vanarasa Govinda Rao, the founder of the Surabhi theatres, his secretary, Kotthapalli Laxmayya and Viswanatha Kaviraju, a playwright of great repute. In the initial years, however, its annual meetings provided a platform for playwrights, actors and critics to discuss the various problems that confronted the theatre. It was during this period that critical works on theatrical performances, actors and playwrights were published. Puranam Suri Sastry and Pasumarti Yagnanarayana Sastry were pioneers in this direction. Neelamraju Venkata Seshaiah edited *Nāṭyakala*, an exclusive journal for promoting dramatic and theatrical activities. New experiments in theatrical productions had been successfully launched during this period. Veluri Chandrasekharam's *Kāncanamāla* was performed in 1938 at Machilipatnam using curtains of different colours to symbolise the changing moods of the play.

5. Age of Competitions (1944-1960)

The period 1943-44 is a mile-stone in the history of Telugu theatre. It was during this period that three new movements were spearheaded to give a new thrust to the theatre. The first one was the revival of Andhra Nataka Kala parishad (ANKP) under the stewardship of M.R. Appa Rao as president and Pasala Suryachandra Rao as secretary. It started state-wide competitions in social plays and playlets. It also insisted that these plays must be new and must have been written within 5 years prior to their entry into the competitions. It also made it a rule that only actresses must play female roles, thereby fulfilling the desires of Bellary Raghava. These competitions were an instantaneous success. New plays were written. New playwrights emerged. The social play came to stay. Playwrights like Acharya Atreya, D.V. Narasa Raju, Pinisetti Srirama Murty, Sheik Nazar and Bhamidipati Radhakrishna produced realistic plays with a social message. The box-set had become a permanent background setting. The amateur theatre had a new boost and the amateur actor and the director had new roles to play.

The second movement that had influenced rural audiences was the Praja Natya Mandali, the Andhra counterpart of Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA, 1943). By producing agit-prop plays and rejuvenating traditional folk forms by using them with left-oriented content, the IPTA had become popular. Artists' camps were held to train them for the new job. There was a state *daḷam* (unit) to supervise the work of district, taluk and village *daḷams*. Dr. Garikapati Raja Rao, the ebullient actor-director-producer was its state convenor. Stalwarts like Koduri Achayya, Sheik Nazar, Koganti Gopalakrishnaiah, Mikkilineni Radhakrishna Murthy, Karnati Laxminarasaiah, Kakarala and many others ably participated in their plays and other cultural events. The two plays, *Mundaḍugu* and *Mā Bhūmi*, written jointly by Sunkara Satyanarayana and Vasireddy Bhaskar Rao, were presented thousands of times. Though short lived and politically motivated, the IPTA had a great influence on the cultural rejuvenation of the Telugus.

The third major break-through was the starting of the Andhra University Experimental Theatre which brought into focus the creative talents of the university and college students by holding annual competitions. The man behind this very fruitful activity was K.V. Gopalaswamy, Registrar of the Andhra University, a thougtful innovator and perceptive critic. The Andhra University Experimental Theatre was started in 1943 and continued its activities for twenty years during which time it gave importance to new and experimental plays. These included social problem plays, plays that reinterpreted myths, musical plays and famous English and European plays adapted into Telugu. Playwrights like Kopparapu Subba Rao, Chalam, Muddukrishna, Tripuraneni Ramaswamy Chaudary, Amancharla Gopala Rao, Buchibabu and scores of others came to be known to students and general audiences because of the efforts of the Experimental Theatre. Similarly, as it laid emphasis on well-directed plays, able directors came out of the scheme both from the University colleges as well as affiliated colleges. Many of the students, in later years, joined the ameteur theatre movement as writers, actors and directors. The innumerable experiments done in the university theatre exposed the young enthusiasts to the latest trends in playwriting and performance techniques.

During the years 1943-1960, many important theatre groups made their mark for their high standard of performance. 'Venkatagiri Amateurs' with Atreya as its major writer-actor-director stands unique for its 'ensemble' productions. It showed, for the first time, the advantages of team work, everyone contributing to the success of the production. 'Telugu Little Theatre' (Vijayawada), under the able guidance of Kopparapu Subba Rao, strove for perfection both in acting and back-stage techniques. 'Udayini-Raghava Kala Kendram' (Vijayawada), with Ramachandra Kashyapa and Vinnakota Ramanna Pantulu as the main actors and D.V. Narasa Raju as playwright, produced many plays with dedication and was justly famous. 'Ra.Sa.Na. Samakhya' (Vijayawada) was another group which made its mark, mainly due to the untiring efforts of K. Venkateswara Rao as actor-director. It won several awards and distinctions both in the areas of acting and direction. Another association which should be remembered is the 'Andhra Art Theatres' with Kodali Adiseshaiah as its chief. It continued the work of Praja Natya Mandali for quite some time. Similarly, 'Raghava Kala Samiti' of Rajahmundry gained a name for its imaginative performances. Headed by G. Raja Rao, a devoted theatre personality with genuinely progressive ideals, the Samithi had established for itself a place of pride in the history of contemporary Telugu theatre. Their performance of Atreya's *Bhayam* is considered a land mark.

Other important associations which did commendable work during the period include Adarsa Natya Mandali (Palakol), Kalavani (Bapatla), Navya Kala Mandali (Vijayawada) and Prabhakara Natya Mandali (Gudivada).

Ironically, many of the successful actors and playwrights later found their way to the cinema field in Madras and never came back to the theatre except to write an occasional play or to participate in it.

6. Contemporary Age : 1960-

For about 20 years following 1960 a sustained and intensified theatre activity can be noticed. Though the earlier trend of *padya nātakam* also continued, there has been a greater stress on the social plays and playlets. The *Padya nātakam* is largely promoted by contractors in which each role is donned by two or three actors who appear in separate scenes. Though there are a few exceptions to this general rule in the well-organized performances of Ramakrishna Natya Mandali (Nellore), Savera Arts (Cuddapah) and Ramabhakta Nataka Samajam (Hyderabad), *Padya-natakam*, supported by contractors, is still popular in the villages and small towns.

Competitions in social plays continue to occupy an important place in the general theatrical scene. Until 1960, such competitions were held under the auspices of Andhra Nataka Kala Parishat only. Several other theatre personalities started competitions at other places also with greater discipline. Raghava Natakotsava Kala Samithi in Vizianagaram, Lalitha Kala Parishat in Rajahmundry, Sri Venkateswara Kala Parishat in Tirupati and 'Nefja' in Nellore were the more prominent ones that organized such competitions. Soon many other 'Parishats' started conducting competitions. 'Samskritika Sammelanam' (Gudur), Lalitha Kala Parishat' (Anantapur), 'NEFCA' (Madras), 'Kalidasa Kalaradhana Samithi' (Kavali), Rayala Nataka Kala

Parishat (Proddutur), etc. were very active for over 15 years. Some of them still continue to hold state-wide competitions both in plays and playlets. In recent years some new ones joined them. Prominent among them are : 'Palakollu Sangeeta Nataka Academy' (Palakollu), Chenna Malleswara Kala Parishat (Amalapuram), Public Club (Chilakaluripet), 'BHEL' and 'Andhra Lalitha Kala Parishat' (Hyderabad). Raghu Babu Memorial Competitions (Hyderabad, Madras) have attained an importance in recent years because they were started by theatre people - Paruchuri Brothers. Gaddenapalli Parishat, (Pantam Padmanabham Kala Parishat) which conducted competitions for five or six years, is to be specially mentioned in this context. These competitions gained popularity because the hospitality extended to actors and directors in this small village which hosted the competitions was memorable. It was also a treat to see villagers assembling at the site, arriving there from neighbouring villages on bullock carts and by walk and stayed through the whole-night performances of modern social plays. The word 'Parishat' came to mean a body that conducted competions. More than hundred 'Parishats' in different places of Andhra are now active. The Parishats fulfil the need of providing a platform to new playwrights and actors.

The work of 'Natya Sangham' during these years is memorable. It was started in 1954 with Hyderabad as its centre. Several prominent men including Marri Chenna Reddy and M. Anandam were associated with it. An Andhra branch of the Bharatiya Natya Sangh, it had the blessings of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. In its three decades of active work, it had the leadership of an illustrious theatre man, A.R. Krishna, who guided the destinies of the Sangham. It had also the good fortune of securing able guidance from people like Abburi Ramakrishna Rao, a perceptive director-actor-critic. Under his guidance, it started a theatre institute - Natya Vidyalayam - in 1959 and produced many plays of importance including *Mṛchakaṭika, Kanyāśulkam, Pratāparudrīyam, Āśa, Āśa Kharīdu Aṇa* and *Nijam*. It was also the first institute that produced contemporary Indian plays translated into Telugu. Mention must be made of *Hayavadana* and *Ēvam Indrajit*. It also extended its activities to district centres. It played a major role in consolidating the amateur theatre activity during the three decades of its active work.

The Sangeeta Nataka Akademi and later the Nataka Akademi had also served the cause of theatre. They conducted drama competitions in coordination with other local organisations and with Andhra Nataka Kala Parishat. The Akademi helped indigent artistes by way of monthly financial assistance. Besides, it also published a journal - *Nāṭya Kaḷa* - which was started as a quarterly, but later became a monthly, under the able guidance of Pasala Suryachandra Rao and Srinivasa Chakravarti.

During the 60's and early 70's, there started a few theatre groups which had boldly experimented in new styles of presentation. The 'Vidyanagar Cultural Association' with J.L. Narasimha Rao as its architect was the foremost among such groups. It produced many plays which are considered land marks in the history of modern Telugu theatre. Special mention must be made of *Marō Mohenjodāro* (1964), a play written by N.R. Nandi and directed by Chatla Sreeramulu, which was a deviation from the strictly realistic plays of 1950's and adaptation of Brecht's *Exception and the Rule*, introduced the German playwright to the Telugu audience. Other groups that continued their earlier theatrical activity during this period were 'Kalavani' of Bapatla and 'Ra.Sa.Na. Samakhya' of Vijayawada. Kalavani's productions of the plays of Korrapati Gangadhara Rao and Ra.Sa.Na's productions of plays like *Māsṭerjī, Donga Vīruḍu* and *Koḍuku Puṭṭāla* directed by the veteran actor-director K. Venkateswara Rao were memorable.

Similarly, Nataraja Kala Samithi, with the famous actor-director J.V. Ramana Murthy and his equally famous actor-brother J.V. Somayajulu, started at Srikakulam but had spread its activities all over Andhra, popularised such plays as *Kīrtiseṣulu, Phaṇi* and *Kāḷa Rātri*, besides performing *Kanyāśulkam* regularly. Lalitha Kala Samithi of Anantapur with Roddam Hanumantha Rao and C. Ranganayakulu, popularised social plays by giving meticulous productions.

In 70's scores of young directors made their mark. Foremost among them were Desiraju Hanumantha Rao, Bhanu Prakash, D.S.N. Murthy, K. Vidyasagar and T. Sundaram. Their *forte* was experimental thatre, though they were equally at ease with the realistic mode. Attili Krishna Rao's 'Natya Bharati', Raojee 'Raojee's Productions' and Vijaya Prakash's 'Vijaya Kala Samithi' produced plays of importance. Among promising young directors mention must be made of Satyanand whose *Bommalata* and *Aḍavi Divitīlu* have run for hundred nights. Mention must be made of Misro, Krishna Chaitanya, Ayyalaśomayajula Gopalakrishna, Sanjeevi, G.S. Prasada Reddy, N.J. Bikshu, D. Ramu, J. Ramana and several other youngsters whose work shows promise.

With the emergence of the University Departments of Drama, a long-felt need for providing scientific training to students in all the areas of theatre production was fulfilled. The first to be started was the Andhra University Department of Theatre Arts (1961). It had the blessings and the active participation (in the initial years) of K.V. Gopalaswamy, a veteran theatre personality. Actors and directors of proven merit like Mantri Srinivasa Rao, K. Venkateswara Rao, Chatla Sreeramulu, Attili Krishna Rao and Abburi Gopalakrishna were on the faculty. It offers a Diploma and trained several enthusiasts. It produced plays of a wide variety.

The next one to be started was the Department of Theatre Arts at the Osmania University (1983). It had dedicated teachers like M. Nagabhushana Sarma, P. Raja Ramdass and Chatla Sreeramulu. If offers a two-year Post-graduate Diploma and emphasizes the need of performing classics, both from the west and India and of contemporary masterpices from other Indian languages. With a well-drawn up syllabus to include both theoretical and practical work, it has established for itself a name in theatre training in India. It has the credit of conducting a 5-day Festival of Atreya's plays. The University of Hyderabad started a P.G. Course and a Diploma and the Telugu University a 3-year B.A. course in drama. M. Nagabhushana Sarma served the Central University as its first Head of the Department and laid the foundations for its expansion. He was succeeded by Attili Krishna Rao. The Telugu University Department of acting was headed by the veteran actor, J.V. Somayajulu. Efforts are, however, to be made to consolidate the results of the work done in these Universities by starting at least one Repertory to give in-house training to select students.

Though the art has fallen on evil days, it is still patronised by many devotees and needs a revival with the assitance of the rich temples and the government.

Recent efforts by individual organizations in presenting experimental plays are laudable. An attempt to offer daily theatre performances was started by Rasa Ranjani, a theatre group in Hyderabad which included patrons, theatre teachers, actors and directors. All these efforts must ultimately lead to a healthy theatre movement in Andhra in the near future.

HARI-KATHA

Hari-katha simply means the story of the God Vishnu. But as a form of music, speech and role-playing, it has evolved into a popular entertainment to rural masses, which, through musical narration, sings in praise of gods, saints and devotees to inculcate a sense of *bhakti* among the listeners. The scholar-singer-narrator who narrates a *hari-katha* is popularly called a *Haridās* or a *Bhāgavatār* and a woman narrator, *Bhāgavatāriṇi*, in the same way as the performing groups enacting stories of the Gods are known as *Bhāgavatulu*. Popular as *Abhang* in Maharashtra and *Kathā Kālakṣēpam* in Tamil Nadu and parts of Karnataka, *hari-katha* is a later development of the *Yakṣagāna*, when it was still a one-man narrative.

A *hari-katha* performance, usually running into three or four hours, contains mainly a musical rendering of a particular story from God's *līlas* or a saint's life, with a violin and mridangam accompanying it. The music itself is a combination of the folk and the classical - the folk, often drawn from temple renderings - *kīrtans* - devoted to God; and the classical from the *kṛtis* of famous composers like Tyagaraja. In addition, the narrator improvises the roles of the several characters as the occasion demands and thus dramatises the story. The performance also contains some humorous anecdotes, called *piṭṭa kathalu*, to relate the main story to a contemporary situation. These humorous stories retain the interest of the common people in the main story, though some later Bhagavatars embedded their narrations with large doses of humour when the main story becomes thin.

The costume of a *Haridās* is also noteworthy. He wears a silk dhoti, usually of red or pink colour and ties another silk cloth around his waist. He will also have a garland of flowers around his neck and 'kum-kum' or 'tilakam' on his forehead. He wears bells around his ankles. He will provide the correct rhythm for the songs with 'chiratalu'.

This narration comprises of songs (of different metres, usually including *dwipada* and *manjarī dwipada, tōhara,* etc.), poems, *jāvaḷis* and *tarangams*. Specially popular are *kīrtans* from *Ādhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and Jayadeva's *aṣṭapadis*. In course of time, however, several songs and poems of patriotic fervour have been added. In addition, songs and poems of humorous nature (a *daṇḍakam* on coffee etc.) and imitiations of cinema songs have found their place in recent times.

The father of the Telugu *hari-katha* performances is Adibhatla Narayanadas, a scholar in eight languages, a musician of extraordinary calibre and an equally eminent writer in Telugu and Sanskrit. In his hands, Telugu *hari-katha* has become a classical art form, combining dance, dramatic rendering and musical narration in equal proportions. His title "Hari katha pitamaha" (literally means the grand-father, but in common parlance the 'doyen' of *Hari-katha*) suits him aptly. His *hari-kathas*, performed all over the country, had a distinct combination of both *pratibha* and *vyutpatti* and, for succeeding generations, it was an honour for *hari-dasas* to acknowledge him as their *guru*.

Narayanadas, besides authoring more than thirty *hari-kathas* in Telugu (he called them *Yakṣagānas*), also wrote in Sanskrit. His *Hari-kathāmṛtam* in Sanskrit was considered one of his best texts. Well-built, with almost an awe-inspiring personality, his 'musical lectures' were at once literary feasts and musical concerts.

Among his several disciples, Vajapeyayajula Venkata Subbaiah and Neti Laxminarayana need special mention. Taking the general format of performance techniques from their *guru*, they followed his tradition in making their performances rich both in literary and musical values. Others, who belonged to the earlier part of this century and were later- contemporaries of Narayanadas, were Puchala Bhramaradas and Mynampati Narasinga Rao who also wrote some *hari-kathas* besides rendering those of Narayanadas.

Noted among the next generation of Bhagavatars was Peddinti Suryanarayana Deekshita Das, who was both a writer of *hari-kathas* and a performer of great impact. Unlike Narayanadas' writings, Deekshita Das' are easy to comprehend. There is no scholarly showmanship. Instead, his *tōharas, kīrtans* and *padyams* have become models with alliteration as the major poetic embellishment in them. His performances were equally popular with the scholars and the commoners. Musunuri Suryanarayana's *hari-kathas* were famous for their musical strength. A known scholar in Carnatic music, Musunuri turned his performances into musical lectures. Another important Bhagavatar of the 1930's and 40's was Prayaga Sangameswara Sastry who added to his repertoire of mythological stories, life-histories of Tyagaraja and Meera Bai. His "Tyagaraja Charitra" must have been performed at least five to six thousand times in every nook and corner of Andhra. Among his contemporaries, Parimi Subrahmanyam, Mulukutla Punnaiah and Addepalli Laxmana Sastry have made their mark as great *haridāsas*, being strong in one or the other field of this art.

In the late 40's came a new generation of *haridāsas*, who rendered the musical narration adhering to the general format of the art. Among them two Bhagavatars stand out. The first one was Paturi Madhusudana Sastry, a scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu and also in Puranas and Upanishads. Known as 'Panditha Haridasa Hamsa', his *hari-katha* rendering was a literary debate, with dramatization as its major innovation. His "Parvathi Parinayam", written by himself both in Sanskrit and Telugu was justly famous. The second one whose impact was more widely recognised was Mulukutla Sadasiva Sastry whose repertoire included new stories such as *Jaimini Bhāratam* and *Śiva Līlalu*. A great scholar, a classical musician of repute and a good singer, his performances were perfect models to be emulated by others. His rendering of "Tyagaraja Caritra" was justly famous because he linked the *krtis* of the supreme maestro to the incidents in his life.

Others who made a name during this period in one or the other branches of this composite art are numerous. However, mention must be made of Kuppa Veeraraghava Sastry, who danced to his renderings of *aṣṭapadis* and *tarangams* with devotion and Nanduri Viswanatha Sastry who rendered *Ādhyātma Rāmāyaṇa Kīrtans*, some of them being popular house-hold tunes already. Ammula Viswanatham, whose quiet and clear enunciation of the text and the musical scenario, were imitated by several later-day Bhagavatars, G. Umakantham who presented his stories through absorbing dialogues were equally famous.

The post-Independence scenario of *hari-katha* is somewhat different from the earlier one of half-a-century. In the earlier period, a strong story-line with music as the prime content and dramatic rendering following it a close second was the common mode, whereas in the latter period (1950 onwards), the scene seems to show a complete change. The strength of the story is diluted. In its place came easy gimmicks like humorous episodes, popular cinema songs; a stress on contemporary *Padya-nāṭakam*-style of rendering, became important. The reason is partly due to the larger number of Bhagavatars that chose this field, not all of them as scholarly as the earlier ones. Secondly, as the temples patronised *hari-kathas* during the festivals, there were also opportunities to the new generation of Bhagavatars, who chose the new type of rendering (especially, the *padyam*) to cater to the tastes of the new generation of listeners.

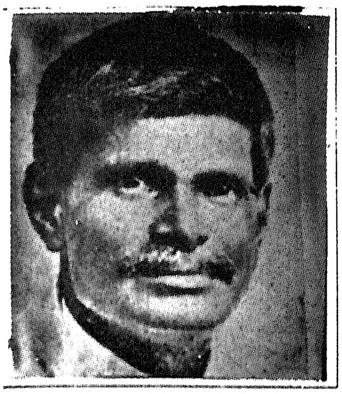
With the starting of local festivals, new stories have emerged. Besides stories on Vishnu or Siva which still dominated the festival repertoire, stories of devotees have become equally popular. Lives of Tyagaraja, Ramadas, Kannappa, Cirutonda Nambi, etc. are examples of such a kind. Further, stories of *Sthala māhātmyam* (legends concerning importance of a sacred place) have been included by local temple authorities. *Hari-kathas* on *Sriśaila Māhātmyam* and *Kōtappakoṇḍa Māhātmyam* have found a place in festivals.

Even by the end of the third decade of this century, there was an impact of the Nationalist Movement on such a religion-oriented, temple-based art form like *hari-katha*. Stories on *Vandē Mātaram* and *Cripp's Rāyabāram* became part of the cultural programmes after the meetings addressed by national leaders. Slowly the major incidents in the nationalist movement along with the life-histories of Tilak, Gandhiji and Nehru had emerged as the most popular. There are as many as thirty seven *hari-kathas* on Gandhiji alone.

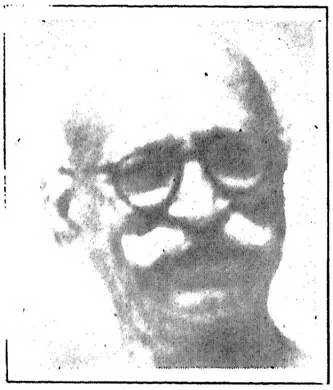
Another important aspect of the post-Independence history of *hari-katha* is that many women performers, called *Bhāgavatāriṇis*, emerged as good and engaging narrators.

With lesser talent emerging, *hari-katha* has been slowly losing its virtuosity. The apathy of the organizers of festivals not only in the towns and cities, but even in the villages towards this art and the relative popularity gained by cinema shows of devotional nature, are harming the growth and healthy sustenance of *hari-katha* as a popular art form.

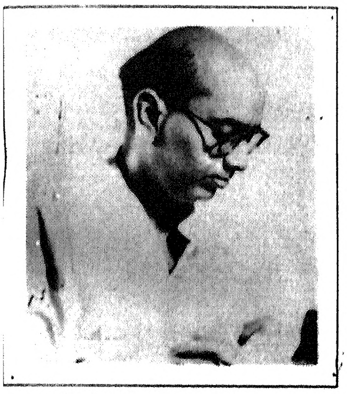
EMINENT PERSONALITIES


Raghupati Venkaiah

P.Pullaiah


H.M.Reddy

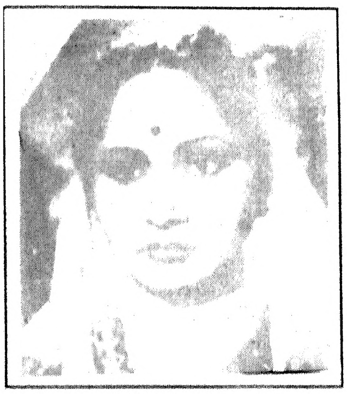
L.V.Prasad


Gudavalli Ramabrahmam

B.N.Reddy

K.V.Reddy

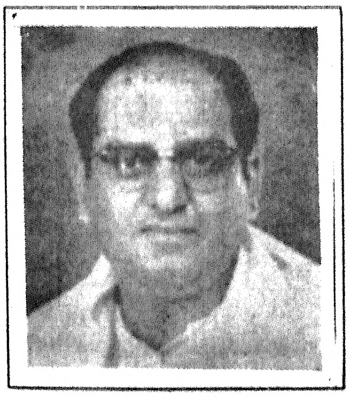
Chittoor V.Nagaiah


P.Kannamba

P.Bhanumati

Savitri

Ghantasala Venkateswara Rao


S.V.Ranga Rao

Relangi Venkataramaiah

N.T.Rama Rao

Akkineni Nageswara Rao

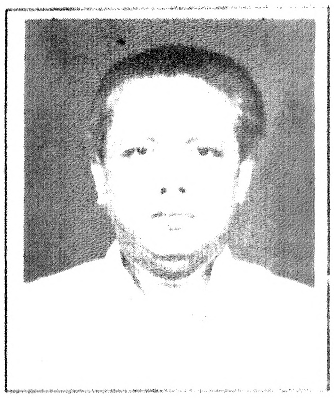
EMINENT PERSONALITIES

Nedunuri Gangadharam

Biruduraju Ramaraju

S V Joga Rao

Sunnam Veeraiah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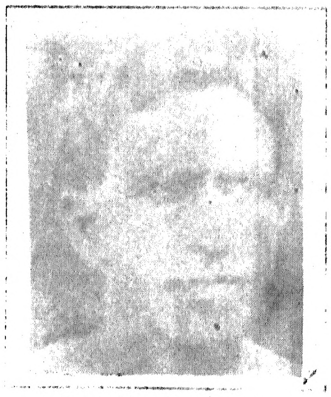
D Y Sampathkumar

Mikkilineni Radhakrishna Murthy

Peddinti Suryanarayana Dikshitulu

Annabathula Buli Venkataratnamma


Veluri Chandrasekharam

Nerella Venumadhav

Dhara Ramanatha Sastry

Besides hundreds of Bhagavatars that gained popularity in some pockets of the state, there are some who have been popular all over Andhra. Kuchibhotla Koteswara Rao, Akkipeddi Srirama Sarma, Burra Sivaramakrishna Sastry, Rajasekharuni Laxmipathi Sastry, Pratapa Venkata Subrahmanya Sastry, Atmakuri Gurubrahma Gupta, Kota Sachidananda Sastry and Tellakula Venkateswara Gupta are among the first-ranking *Bhāgavathārs* of today. Special mention must be made of Tellakula Venkateswara Gupta, who, besides being an able performer, has imparted training in *hari-katha* to many disciples. Known popularly as "Vidya Dana Karna", he taught several women-performers and steered their destiny in this field. Among them, Srimati Durgamba and Bezawada Nagaraja Kumari have attained considerable mastery in the art.

The *Hari-katha gurukulam* started at Kapileswarapuram by a landlord and patron, S.B.P. Satyanarayana Rao, is training youngsters in the art under the guidance of well-known Bhagavatars. One of them, Uma Maheswari, who specialized in rendering *hari-kathas* in Sanskrit, has become known all over the country for her ability in telling a story on the model of the Telugu *hari-katha*.

All India Radio and Door Darshan have been arranging performances of *hari-katha* periodically in their schedules. However, because of the limited time available, *hari-katha* cannot be rendered as a full-scale performance in these media.

CINEMA

Cinema has emerged as a very powerful means of popular entertainment in this century. As a mass medium, it has a great potential to transmit value-based ideologies to the society. In course of time, it also grew as an industry providing livelihood for lakhs of people but essentially it is a technical and collaborative art.

The Beginnings: An era of silent films

Raghupati Venkaiah (15.10.1873 - 15.3.1943), a younger brother of the illustrious reformer and educationist, Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu, made pioneering efforts in creating a base for the industry in the south. He acquired the latest equipment and started showing foreign silent films in Madras (1909). He also procured a tent cinema house and showed the films not only in large parts of the then Madras and Bombay presidencies but also in Colombo and Rangoon. He was the first to construct permanent theatres (Gaiety: 1913; Crown and Globe:1914-15, in Madras). Venkaiah also came up with the construction of a film studio to make silent films (Glass:1919) and founded 'Star of East Films' (1922). With a great foresight, he sent his son Prakash, to be trained in film-making, to England and America.

On return, Prakash (1902-56) started photographing and directing silent films for his father's concern. 'Gajendra Moksham', 'Matsyavatar', 'Nandanar' and Bhishma Pratigjna' were his films. He also acted in the title role in the last picture. In partnership with A.Narayanan, considered as the father of the Tamil film industry, he set up a laboratory to process his films. When talkies came in 1931, Prakash directed several Tamil films for his partner. He returned to the Telugu films to direct 'Barrister Parvateesam' and 'Chandika' (both in 1940) and 'Tarasasankam' (1941). It was under him that noted directors like Y.V.Rao and C. Pullaiah were initially trained.

Gradually, theatres came to be constructed all over Andhra, the first of its kind being the Maruthi Cinema of Potina Srinivasa Rao at Vijayawada (1921). It was followed by other theatres in quick succession. P.V.Das (Machilipatnam), Mote Krishna Rao (Eluru), G.K.Manga Raju (Visakhapatnam), C.Pullaiah (Kakinada) and Nidamarti Suraiah (Rajahmundry) were the early exhibitors of the silent films. Among others who produced silent films were C.Pullaiah who made 'Markandeya' (1926) using indigenous techniques both in production and projection, and H.M.Reddy, in whose 'Vijayakumar' Prithviraj Kapur made his debut. L.V.Prasad, who was associated with the production of silent films in Bombay since 1930 also acted in them.

Paidi Jairaj of Hyderabad and P.V.Rao of Tenali acted in the hero roles in silent films.

Emergence of 'Talkies'

The first Indian talkie 'Alam Ara' was produced at Bombay by A.Irani and was exhibited on the 14th of March, 1931. H.M. Reddy and L.V.Prasad were associated with it. H.M.Reddy (1892-1960) made the first Telugu talkie, 'Bhakta Prahlada ' at Bombay and released it on the 15th of September,1931. It was a screen version of the play of the same name, popularised by the Surabhi Theatres. Munipalle Subbaiah and Surabhi Kamalabai acted in it. H.M.Reddy also directed the first Tamil film 'Kalidas', which had dialogue in Tamil and songs in Telugu. L.V.Prasad acted in bit roles in all these three pictures.

Telugu films were shot at Bombay, Calcutta, Pune and Kolhapur in the early years. P.V.Das (1870-1936) was the first Andhra to construct a well-equipped film studio in Madras (Vel Pictures Studios: 1934) and to shoot his 'Sita Kalyanam' totally in it. It was directed by Chitrapu Narasimha Rao. Studios came up in the Andhra region also. Nidamarti Suraiah established 'Durga Cine Tone' at Rajahmundry (1936) and made his film 'Sampurna Ramayanam' there. Similarly, G.K.Manga Raju constructed 'Andhra Cine Tone' at Visakhapatnam and produced 'Bhakta Jayadeva' (1937). Both these studios, however, faced closure within a couple of years.

The newness of the medium caught the imagination of the audience and the number of films made each year gradually increased. During the first seven years (1931-37), a total number of 37 films were produced, a majority of them being mythological. They were based on popular stage-plays. A number of talented professional stage actors like Yadavalli Suryanarayana, Bellary Raghava, Pasupuleti Kannamba, Addanki Srirama Murthy, Ramatilakam and Tungala Chalapati Rao came to the screen. The significance of this period can also be seen in attempts to picturise the stories of saint-devotees, treated in the mythological mould.

The following period of nine years (1938-46) signifies the emergence of socially conscious Telugu Cinema. An understanding of the new medium and its potential impact on the society were duly recognised during this period. This could be seen in preparing carefully wrought out screen-plays in the place of adopting, almost in toto, the stage plays.

This also led to the emergence of director-oriented films. The most noted among such directors was Gudavalli Ramabrahmam (1898-1946), a freedom fighter and journalist. He founded 'Sarathi Films'. His picture, 'Mala Pilla' (1938), in which a brahmin youth weds an 'untouchable' girl, created a sensation. Kanchanamala played the title role. A veteran stage actor, Dr.Govindarajula Subba Rao, donned the role of the young man's father and gave a memorable performance. Kanchanamala became a glamourous star overnight. Ramabrahmam, known for his aesthetic sensibility, incorporated some of the lyrics of Basavaraju Appa Rao, a well-known romantic poet, at appropriate places in the film. Bhimavarapu Narasimha Rao (popular as BNR) scored music for the film.

Ramabrahmam continued his career as a director through 'Rythu Bidda' (1939), 'Patni' (1942) and 'Pantulamma'(1943). 'Rythu Bidda' dealt with the conditions of farmers under the Zamindari system and featured Bellary Raghava. 'Patni' was based on the Tamil classic *Śilappadigāram* and featured Kannamba. 'Pantulamma' exposed the corruption in municipal administration. He planned 'Palnati Yuddham' based on an event from the Andhra history in which brothers fought among themselves for supremacy. It is said that he chose this particular subject as an eye-opener for the Hindus and Muslims then clashing with each other. He died during the production of this film.

Of equal significance is H.M.Reddy's 'Grihalakshmi' produced in the same year (1938) under his banner 'Rohini films' with the social evil of drinking as its major theme. B.N.Reddy and K.V.Reddy who were to become major directors in later years worked as assistants to H.M.Reddy in the making of this film. It is through this successful film, that Chittoor V. Nagaiah, the veteran singer-music director, actor, director and producer was introduced to the field.

H.M.Reddy entered the industry in Bombay as a 'reflector-boy' and rose to become a director. Among the other talkies that he directed are Usha (Hindi), 'Draupadi Vastrapaharanam' (1936), 'Bondam Pelli',(1940), 'Tenali Ramakrishna' (1941), 'Satyame jayam' (1942) and 'Nirdoshi'(1951).

A major event of the period was the establishment of 'Vauhini films' by B.N.Reddy, Ramanath and Sekhar. They also founded the Vauhini Studios. 'Vauhini' played a significant role in raising the standards of production, technical competence and the general quality of the films. It also brought to the fore the talents of many a technician and artist. Every film made under their banner was popular both with the general public and the perceptive critics.

During 1939-46, 'Vauhini' released 'Vandemataram' (1939) on unemployment, 'Sumangali'(1940) on problems of the widows in society, 'Devata'(1941), 'Bhakta Potana' (1942), and 'Swarga seema; (1945). These films directed by B.N.Reddy and K.V.Reddy have become milestones in the industry. When the situation with the World War II became grave, the then Government imposed a limit of 11,000 feet on the length of any film. This was a blessing in disguise as it held a challenge for the directors to produce well-knit and compact films within the limit. B.N. Reddy's 'Swarga Seema'; was one of the best pictures made within the limit and was the first Telugu film to be screened at a foreign festival (Vietnam). B.N.Reddy carved for himself a niche with his long list of successful and artistic endeavours during this period and also later. K.V.Reddy established himself as a competent director with 'Bhakta Potana' and gave a new aesthetic dimension to Telugu film.

Other major social films produced during this period include 'Vara Vikrayam'(1939, C.Pullaiah) on the despicable dowry system and 'Malli pelli'(1939: Y.V.Rao) on widow remarriage. 'Barrister Parvateesam' (1940, R.Prakash) was the first attempt to adapt a popular novel to the screen. 'Satyame Jayam'(1942) featured L.V.Prasad who gave a memorable performance in the tittle role as an honest thief.

As film-making was seen as a money-spinning proposition also, more and more concerns came up during this time. However, the artistic interests were sustained with great care and sensibility- 'Sri Raja Rajeswari (Kannamba and K.Nagabhusanam), 'Bharani (P.Bhanumati and Ramakrishna Rao) and 'Pratibha' (Ghantasala Balaramaiah) were some of them. Similarly, new studios and theatres also were constructed. The war and the resultant rocketing of costs had their adverse effect on the films between 1943 and 49. But the industry soon revived itself.

An interesting event of 1941 was the production of a feature-oriented documentary, 'Mahatma Gandhi'. P.V.Pathy accompanied Gandhiji on a tour to shoot this film. Besides the 'Socials', there had been films on a variety of themes - ' mythlogicals', 'historicals','eulogistic biographies'and folk-legends. This was also a period which introduced a good number of young talented artists, who became celebreties later - such is Nagaiah, Govindarajula Subba Rao, C.S.R. Anjaneyulu, K. Raghuramaiah, A.Nageswara Rao, P.Bhanumati, G.Varalakshmi and S. Varalakshmi.

G.K. Manga Raju was the first to launch a concern (Purna) for distribution of films. Distributing concerns played a significant role 'almost until the end of '70s' in film production. They never interfered with the film-making.

During the next 22 years (1947-68), entertainment of masses became the key note of industry, though brilliant creative ventures that combined entertainment with healthy artistic excellence appeared almost every year. There was a spurt of fantasies and folk-legends which presented a make-believe world taking the audiences into a flight of imagination. 'Gollabhama', 'Jayasimha', etc., were some of the more prominent ones. Vauhini's 'Gunasundari Katha' and Vijaya's 'Patala Bhairavi' were the 'greats' belonging to this genre combining fantasy with human drama through powerful characterisation.

B.N.Reddy's 'Malliswari' (1951) featuring N.T. Rama Rao and P.Bhanumathi is considered an all-time classic. The story was set in the times of Sri Krishnadeva Raya and presented as a period film. B.N.Reddy's superb aesthetic sensibility was ably reinforced by the lyrics of Krishna Sastry, the doyen of romantic poetry and music scored by S.Rajeswara Rao. B.N. Reddy's other classics that came out during this period are 'Bangaru papa' (1954), 'Bhagyarekha' (1957), 'Pujaphalam' (1964) and 'Rangula ratnam' (1966).

Several films of K.V.Reddy which appeared during this period, were great box-office hits in addition to their being aesthetically satisfactory. 'Yogi Vemana' (1947) 'Guna Sundari katha' (1949), 'Patala bhairavi' (1951), 'Pedda manushulu' (1954), 'Donga Ramudu' (1955) and 'Maya bazar' (1957) brought him unprecedented acclaim.

After successfully portraying the story of Potana (1942), K.V.Reddy took upon himself to picturise the colourful life of Vemana, a saint-poet and another cultural hero of Andhra. These two personalities of Andhra are today remembered more on the portrayals of K.V.Reddy, than what history and legend had to say. Nagaiah gave memorable performances as Potana and Vemana and gained an image of saintliness. Reddy's 'Patala bhairavi' and 'Maya bazar' are superb examples of rare visual treat appealing both to the commoner and elite. They easily stand out as the best in the folk and the mythological cinema respectively. 'Pedda Manushulu' is perhaps the first social satire which potrayed the corruption prevalent among the 'respectable' leaders of the society.

B.Nagi Reddy and Chakrapani came together to launch 'Vijaya Productions' and took over the Vauhini studios on lease(1950). Like 'Vauhini', 'Vijaya' also came to stand for excellence. Their first picture, 'Shavukaru' (1950), directed by L.V.Prasad, is a classic in its own right. It depicted two neighbouring families in rural setting in a realistic vein. All the characters in the film are strong, powerful and individualistic, which is the strength of the film. The story is narrated without any exaggeration and without the director taking sides in the unfortunate conflict between the families and its resolution.

K.S.Prakash Rao, Tapi Chanakya, Kamalakara Kameswara Rao, K.B.Tilak, Tatineni Prakash Rao, V.Madhusudan Rao, B.A. Subba Rao, Vithalacharya, P.S. Ramakrishna Rao and Vedantam Raghavayya are some of the new directors that came into prominence during this period.

The major and successful pictures of the 'Vijaya' include 'Pathala bhairavi' (1951), 'Pelli chesi chudu' (1952), 'Missamma' (1955) and 'Maya bazar' (1957).

S.V.Ranga Rao emerged as a major character-actor through Vijaya's successive films. He continued to enjoy a dominating position donning a variety of roles, both serious and comic. N.T.Rama Rao, who joined the films with 'Mana desam' (1940), established himself as a major, popular actor showing his capabilities in social, folk as well as mythological films, initially through the Vauhini and Vijaya productions. Both A.Nageswara Rao and N.T.Rama Rao occupied a dominant position and continue to exercise gripping influence on the industry till date.

'Bharani' was another successful concern which produced pictures like 'Laila Majnu'(1949), 'Chakrapani' (1954), 'Vipra Narayana' (1954) and 'Batasari' (1961). The last two pictures presented both Bhanumati and Nageswara Rao in stellar roles bringing out their fine histrionic talents. 'Devadas' (1953) directed by Vedantam Raghavayya for Vinoda films was another milestone in several ways. Savitri and Nageswara Rao in the lead roles were at their inimitable best. Music scored by Subbaraman for Samudrala's lyrics made them immortal. The success of this film prompted the Telugu producers to search for their material from Bengali literature. Many films based on Bengali novels and stories were produced for about a decade - 'Arthangi' (1955) 'Muddu Bidda' (1956), 'Todi Kodallu' (1957) and 'Batasari' (1961) were of the same vein. These stories, in turn, influenced the emergence of family stories from native Telugu and as themes. Films based on family sentiments have been aplenty and such films are still considered 'safe'.

Among such films that netted record collections, mention may be made of 'Samsaram', (Sadhana films,1955) 'Rojulu Marai" (Sarathi films; 1955 directed by Chanakya), 'Sakkubayi' Sri Rajarajeswari Films, 1955), 'Tenali Ramakrishna' (Vikram productions;1956, directed by B.S.Ranga), 'Nammina Bantu' (Sambhu films, 1960), 'Lavakusa' (Lalita Sivajyoti films, 1963) and 'Nartanasala' (Rajyam pictures,1963). Some of the experimental films of the period are 'Puttillu' (director, G.Raja Rao,1953), 'Pitchi Pullayya' (NAT Films,1953, directed by Tatineni Prakasa Rao, and 'Civaraku Migiledi' (1960, directeed by G.Ramineedu).

Annapurna films (A.Nageswara Rao and D.Madhusudana Rao) and National Art Theatres (N.T.Rama Rao and Trivikrama Rao) are two other production concerns that emerged during this period and produced good pictures with taste.

After the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, Y.Ramakrishna Prasad constructed Sarathi Studios in Hyderabad and produced 'Ma Inti Mahalakshmi'. Adurti Subba Rao, an established director, advertised for new talent and made his 'Tene Manasulu' (1965) which introduced among others G.Krishna, who in later years, grew as a popular hero, producer and studio owner.

Music and spectacle gained prominence in films during this period. The films came to be marked by technical excellence, as more and more directors came out of noted technicians. Mature comedy became an essential part of every successful film. Kasturi Siva Rao, Relangi Venkatramaiah, Nalla Rama Murthy, B.Sitaram, Chadalawada Kutumba Rao, Balakrishna, Padmanabham, Vangara Venkata Subbaiah, Ramana Reddy, Allu Ramalingaiah, Raja Babu, Surya Kantam, Surabhi Bala Saraswathi, Girija and others have provided a rich comic fare to successive generations of film-goers. Each of them had an individual style of his or her own and has become a household name.

The next decade, until 1978, witnessed mostly social themes with protest as the major concern. The society's frustration on account of belied hopes for not having received the full benefits of freedom, on account of the widening social inequalities between the rich and the poor and on account of corruption at various levels reflected in the films of this period. The heroes of the stories were champions of the underdog and were men of action. This resulted in a shift from 'performance roles' to 'image roles' for the heroes. This also led to weave a story around a demi-god figure who happens to represent all the virtues and is a formidable man. He is, thus, a counterpart of the earlier folk hero.

Though the basic qualities of the hero remained the same, there had been a variation in some stories in which the hero is called upon to avenge a crime committed against his family in his childhood. Themes based on heroes or heroines in double roles (usually as twins separated earlier) were many. 'Manushulu Marali' (1969), showing what bitter poverty can drive people to, was a departure from the routine.

Akkineni Nageswara Rao and Adurti Subba Rao who produced an experimental film 'Sudigundalu' (1967) in which a frank portrayal of growing criminality among children due to indifference and disharmony in families came out with 'Maro Prapancham' stressing on the need to rear children in an atmosphere unpolluted by divisive inhibitions of caste, creed and religion.

Bapu, a wellknown artist, who entered the film field with his experimental film 'Sakshi' (1967) came up with 'Mutyala Muggu' in 1975, which was a run-away success. It presented Rao Gopala Rao in a 'soft villian's role' markedly individualistic. Mullapudi Venkata Ramana, noted fiction writer and humourist teamed with Bapu in almost all his ventures.

Similarly K.Viswanath entered the film field as a technician and worked as an assistant to Adurti Subba Rao in the earlier phase of his career. Viswanath started directing films with 'Atmabandham'. In 'O Sita Katha' (1974) he had shown a rare skill of narration as a director and the film was a successful experiment. Both Bapu and Viswanath emerged as major directors with a vision of their own and made classics later.

'Urummadi Batukulu' (1976) was based on a playlet of the same name and portrayed the exploitation of the artisan class in a new light. 'Alluri Sitarama Raju' (1974) with Krishna in the lead role was a well received biographical portrayal of a well-known freedom fighter. 'Mahakavi Kshetrayya' (1976) with Nageswara Rao and Anjali and 'Bhakta Kannappa' with Krishnam Raju and Vanisri were two more biographies of a vaggeyakara and a devotee respectively.

A good number of new directors came to the fore and proved their mettle. Dasari Narayana Rao came to prominence with 'Tata-Manamadu'(1972) and has been enjoying a very successful career as director, writer and actor till date. Other important directors include Tatineni Rama Rao, P. Chandrasekhara Reddy, K.Raghavendra Rao, T.Lenin Babu, K.Vasu, Vijaya Nirmala, Singitam Srinivasa Rao and the like.

From 1979 onwards, there seem to be three different streams of films. One discernible trend is that of neo-classicism laying stress on old and traditional cultural values and why they should be revived. K. Viswanath is the leader of this trend with his 'Sankarabharanam with J.V.Somayajulu in the lead role' (1979), which won them national acclaim and 'Sagara sangamam' (1982), 'Sruti layalu' (1987) and 'Swarna kamalam'(1988). In 'Saptapadi' (1981) and 'Mangalyaniki maro mudi' Viswanath advocated reforms in favour of the 'untouchables and the helpless women. Bapu's 'Sampurna Ramanayam' and 'Sita Kalyanam' were good expressions of his artistic sensibility. 'Sita Kalyanam' was a poem on the celluloid and won international acclaim. Jandhyala's 'Ananda Bhairavi' (1983) with Girish Karnad in the lead was another neo-classic touching on the glory of Kuchipudi tradition of dance.

The second trend included 'realistic' pictures like 'Cali ceemalu' (1978), 'Marpu', 'Tirpu', 'Ma bhumi' (1979), 'Rangula kala' (1984), 'Kallu' (1988), 'Dasi' (1989) and 'Bhadram koduko'. Most of these were essentially low-budget films produced without star-cast. They were also films with purposeful themes.

The third and the largest group comprises mostly 'revenge and protest' films with over violence as the dominant factor.

Neti Bharatam' (1983), 'Pratighatana' (1985), 'Siva' (1989), 'Ankusam', etc. were however commercially successful.

Romances like 'Prema', 'Abhinandana', 'Pelli Pustakam', and humourous farces like 'Srivariki Premalekha' (1984), 'Aha, Na Pellanta'(1987), and 'Chitram Bhalare Vichitram' (1991) mark the last one decade as entertainers.

Barring a few directors like Bapu, Viswanath and Singitam Srinivasa Rao, most of the others either came to depend on spectacle or on excessive violence and sex for success of their films. Stories for films are being written keeping in view the successful actors and popular gimmicks. Among those, who experimented boldly with themes, narration and presentation technics, mention must be made of Singitam Srinivasa Rao ('Pushpaka Vimanam' 1987), B.Narsinga Rao ('Rangula Kala' 1984, 'Dasi') and Kutumba Rao ('Bhadram Koduko').

When compared to the earlier films, the films commencing from the late '70s, are leaning towards excess of violence, fights, sex, break-dances, etc. for their success, at the cost of sane, aesthetic experience. Technically, however, they have achieved an excellence that can be favourably compared to those produced elsewhere.

There are at least three generations of heroes still active in the field. While A.Nageswara Rao and N.T.Rama Rao, of the first generation, Sobhana Babu, Krishna, Chiranjeevi, Krishnam Raju, Chandra Mohan and Kamal Hasan of the second generation still continue to don lead roles, heroes like Balakrishna,Suman,Naresh,Rajendra Prasad, Rajasekhar and more recently Nagarjuna, Venkatesh, Ramesh, Suresh and Jagapati Babu have also come to prominence. Kanta Rao, Balaiah and some others who appeared in 'hero' roles in yester years have emerged as successful character actors. Gummadi Venkateswara Rao, Rao Gopala Rao, C.Nagabhushanam, Rajanala, P.L. Narayana, Gollapudi Maruti Rao, Dasari Narayana Rao and many others have excelled as character actors.

Among the actresses, who became famous as the leading women of the screen during the fifties and sixties for their scintillating performances, Bhanumathi, Anjali, G.Varalakshmi, S.Vara Lakshmi, Savitri, Jamuna and Janaki are the most prominent. Later came, Sarada, Vanisri, Kanchana, Lakshmi, Vijaya Nirmala, Krishna Kumari, B.Saroja Devi, Devika and Jayalalita who established themselves as fine performers. Sarada gave memorable performances in a variety of characters and had the distinction of receiving national award of 'Urvasi' twice in succession.

Vanisri also excelled in a wide range of characters, especially, those of emotional nature. During the last ten years, Vijaya Santi, Bhanu Priya, Suhasini and many other gifted youngsters are dominating the scene. Among those who play supporting roles and have accredited themselves with fine performances are Santa Kumari, Pandaribai, Janaki, Nirmala, Annapurna and others. Suryakantham excelled in Comic roles, especially those of the nagging wife or mother-in-law.

Since cinema is a collaborative art, the contribution made by various creative artists and technicians need to be taken into consideration. In the first decade of film production, only plays successful on the stage were filmed and there seemed to be no conscious attempt made to write screen plays specially. During the early days of such attempts, scholar-writers were associated with screen-writing. Tapi Dharma Rao, Samudrala Raghavacharya, Balijepalli Laxmikantham and Pingali Nagendra Rao were among the early writers. Samudrala (Senior, as he was popularly known) Raghavacharyulu contributed dialogues and lyrics for nearly three decades and stood as the foremost among them. Such established writers like Malladi Ramakrishna Sastry, Maharadhi, Arudra, Atreya, D.V.Narasa Raju, Palagummi Padmaraju, Pinisetti, Anisetti, Bhamidipati Radhakrishna, Modukuri Johnson, Dasari Narayana Rao and Ganesh Patro came to the field and established themselves as capable writers in the new medium. Only Atreya among these had equal facility in writing both dialogues and songs. In recent times, many successful playwrights became successful writers of cinema stories. Mention may be made of Mullapudi Venkata Ramana, Gollapudi Maruti Rao, N.R.Nandi, Tanikella Bharani and Paruchuri Brothers who made a name as dialogue writers.

Accomplished poets also were attracted towards this new medium and earned reputation as lyricists. Samudrala (Sr.), Malladi,Arudra,Sri Sri, Devulapalli Krishna Sastry, Sadasivabrahmam, C.Narayana Reddy and Dasarathi began writing film songs after they had established themselves as poets. More recently Veturi Sundararama Murty and ‘Sirivennela’ Seetharama Sastry have become popular lyricists. Screen-play-writing, an important ingredient in film making, cannot be said to have developed as it should though some directors like K.V.Reddy, B.N.Reddy and Nagireddy-Chakrapani, Viswanath and Bapu are meticulously careful about the preparation of the screen-play.

Music has always been an essential feature of Telugu cinema, just as in the films of other regions. During the early days, cinema music was akin to stage music with minimum orchestra accompanying it. The literary idea of the song was well projected.

B.N.R. (B.Narasimha Rao), Galipenchala Narasimha Rao and Chittoor V. Nagaiah were among the early music directors. Saluri Rajeswara Rao, who started his career as an actor, settled down as a music director and has to his credit a good number of films with tilting music. Pendyala Nageswara Rao, Susarla Dakshina Murty and other music directors of the day relied on semi-classical base for their compositions. In course of time, orchestration has become an important component of film music. During the 50's and 60's films made use of several classical forms of music as well as folk tunes as occasion demanded. With the emergence of Ghantasala Venkateswara Rao, light classical music became popular in films. This was further accentuated by Subbaraman and K.V.Mahadevan. Among the famous music directors are Chakravarti, Venu, Satyam, Ramesh Naidu and T.Chalapati Rao. Bhanumati has scored music for some of her films. During the 80's and 90's film music has undergone a sea-change. Use of electronic instruments with 'beat' as the main attraction brought a fast pace into music. Some such songs now and then reveal an experiment at combining the nuances of Indian ragas with western beat. Ilaya Raja, Kira Vani and others have come out with some popular songs based on this model.

In the early days when there was no play-back singing, actors themselves used to sing their own songs. Nagaiah, Santha Kumari, Kannamba and even Nageswara Rao rendered their own songs. After the play-back system was introduced, M.S.Rama Rao,Ghantasala, Madhavapeddi Satyam, Pithapuram Nageswara Rao, P.B.Srinivas, A.M.Raja and S.P. Balasubrahmanyam among male voices and P.Leela, Komala, Bala Saraswathi, Jikki, P.Suseela, S.Janaki and Chitra among the female voices are the most noteworthy.

Mythologicals or historicals needed the introduction of situations for dance on a classical pattern. Pasumarti Krishnamurti, Vedantam Raghavaiah and Vempati Satyam were the earliest who came from a classical Kuchipudi background and earned fame as dance directors. In order to perform these dances, artists with classical background were assigned roles in the earlier films. But when every hero and heroine in a film was expected to dance, as it is in the present situation, dances are more beat-based. Imitation of the western dances like rock n'roll and break dances, became popular in course of time. However, when films bearing the stamp of neo-classicism reintroduced classical dances, they have become equally popular.

The recent trends in Telugu Cinema, inspite of such occasional experiments in classicism, remain much to be desired. The fantasy-ridden dances of the hero and the heroine, always surrounded by a group of people with inexplicable costume and locale, the proliferation of meaningless violence resulting more out of private revenge, and inept humour produced for its own sake are the ailments that make today's Telugu Cinema a lay-man's delight and a discriminating viewer's agony. This trend can be reversed only if the industry imposes upon itself a self-discipline which curbs unwanted violence and obscenity. The Government, in its turn, can help the industry in producing socially-relevant films or providing healthy entertainment by offering additional incentives, besides those general subsidies it is extending to the industry right now.

Some kind of a palliative is to be administered immediately to make this great industry and powerful medium to be in tune with society's aspirations and the common man's desires.

UTILITY ARTS

Handicrafts symbolise man's creative impulse to present beauty in its varied forms. In countries like India with civilisation transcending limitations of time and excellence, the emotive stimulus has, over the centuries, influenced the social fabric to build, nurse and preserve a well orchestrated craft tradition that found continuous expression in the rendering of an immense variety of utilitarian articles with strong aesthetic appeal. Simultaneously, craft, through the centuries, has played and continues to play an important role in the economic life of the community as a major source of providing means of livelihood to many and help in sustaining our rural economy. Many of our traditional crafts have, over the centuries, left their impress beyond India's geographical boundaries and have succeeded in gaining access to new areas and to new peoples. So, today there is virtually no region in the world to which Indian handicrafts have not found their way. This is as much due to the superb skills preserved and inherited as to the resilience and flexibility to change nurtured by our craftsmen and their organisations.

India is a treasure house of crafts like hand-woven and painted textiles, metal ware, wood carving, stone carving, floor coverings, toys and dolls, embroidery, jewelry, and pottery. Each region has evolved its own styles influenced by the local environment and life patterns. Andhra Pradesh is one of those regions which has inherited a wealth of traditional arts and crafts, many of which have come to find favour with art lovers not only in India but in many parts of the world. Here is a profile of some of the important handicrafts of Andhra Pradesh:

Kalamkari

The origin of kalamkari *(kalamkāri)* is traced to the mists of antiquity. The finding of a resist-dyed piece of cloth on a silver vase in the ancient site of Harappa confirms that the tradition of the mordant process, of which kalamkari is a typical example, is very old.

Kalamkari falls under the category of printed cotton textiles which are produced in different parts of India. By printed textiles is meant all fabrics on which a pattern is produced subsequent to the weaving of the cloth, by the application of dyed stuff or pigment to the surface of the fabric. One such way is the 'resist' or the indigo process. This implies covering or impregnating certain portions of the cloth, which are intended to be kept in the background colour, with wax, clay, gum, resin or other resist so that when the cloth is subsequently dyed the colour does not penetrate the portions which have been covered with the resist. The cloth is then put into a dye bath, dried and washed and resist removed.

Even though the 'Chlintzes' and 'Calicos' of East Coast subsequently trade named 'Kalamkari', were subjects of a flourishing trade as far back as the first century A.D., they are said to have been in vogue even earlier as could be seen from the fact that the Buddhist *caityas* and *vihāras* were decorated with kalamkari cloth and even the Greeks under Alexander were said to have acquired this cloth.

During the medieval period, the Coramandel coast was known for its superbly painted clothes which attracted merchants from Persia and other parts of the world. Describing the dyeing industry in South India, the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* refers to Machilipatnam as a seat of production of admirable chintzes for many centuries which are really hand-printed textiles so perfectly coloured that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them from the finest embroidery. In the process, kalamkari attained a high level of perfection. Rich shades of colour and exquisite designs blended together beautifully to make each piece a work of art.

The uses of kalamkari fabrics are varied. They can be used for decorative or functional purposes. The progressive dovetailing of kalamkari material for conversion into dresses and ready made garments besides a variety of table linen, bed linen, furnishings for drawing rooms and upholstery has vastly expanded the scope of application of this material. This trend with its promise of better returns for the skills is bound to play an important role in creating a lasting stake for the artisans in their traditional vocation.

The kalamkari art as evolved in Machilipatnam and adjoining centres (Pedana and Polavaram), where there are over 200 families still practising this art, was largely influenced by motifs from Persia - the only other country where kalamkari art still prevails. This is mainly explained by the close relations between the Golconda rulers and their counterparts in Persia, apart from the flourishing trade between these two kingdoms.

There was a parallel development, stated to be 150 to 200 years old, of a style of kalamkari at Kalahasti which evolved a tradition of its own of producing painted scrolls incorporating Hindu mythological themes used as temple hangings. This could have been a sequel to the demand from the well-known temple centres of South India in which we can see even today large and impressive kalamkari cloth paintings, covering themes such as 'Daksha Yagnam', 'Dasavatharam', 'Sitarama Kalyanam', 'Sampoorna Ramayanam', 'Dhruva Vijayam', 'Meenakshi Kalyanam', 'Venkateswara Charitam', etc.

The Machilipatnam work is of the painted-printed style with the outlines printed with beautifully carved blocks and the interior spaces filled in vegetable dye with 'kalam' (wooden pen) from which the word kalamkari is derived. The Kalahasti style on the other hand involves free hand drawing and application of colours with a kalam from start to finish. Important kalamkaries find a place of honour in many national and international art museums.

Toys & Dolls

Toy-making has a continuous history. It is perhaps the earliest in point of time and the most common craft which engaged the attention of craftsmen in a number of centres. The universal appeal of toys is explained by their capacity to rouse the imagination of the children with their curious features and to attract the elders in equal measure by offering religious, mythological and other themes which often go to enrich the home decor. In recent decades, toys have come to acquire a new accent with the educationists of the modern era stressing the role of games and play-fittings in the development of the faculty of thinking and remembering.

Toys are made of various denominations of raw material in different parts of the country. But Andhra Pradesh has carved out a niche for itself in the field of wooden toy-making. (There are also centres in the State, where toy-making in clay, papier-mache, saw-dust, light metals and other materials prevail). There are at least four well-known centres in the State, where wooden-toy-making is carried on traditionally and remained the mainstay of a large number of craftsmen in the countryside.

Kondapalli (Krishna District) : Originating in the 14th century with the arrival of a few families of artisans from Rajasthan, the craft grew up under the patronage of the local rulers, while the easy availability of 'Punki' wood, main raw material, in the neighbouring forest provided an ideal location for the growth of the craft. Kondapalli depicts rural life in all its variety and colour having as its themes the ordinary village occupations as well as mythological figures glorifying the beauty and valour of Hindu gods and goddesses.

Punki wood is light, soft and easily handled. After the wood is seasoned and carved, curves and joints are made by smearing tamarind glue mixed with saw-dust. The figures are then coated with lime to prepare them for varnish and paints.

Nirmal (Adilabad District) : This craft has an ancient origin and is known to be in existence for at least six hundred years. While its sustenance and growth is mainly attributed to the patronage of the local feudal families, the products themselves, mostly consisting of models of birds, animals, fruits and vegetables and human occupations have an extensive appeal by virtue of their close resemblance to life. There are close similarities between the Nirmal toys and the Kondapalli toys in respect of the wood employed and also of the manufacturing process. While Kondapalli toys are mostly coated with water paints, Nirmal toys are covered by oil paints. Another important difference is that after being treated with tamarind paste at the primary stage, the whole object in Nirmal toy industry is covered with a fine cloth, which is not done in Kondapally toys, before it is painted in colours.

Etikoppaka (Visakhapatnam Dist.) : The origin of this craft is traced to the neighbouring Nakkapally village, before it spread to Etikoppaka, its present home for nearly eighty years. The proximity to the forest area with plenty of yield of 'Ankudu Karra', a light species of wood, mainly prompted the concentration of this craft in Etikoppaka, even though there are small pockets of craftsmen in this line in other places also. The products of this craft are colourful and characteristically Indian and these include models of kitchen utensils, birds, fruits, vegetables, temples, houses, carts, railway engines and many other items that could rouse the interest of a child. In recent decades the craftsmen have evolved new items of house decoration such as vases, bead-screens, mirrors and stools, besides articles of educational interest.

Most of the articles in this craft are turned out of lathes. This is why the products are also called turned toys. This is followed by application of lacquer in a wide range of colours that lend beauty and appeal to the articles. the families of artisans prepare coloured lacquer sticks by adding powder colours to schellac while it is heated.

Tiruchanur (Chittoor Dist.) : The craft of making toys out of red sander ('Rakta Chandanam') had its birth just about one hundred and fifty years back in the Yogimallavaram village near Tirupati and gradually spread to Tiruchanur, and other villages in the vicinity. Edalacheruvu, Madhavamala and Gundrallametta villages are the other important seats of this craft. Traditionally Tirupati town, as the main pilgrim centre, has provided a secure market for the products of this craft.

Red Sander is a hard species of wood with a charming natural (red) colour of unique visual attraction. The intricacy of skills involved in handling this wood marks this craft from other centres of toy-making in Andhra Pradesh like Kondapalli, Nirmal and Etikoppaka, where lighter species of wood are used with comparative ease in handling. Tiruchanur toys also differ from the other toys in that the natural colour of the wood is retained and they are not painted, but are delicately carved into most intricate patterns. The products of this craft consist of human figures and models of gods and goddesses, mythological and contemporary themes.

Over the years Tirupati toy industry has gone through extensive transformation involving the extension of the technique from mere individual figure carving to making of large carved panels containing numerous figures and whole themes adapted from temple chariots and other sources. This has been partly influenced by severe restrictions, almost to the point of prohibiting, on the felling of red sander trees, and the consequent switch-over by the artisans to the use of alternate species of hard wood such as the teak, the 'venga', the neem and the 'maddi' which are easily available on the one hand and demand the application of equally enduring skills on the other.

Bidriware

Bidri - dervied from ancient city Bidar, the place of its origin in the Deccan Plateau - is a metal alloy, unique in the art of encrusting one metal on the other. It has a common ancestry with the older art of inlaying gold and silver on steel or copper practised in Persia, but evolved its own identity in respect of the base alloy which is a compostion of zinc with small proportions of other non-ferrous metals.

The origins of the Bidri technique are uncertain; the earliest unambiguous reference to Bidriware is in the *Cahar Gulshan*, History of India written in Persian in 1759. The first pieces of Bidri are believed to have been made in the middle of the 17th century. While the credit for introducing Bidriware into India is attributed to the Bahmani Sultanate, it was under th Moghuls that the Bidri craft received its fillip as part of the extensive patronage that contributed to many technical improvements and development of new ideas in all forms of arts and crafts.

Bidri craft which was once practised in many parts of India today survives only in a few, the most noted being Bidar (Karnataka) and Hyderabad. There are three main forms of Bidriware which are distinguished according to the depth of embedding and the quality of the metal affixed to the surface. These are known as 'Tehnashan' (deeply cut work), 'Zarnashan' (raised work) and 'Tarkashi' (wire inlay work).

Broadly speaking, there are four main stages in the manufacture Bidriware. These are: 1) moulding, 2) engraving, 3) inlaying and 4) oxidising. The articles are cast with the help of moulds of red clay into which the molten solution of copper and zinc, prepared in the ratio of 1:16, is poured. The surface of the rough cast of the articles is filed and smoothened with sand paper and then rubbed with a solution of copper sulphate to impart a dark surface, providing suitable base for the next stage of sketching the design and engraving. The designs are traced 'free hand' by the craftsman with the help of a sharp metallic pencil followed by engraving with the help of chisels. Next, pure silver wire or sheet (gold in rare cases) is hammered into the grooves of the design and the surface smoothened with the help of sand paper and files or with the help of a buffing machine. In the ultimate interesting stage, the articles are heated gently and treated with a solution of sal-ammoniac and earth taken from old buildings which has the effect of making the entire surface turn jet black providing a distinct contrast to the shining silver inlay. This lends Bidriware a uniqueness that few other metal ware could possibly claim.

Bidri articles are greatly admired for the elegance of their form and gracefulness of the patterns with which their surface is covered. Originating with ornamentation of swords and other weapons, Bidriware has gradually evolved into a fountainhead of adornment of articles of domestic use. In harmony with the rapid social changes in the post-independence era and portending changes in the pattern of demand, the Bidri craft has undergone an extensive change so that today a wide spectrum of articles with increasing accent on utility is produced. A progressive and purposeful design and product orientation is taking place, as a continuous phenomenon, to suit the changed outlook and requirements of both the indigenous and foreign markets, with their slant towards utility combined with plain beauty. Bidri articles of certain descriptions, particularly boxes, vases, trays, bangles and bracelets, have come to be regarded as prized items of export.

Nirmal art

The origin of the Nirmal craft can be traced back to the 14th century. It is said that one, Neema Naik (after whom Nirmal is named), who was the village headman, had a small workshop for manufacturing weapons of war. Among his workmen were artisans adopt at wood-carving and portrait-painting. The village Nirmal is situated amidst forests and forts. Apart from the extensive availability of light wood in the adjoining forests, there were a number of colour yielding gums, stones and other substances in the near-by hills. These, combined with the generous patronage of the local nobility, stimulated the growth of this unique art that has come to be known by the name of Nirmal.

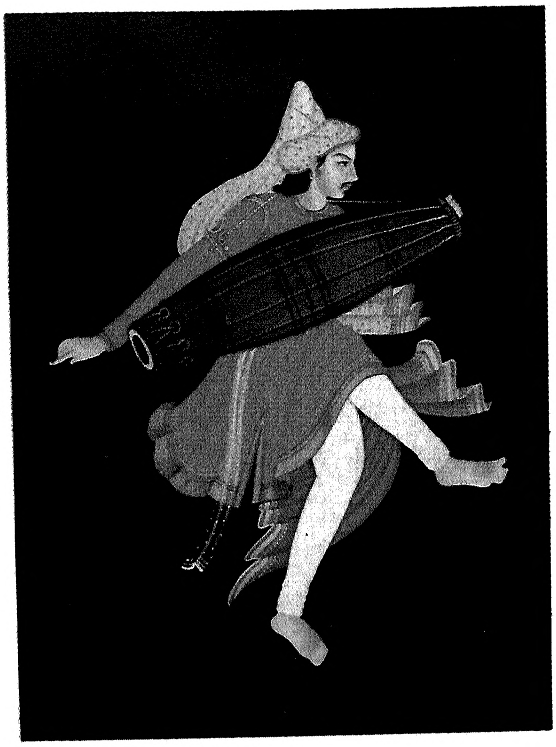
Nirmal, over the centuries, has become the home of a concentration of craftsmen, known as 'Nakash' whose traditional art was painting scenes from the Ramayana and Mahabharatha using indigenous colours made from minerals, gums and herbs.The master craftsmen of Nirmal have the distinction of having evolved a unique method of making gold colour from herbal juices. Popular items included boxes for jewelry and trinkets made out of a light species of wood called the 'Punki' wood, Ganjifa boxes and playing cards and 'kanchibbas' (food tray covers). Some of the colours originally used in Nirmal were very distinctive such as earthy browns, bottle-greens, glowing reds and often striking blacks and yellows besides golden hues used to embellish mythological.figures and scenes from the epics.

While in the Nirmal village, the home of its birth, the craftsmen have increasingly switched over to toy-making with accent on making models of birds, animals, fruits and vegetables, with only a limited number engaged in painting work, a new variant of the Nirmal work was developed in Hyderabad commencing from early '50s. This was a sequel to the striking impression created by the work of the Nirmal artisans on the visitors to this village. A significant development took place when Mrs. Ali Hydari brought some Nirmal artisans in 1951 and a beginning was made in applying their skills to making items of domestic use such as furniture for drawing, dining and bed rooms, boxes, trays, wall-plaques and albums. This venture was supported by the state government which sanctioned grants for training new craftsmen and organising them into a production unit, i.e. Nirmal industry at Hyderabad.

In the process Nirmal work underwent some material changes and deviations from its original structure. Seasoned teakwood and other hard boards, instead of light species such as Punki wood, are used in making Nirmal artware. After the wood is cut into the required shape and finished on a lathe, the article receives coatings of Nitrocellulose compound which provides a smooth surface and then duco paints of the required colour are used. Then a perforated paper design is placed on the article and chalk powder applied to leave a clear impression of the design to facilitate its painting. In the final stage, the article is treated with a varnish spray, as a protective coat. The designs adopted by the Nirmal workers are mostly traditional and derived from old schools, the Ajanta Frescoes, temple friezes and other ancient monuments. The Nirmal industry has also evolved the technique of miniature painting as a special line. The motifs for miniatures are generally drawn from the Pahari, Kangra and Moghul schools. These paintings are conspicuous for the incredible amount of detail which can only be appreciated through the use of a magnifying glass.

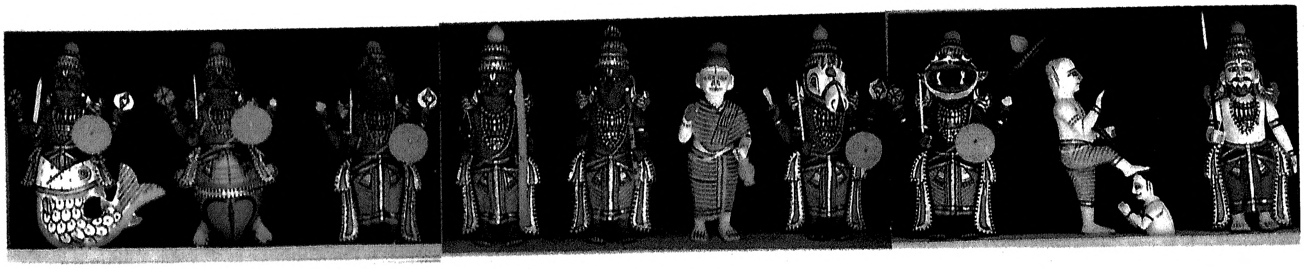
In recent years efforts were made to revive traditional Nirmal art using vegetable colours, taking advantage of the hereditary craftsmen from the Nirmal village who are adept in traditional Nirmal techniques. The manufacturing process is akin to toy-making. In the first instance the wood is shaped into the form of the article, followed by the application of tamarind seed paste and a coat of local clay which provides a smooth surface for painting of the article with vegetable colours. The motifs painted on the articles are also traditional, mostly depicting aspects of rural life. After painting, the article is coated with varnish.

Carved Wooden statue of Lord Ganesha



Nirmal Painting - Drummer Wall Plaque

Sheet Metal Plaque, depicting a peacock surrounded by floral pattern with embossed and chiseled decoration



A Dasavatara set of Kondapally Toys

Handloom Textiles

Historical and literary writings and travelogues by foreigners abound in accounts of Indian fabrics that testify to the international reputation and elegance of these fabrics from the earliest times. The creations of the handloom weaver cover a wide range of products, and their application and use likewise cover a wide range of consumers, from the fastidious to the ordinary, from the indigenous to the overseas. All these have contributed to the role of this ancient craft in the economic and cultural life of the people, especially in the rural areas. Notwithstanding the decline evidenced in certain aspects, the handloom sector has been able to withstand pressures and compete successfully with the products of the organised industry in texture, design and consumer appeal.

Andhra Pradesh offers a rich fare in hand-woven and hand-printed textiles which were the subject of extensive trade with the Far East and Europe from the earliest times which in turn influenced, in great measure, the subsequent trends in terms of use of the variety of materials, the range of textiles, designs and colours. Another special feature is that the handloom industry in A.P. has come to envelop the use of all the three main varieties of raw material, viz. cotton, silk and wool. There is no district in A.P. which does not lay claim to some form of hand-woven speciality or the other. The following examples present the more important among the hand-woven textiles which have made an impact on markets not only within the country but in many parts of the world.

Dharmavaram silk sarees with broad solid colour borders and contrasting 'pallav' woven with brocaded gold patterns are worn on all important occasions. The sarees with their close similarity to silk sarees produced in other centres like Kanchipuram silk sarees have a wide appeal. Gadwal and Kothakota in Mahabubnagar district, also rich in silk and brocade work, offer distinctive patterns influenced by the motifs ('Hamsa', 'Yali', etc.) drawn from the monuments of the area. Besides, Gadwal offers a combination of cotton and silk, with a cotton body with zari checks or other motifs and rich silk and gold border and pallav.

The Narayanpet silk sarees have a distinctive style of their own influenced by the styles evolved in the Maharashtra region with the 'patti' border and a broad pallav known as the 'top-tenni' pallav.

Among the cotton sarees, the Venkatagiri sarees excel by virtue of their use of finely spun cotton yarn of 120 count both in the warp and the weft, combined with gold border and gold pallav. The cotton sarees woven in Siddipet, like their counter parts woven in places like Uppada, used to have elaborate extra weft and pallav. One of the popular, less expensive type woven in Siddipet, is the saree carrying the 'gollabhama' (milkmaid) pattern on the border and the pallav. Among the centres known for weaving a variety of less expensive qualities of sarees with attractive checks and borders with gold thread or with simple cotton designs, mention may be made of Uppada, Guntur, Chirala, Machilipatnam and Madhavaram.

The most fascinating addition to the collection of A.P. sarees is the 'tie and dye' sarees evolved during the current century in a number of centres mostly in Nalgonda district. This process of tying and dyeing of the warp and weft threads before weaving is also called the 'ikat'. This process which was originally developed in Chirala in the beginning of 19th century for making what were known as 'telia-rumals', originally used as turban or upper cloth in the rural areas, has in recent decades been extended to the weaving of sarees in the above mentioned centres in Nalgonda district. The 'telia-rumals', as they were originally evolved, carried geometric patterns with the basic colours being confined to the maroon, the black and the white. In the context of its adoption in centres in Nalgonda district, the technique has been extended to the weaving of not only sarees, both in silk and cotton incorporating figurative motifs, but also to making a variety of other items such as made-ups, and material for dress-making and furnishing which is increasingly becoming popular for export. A few master weavers even make double 'ikat' sarees and material involving the use of tie-dyed yarns both in the warp and the weft. There are an estimated 18,000 looms engaged in the weaving of tie-dyed fabrics.

Weaving 'kambalis' or blankets is an important activity in handloom sector in the state. These kamblies woven out of locally available sheep-wool, in their natural colours of white, grey, brown and black are used by the people in the rural area for a variety of purposes such as blankets, as floor-coverings and for carrying grain or other harvested products.

Thus, Andhra with its wide range of traditional skills and materials, produces a whole variety of fabrics which meet the needs of the people in various walks of life.

FOLKLORE AND TRIBAL LORE

FOLKLORE AND TRIBAL LORE

FOLKLORE

Though much of folk creative expression goes unrecorded, the cultural and literary history of Andhra speaks eloquently of the glory of the Telugu folk life and folk forms from time to time. Several classical poets referred to contemporary folk songs, ballads and other forms popular in their times. Hala's *Gāthā Saptaśati* and inscriptions of the pre-Nannaya period (especially of 6th c.) contain metrical compositions akin to folk metres. Sarangadeva's treatise, *Sangīta Ratnākara* defines *ēla*, a Telugu musical composition still prevalent among the folks.

Nannichoda (12th c.) was the first poet who made a reference to the rich variety of folk songs that were in vogue during his time. In his *Kumāra Sambhavamu*, he referred to cradle songs (*vuyyāla pāṭalu*), light-waving songs (*āratulu*), pestle songs (*rōkaṭi pātalu*), devotional compositions (*ankamālikalu*) and ritual songs (*ganḍu gītamulu*). Palkuriki Somanatha (12-13th c.) composed his *Basava Purāṇamu* in *dwipada*, a metre which became popular in folk as well as classical literature. His *Panḍitārādhya Caritramu* vividly describes the folk songs sung by and folk plays enacted by devotees on their pilgrimage to Srisailam. *Krīḍābhirāmamu*, a *Vīdhi*, written during the 15th century, describes how the wandering minstrels and bards sang the ballad of Palnadu, besides the heroic ballads on Parasurama, Ekavira and Kameswari. Tallapaka Annamacharya (1423-1503), the famous saint-poet, employed several folk metres while composing his innumerable devotional lyrics in praise of Lord Venkateswara. His treatise on music, *Sankīrtana Lakṣaṇamu* analysed folk compositions as well.

yakshagana seems to be the earliest type of folk play available in Andhra. Though Palkuriki Somana made a mention of it, the earliest Yakshaganas extant today - *Vipranārāyaṇa Caritra* (1545) and *Sugrīva Vijayamu* (1568) - belonged to the middle of the 16th century. Much earlier than all these folk performing arts was the art of puppetry. Leather puppetry (*Tōlu Bommalāṭa*) was popular even during the 3rd and 4th centuries and, according to popular opinion, travelled to Malaysia, Indonesia and Java during this period.

FOLK LITERATURE AND CLASSICAL LITERATURE

Like in any civilised society, even in Andhra both folk and classical forms of literature co-exist and mutual influences are not rare. Existing folk metres are borrowed freely by the Yakshagana poets. Even before that the metres were used by saint-poets, especially Annamacharya. Similarly, several myths treated in epics and other poetic texts have, in turn, become the themes of folk ballads and dramas. In addition to the local legends and stories of local gods and goddesses, the folk singers have, in course of time, brought into their repertoire mythical stories, already popular in classical literature. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* stories are the foremost among such borrowings, though, even in such instances, the folk poet introduces some of the native elements and local variations into them. Aphorisms, proverbs and riddles, on the other hand, are generated from the folk and find their entry into classical literature.

A general distinction between oral poetry and classical poetry is that the former is sung while the latter is read. This distinction, when extended, means that the former becomes a group activity when shared beliefs are transmitted, whereas the latter remains purely a personal experience of the reader. This naturally necessitates oral poetry, because of its very nature, to be transmitted in an easily understandable format, easy and lucid in style and comprehension. On the other hand, classical poetry tends to be more individualistic, allowing the intricacies and poetic embellishments to be carefully culled out and appreciated by the discernible connoisseur.

Broadly speaking, Telugu literature is categorized into two major types - the *mārga* and the *dēśi*. We have already discussed how Nannichoda brought out a new concept of *dēśi*. However, if classical literature is termed as *mārga*, folk literature can be termed as *dēśi*. *Dēśi* again is divided into two types : *nibaddha dēśi* and *anibaddha dēśi*, the former includes such literature which, though used the folk format has attained stability with established rules and regulations. Sataka, Yakshagana, Udaharana and Hari-katha belong to this genre. *Anibaddha dēśi* is again divided into three sub-groups: *āṭavika dēśi, pāmara dēśi* and *jāti dēśi*. The first one is tribal lore, the second folklore and the third such popular literature as women's songs, *kī rtans, tatvams* and folk epics.

Two types of stanzas exist in Telugu poetry: those that are borrowed from Sanskritic tradition and those from native tradition. The Sanskrit stanza is made up of *gaṇas* in which the order of the long and short *(guru* and *laghu)* syllables is fixed, whereas in the native Telugu stanzas their order is interchangeable between one *guru* and two *laghus*. This flexibility in the native Telugu metres facilitates them to be set to rhythmic singing and, as such, might have been, at one point of time, used by folk singers to compose their extempore verses

FOLK POETRY

Folk poetry can be divided into two broad categories : 1) songs and 2) ballads. The richest among [illegible] forms are the folk songs. These songs can be grouped either on the basis of the [illegible]g sentiment used in them - as love songs, humorous songs, songs of pathos, e[illegible] the basis of their subject-matter - as philosophical songs, devotional songs, rituali[illegible]s, etc; or on the basis of the persons who sing them or for whom they are intended [illegible]urers' songs, women's songs, children's songs, etc.

SONGS

1. Love Songs

As in classical literature, amorous songs are in abundance in folk literature also. While some of them denote noble and sentimental love, others depict sensual attraction violating the social and moral codes of the society. Love in separation is a more predominant theme than love in union.

2. Humorous Songs

There are numerous songs which abound in native wit and humour, as in labourers' songs, women's songs and children's songs. These songs are especially sung during rituals. Children's songs making fun of their playmates, of old people such as their grand-parents and even of teachers, contain coarse humour. Besides these, witty caricature, parody, poignant provoking and satire found in these songs illustrate several shades of irony.

3. Songs of Pathos

As misery overrides happiness in life, folksongs depicting pathos are not only numerous, but are also highly moving. Separation of the loved ones, death of near and dear, illtreatment meted out to a housewife or servant and natural calamity are some of the subjects often treated in these songs. The following is a typical picottah song (*ētām pāṭa*) sung while lifting water from the well to irrigate lands. The peasant who works hard to make others rich is condemned to starve and incur the displeasure of his own wife and children :

I lift water from the stream
And produce bags and bags of paddy.
But rarely do I have a morsel.

When I washed my hands and feet
And sat on the banks
A crow hit me on the head.
And even the little one of the crow
Hit me on the head.

Unequal to the fight of life
I sat near the fire
And my own daughter slighted me
And even the daughter's mother slighted me.

Getting up much before dawn
I set out with a bucket on my head.
I fell headlong on the ground.
And broke all my bones.

What a wretched life to live!
Why did I not die soon after I was born?

4. Devotional and Philosophical Songs

Devotional songs sung by wandering mendicants are a popular variety among folk songs. Jangams, Dasaris, Haridāsas and several others sing them during festivals both in the temple courtyards and also at each house and eke out their livelihood. Songs of Bhadrachala Rama dasu, Tumu Narasimha dasu, Parankusa dasu, Nishtala Prakasa dasu and Venkata dasu are popular with these mendicants and minstrels. Songs in praise of Siva, Vishnu (in most of his incarnations) and other local gods and goddesses are the most popular ones in this type. *Sankīrtanas* (psalms), *mēlu kolupulu* (songs waking up the gods), *lāli pāṭalu* (caressing songs), *jōla pāṭalu* (lullabies), etc. form a part of devotional worship. Some of these songs are generally sung even in caressing a child. The following song indicates that there is nothing purer than the devotee's heart itself that can be made as an offering to Lord Siva :

What should I do,   O Linga !
What should I do ?

I wanted to bathe you
With water from Ganga
But the frog and fish therein
Say they have defiled it.

I wanted to offer you cow's milk
But the calves say
They have defiled it.

I wanted to worship you
With 'tummi' flowers
But the bees on them say
They have defiled them.

What should I do, O Linga !
What shoud I do ?

Mystic songs (tatvālu), also found in abundance, constitute an important group among Telugu folk songs. They have gone so deep into the common folks' psyche that even a cowherd is seen singing, "Where has the bird gone, brother, the nest looks deserted", implying that he understood the deeper meanings of life and death. Some of these songs are embedded in such deep symbolism that it is difficult to decode them and arrive at their real purport. However, they succeed in creating an aura of mystic transcendentalism. They are mostly monistic and criticise ruthlessly the superfluous rituals and customs followed by the high caste people. Songs of Eganti La nayya (16th c.), Potuluri Veerabrahmam (17th c.), Dudekula Siddappa (17th c.), Edla Ramadasu (19th c.) and others are commonly heard all over Andhra. Though they normally contain generalised code of conduct intended for the common people, some of them also preach *rāja yōga* and *acala yōga*. Potuluri Veerabrahmam is also remembered for his *kāla jnānam* (knowledge of Times : prophesies in song). They are coded in cryptic diction making them difficult to understand.

5. Ritualistic Songs

Religious and social rituals occupy a very meaningful part of folk life and, as such, several songs reflect the intensity of joy and devotion the occasion demands. Some of the songs are even accompanied by dance and reveal the inseparability of folk life and folk arts. Men and women of all ages participate in them unhesitatingly. Religious festivals by far demand community participation. Srirama Navami, Janmastami and Naga Panchami are some of the major festivals in which people participate and sing devotional songs. But more important are the social rituals, often limited to the family and the inner circle of kith and kin, who celebrate the rituals with gay abandon, hilarity and joy. The birth of a baby, the naming ceremony, the girl attaining puberty and wedding are all celebrated with songs of joy. Seasonal rituals of the community such as Eruvaka (first ploughing of the year), and Sankranti are also celebrated through song and dance.

There are rituals in which maidens participate to invoke Mother Goddess. For example, Boddemma, a local variant of Goddess Gauri, is worshipped by all unmarried girls of Telangana with great devotion. The festival, which begins 19 days before Vijaya Dasami, lasts for 9 days. The image is prepared, with mud drawn from ant-hills, in the shape of a dome (*gōpura*) and is decorated with flowers. Girls sing and dance, moving around the image, praying for an early and happy marriage. A typical song of the occasion, known as *Candamāma pāṭa*, is highly imaginative :

There is a beautiful mansion *Candamāma*
It has silver rafters ”
It has brass door-frames ”
It has copper thresholds ”
It has drawings of pearls ”
It has courtyards studded with diamonds ”
It has coral canopies ”
It has a drinking water well ”
It has a jasmine creeper by the side ”
It has grown to mountainous height ”
As there is none to pluck it ”
O moon, get it plucked ”
O Gauri, gift it (to someone) ”

The jasmine creeper described here is a symbol of an unmarried girl. As she is still unmarried, the girls pray the Goddess to get her a suitable husband.

6. Women's Songs

All the intense moments in a woman's life have found expression in the songs sung by women. Their pleasures and pains, honour and disgrace and hopes and despair are expressed in emotion-ridden melodies. Most of the women's songs sound bitter as they reflect the sufferings of the women folk. The desolate wife's agony in separation, indifferent treatment meted out to a barren woman, the superiority shown to the mother of a male child, quarrels between a nagging mother-in-law and a not too-docile daughter-in-law are some of the themes of the songs.

7. Children's Songs

Children's songs are of two types : 1) songs composed by elders for children and 2) songs by children themselves. Among the first category are the cradle songs and caressing songs. Songs sung while feeding a baby and massaging its limbs also come under this category. Among the second category are those songs that are sung while playing several games. Chemma Chekka, Bitti, Dagudu Mutalu, Gudugudu Guncham, Bujabuja rekula, Gobbillu and Pillikappalu are some noteworthy games which are accompained by songs. It is interesting to note that some of these contain medical prescriptions for diseases such as sterility, snake bite, bone fracture, impotency, etc. For example, the following song, sung by girls playing *bitti*, contains a prescription for curing impotency :

O girl of infinite charm
O girl of personified beauty !
Take superfine rice and bleached pulses
And black gram dal
And cook with ghee and milk
Feed your husband with it
And you will enjoy life.

BALLADS

The second variety in folk songs is the narrative song or the ballad, rich and diverse, both in quality and quantity. The earliest ballads in Telugu - ballad cycles of Palnadu heroes and Katamaraju stories that narrate historical events - date back to the 12th and 13th centuries.

Ballads can be grouped under four categories on the basis of their themes: 1. epic-mythological ballads including religious narratives; 2. political-historical ballads depicting political uprisings, dynastic feuds and inter-state battles; 3. ballads based on social events including *sati* ballads, ballads on the exploits of local heroes, decoits and high-way robbers and on family feuds; and 4. fairy tales and fantasy stories.

Ballads belonging to each category are varied and numerous. Among the ballads of the first category are those based on Puranas, *Kathā Sarit Śāgara*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata*. But the stories are often interwoven with local colour and a topical turn, revealing the innovative qualities of the folk poets. Sometimes, even the characters are localised and characters which are not important in the original story may gain prominence in the folk narrative. For instance, the folk imagination feels that Urmila in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Lakshmana's spouse, is not given her due and so the folk poet writes a whole ballad on her travails known as "Urmila's Slumber". The story depicts how Urmila invites deep sleep for 14 years when her husband leaves her and how she rejoins her husband after his return. Her lack of interest in a world without her husband gains the sympathy of the listeners.

Several of these ballads are localised with an innovative touch of nativity. A typical example is a ballad called "Dharmaraju Judamu", describing the dice-play between Dharmaraja and Duryodhana. When Dharmaraja loses the game, Draupadi challenges Duryodhana to play dice with her. The Kaurava prince accepts the gauntlet; "while Duryodhana threw the dice with his hands, Draupadi moved the dice with her toes," revealing both her majesty and her self-respect.

The ballad cycles on Mother Goddess are popular and are sung during festive occasions. Ballads on Saiva and Vaishnava deities and devotees - Dattatreya, Markandeya, Harischandra and Siriyala - find a prominent place in the repertoire of wandering minstrels.

Among the historical and heroic ballads, *Palnāti Vīra Caritra* and *Kāṭama Rāju Katha* are the most prominent, both because of their content and also their form. The former, in 26 connected stories, narrates the family feud of the royal princes of Palnadu. The other one, *Kāṭama Rāju Katha*, in 32 stories, depicts the inter-state war between Katama Raju of the Yadava dynasty of Yalamanchili and Nalla Siddi Raju, a scion of the Telugu Choda dynasty of Nellore fought between 1280-1297. The heroes of these two ballad cycles are worshipped as martyrs even today in the Prakasam and Nellore districts respectively.

The story of Kumara Rama (14th c.), the prince of Kampili, who fought against Mohammad bin Tughlaq, is common both to Andhra and Karnataka. Likewise, the ballad of Desingu Raju of Jinji (1714) is common both to Andhra and Tamilnadu. *Bobbili Katha* depicts the battle between the Bobbili heroes and the king of Vizianagaram fought on 24.1.1757 and is very popular all over Andhra. The ballad describing the heroic deeds of Alluri Sitarama Raju (1897-1924), though of recent history related to the struggle for independence, is also popular.

Ballads on social events have a wide range of subjects. Among them Sati stories such as Kanyaka, Kamamma katha, Sanyasamma katha, Vira Rajamma katha, etc. narrate the pathetic life-histories and heroic sacrifices of women, worshipped now as *pēranṭānḍlu*. Another variety comprising the stories of high-way robbers who exploited the rich for feeding the poor are popular among the lower strata of people, to whom the robbers belong. Panduga Sayanna katha, Balesabu katha and Miansabu katha are such ballads.

Ballads of Oddirajulu, Bona Katappa Reddy, Musalamma, Varadarajamma narrate the stories of men and women who sacrificed their lives for the good of the common people. Stories of Budda Vengala Reddy, Suddapalli Laxmamma and Dokka Seethamma describe their philanthropic deeds. Some ballads on natural calamities - Ellala Cheruvu in floods, Musi in floods, Penneru floods, Janagoam train accident and Jadcherla train accident - describe the woes of the poeple involved in these accidents.

To the fourth category belong the ballads of fantasy. Gandhari katha, Balaraju Katha, Ela Nagireddy katha, Kambhojaraju katha and Dharmangada-Pamu pata contain a sense of wonder and narrate inexplicable mysteries of nature. These ballads invariably denote a moral and show how truth and righteousness ultimately triumph.

PROSE

Another important branch of folk literature is prose which can be divided into three distinct categories : 1. Prose narratives 2. Proverbs and 3. Riddles. Prose narratives can again be grouped under mythological stories, legends and folk tales.

Prose Narratives

Prose narrative in Telugu goes back to the days of the Satavahana period when Gunadhya narrated his stories to the animals. Since then there emerged a large variety of prose narratives - those that have celestials, animals, birds and human beings as their characters - told and retold by grandmothers and grandfathers. All these folk tales, through make-believe fantasies, enliven the curiosity of the people towards the inexplicable phenomena of man in nature.

Stories from ancient anthologies like *Kathā Saritsāgara, Pancatantra, Śuka saptati, Hamsa Vimśati* and stories of legendary kings like Vikramaditya and Salivahana, stories of Bhoja and Kalidasa and the stories of great kings, ministers and generals who ruled over this part of the country, those of Saivite and Vaishnavite saints and devotees, of sacred places, hills, temples and rivers are the treasures handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. Innumerable stories about a host of fictitious, pseudo-historical and legendary persons like Tenali Ramalingam, Maryada Ramanna, Paramanandayya and his disciples, Tatacharlu, etc. are the rich treasure-houses of this branch of folk literature. There are also collections of tales connected through a common narrator and listener like *Kāśimajilī kathalu*, *Rāmēśwaramajilī kathalu* and through common characters recurring in each story like *Rēcukka-Pagaṭicukka kathalu, Aiduguru Dongala kathalu*, etc. Tales from other lands that have gained popularity include *Cār Darvēṣu kathalu, Arabian Nights kathalu* and *Isābu kathalu*. Tales relating to holy places, rituals, devotees and saints are aplenty. Specially noteworthy are *Strīla vrata kathalu*, which reinforce faith in religious observations connected with the worshipping of deities. Though some of them are common to other regions and lanugages, they retain the local character and cultural complexity of the Telugu region and society. They depict the religious customs, beliefs, food habits, modes of dress, superstitions and imagination of the Telugu region and Telugu people.

Proverbs

The second division under prose literature is that of proverbs. In Telugu there is a very rich treasure of different kinds of proverbs dealing with domestic life and different kinds of professions like agriculture, trade and commerce, cottage industries and other ways of life. There are didactic proverbs and those used in common parlance; proverbs derived from mythology, the epics and historic local events; and there are even obscene and vulgar proverbs. Individuals, literary institutions and popular publishing houses have brought out many anthologies of Telugu proverbs. More than a dozen theses and monographs also have been written on Telugu proverbs. Telugu proverbs, like the proverbs of other languages, represent the native genius and experience more than any other form of literature. Their literary flavour is enhanced by figures of speech and crispness of language. Telugu classics also contain many folk proverbs. The following proverbs reveal the Telugu genius.

1. Crops in off-season and children in old age.
2. One who does not remove the weeds, need not even harvest.
3. The family name is musk, but the family smells murky.
4. A beggar husband is better than a ruler son.
5. Don't care for relatives and don't disregard friends.
6. Even if the horse were blind, it does not eat less.
7. It does not matter if the birth is premature, provided the child is a male.
8. The horns that come later are sharper than the ears which came earlier.

Riddles

The third branch under prose literature is that of riddles. They are meant for testing one's ability and are witty. They sharpen intellect and provoke thought. Rural folk, especially the children, form into two groups and throw these riddles at each other. The other group tries to give the solutions. Riddles in Telugu are known as *Poḍupulu, Taṭlu and Śāstrālu. Podupu katha* (Riddle tale) is a common nomenclature because of the stories embedded in riddles. While riddles in verse form a part of *Citra kavita* in classical literature, riddles in prose and song form a part of folk literature. Like proverbs, Telugu riddles also can be divided into many groups, based on the content, nature and language and style. The following examples give a glimpse of the richness of Telugu riddles :

1. A tailless bird travels a hundred miles. (A post-card)
2. My grand father has brought two bulls; while one is stable the other rotates. (Grind stone)
3. The tank in Hanumakonda has five pillars in it. You can shake them, but not uproot them. (The palm and the fingers)
4. Doors that constantly slam, but do not make a sound. (Eye lids)
5. The tiny fellow wears dresses innumerable. (An onion)
6. The bull bellows in the forest. (An axe)
7. A mouthless bird drinks water with its tail. (A wick)
8. It has eyes all over the body, but it is not Indra

   It cannot move without the aid of man;

   It has no life of its own, but kills many ((The fishing net)

DRAMA

The third branch of Telugu folk literature is drama which comprises of Yakshaganam, Vidhinatakam, Chindu Bhagavatam, Kuravanji, Kalapam, Tolu Bommalata, Valakam, Pagati Veshalu, etc. The performing techniques of these folk dramtic forms are discussed elsewhere.

Palkuriki Somanatha (12th c.) has mentioned many performing art forms and Yakshagana is one of them. Though the earliest Yakshagana available in manuscript form, *Sārangadhara*, belongs to the 15th century, the two Yakshaganas *Vipranārāyaṇa Caritra* and *Sugrīva Vijayamu* available in print are dated 1545 and 1568 respectively. Yakshas, known as Jakkulu, a caste belonging to Backward classes and devoted to dance and theatre are found in Anantapur, Kurnool, Guntur, Krishna and Godavari districts. The Tanjore Nayaka period is the golden age of the Yakshagana, both in composition as well as in production. The name Yakshagana suggests that it was once a recitation of *dēśi* music by a Yaksha or Yakshini. This later on evolved as a narration of episodes involving more than one character and finally developed into a play with a variety of songs and dialogues enacted by numerous characters. The earlier Yakshagana themes were borrowed from epics and puranas. But later on successful attempts have been made to compose plays on contemporary subjects as well. More than 500 Yakshaganas are availabe in print and an equal number or more are yet to see the light of the day.

'Vidhinatakam', an open air drama performance, is different from its namesake 'Vithi', one of the ten types of the Sanskrit plays. While the Yakshagana is more narrative and musical the Vidhinatakam is more dramatic. It has many regional variants. Bayalata is its counter-part in Karnataka. (This type of play was used by the Saivites with a missionary zeal.). The subject-matter of these plays is drawn from ancient lore, from the epics and puranas; now it covers contemporary subjects also. History records these performances from 15th century onwards. The Vijayanagar emperors patronised this art and it still continues to be the most popular theatre form in Andhra Pradesh. Unlike other theatre forms Vidhinatakam has undergone a considerable change both in content and presentation. This is because of it's inherent dramatic quality and in recent years exploited as a political weapon. Praja Natya Mandali has presented several politicaly-oriented themes in this medium.

'Chindu Bhagavatam' is one of the most colourful dramatic forms, very popular in the Telangana area. 'Chindus', a sub-sect of scheduled caste people, have mastered this art as their profession. As Kuchipudi Brahmins are devoted to their profession and undergo the ritual of dancing compulsorily, so is the tradition of the Chindu people. Each family member, either male or female, must sing, dance and act in the Bhagavatam. Male and female actors take up roles of both men and women.

'Kuravanji', a metaphysical operatic playlet, once famous, is not in vogue now. It has four to five characters. Kuravanji has its counter-part, Kurattipattu, in Tamil and Korattiyattam in Malayalam. This dramatic medium was mainly used for expounding fundamental religious tenets. Kuravanji actually means a tribal sooth-sayer. Her cry 'eruka' can be translated as 'awareness'. The character appears as 'erukala sani' in several Yakshaganas.

'Kalapam', another type of traditional drama, branched off from Yakshagana. It is a mono-play, usually characterising one main person and another less important. Each of the characters enters by self announcement. The sutradhara conducts the play and also plays the role of a confidant. This art gives greater stress to *sāttvikābhinayam*, involuntary emotional expressions. Siddhendra Yogi (14th c.) is said to have composed *Bhāmākalāpam*, one of the two major *kalāpams* available now. It was Siddhendra yogi who taught the art to families of Brahmins known as Kuchipudi Bhagavatulu. Some of the Kuchipudi performers in these dance-dramas earned a world-wide reputation. The other *kalāpam* is the *Golla Kalāpam*.

'Tolu Bommalata', leather puppet shadow play, is one of the most ancient folk art forms of Andhra, popular even during the Satavahana period. It is popularly believed that puppetry had spread from Andhra to Indonesia, Cambodia, Malaysia, Thailand, Burma and from these countries to Africa, Greece, Macedonia and the Byzantine empire. Leather puppets of Andhra are the biggest in size and most colourful. Scattered families of puppeteers are found in Vizag, Godavari, Anantapuram, Nellore, Cuddapah and Nalgonda districts. These artists travel around the country and present plays from the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Bhāgavata* and other *purāṇas*.

'Valakam' is another folk play which was once popular, but now extinct. This was an improptu play in which four seasoned actors gather on the stage and on the spur of the moment think of a topic and perfrom it extempore. The theme is usually topical, treated humourously. Social evils are grotesquely satirized and individual idiosyncrasies caricatured. The village officers, tax collectors, the dandy and the miser are frequent targets. The dialogues are spicy and the ridicule pungent. This type of folk play was in vogue in Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts only.

'Pagati Veshalu' (literally, Day Characters) is a popular folk form, enacted by Bhagavatham troupes during the day time. Some of the stock characters in Yakshaganas which present local incidents are taken out of the actual performance context in 'Pagati veshalu'. These characters take one major role a day, acting out certain incidents from the chosen character's life, while imitating the speech and mannerisms of the said character. Some of the important characters in Pagati Veshalu are Dadinamma, Somayaji - Somidevamma and Koravanji.

FOLK ARTS

Folk art, the unassuming creative expression of millions of rural people, is a treasure house of their customs and group behaviour, beliefs and concerns, pains and pleasures, in fact, their very ways of life. It forms an integral part of their lives not because they want to attain professional competence in a particular art form, but because they are actively concerned in it for reasons other than mere social and cultural recreation. For them it is a soul-filling means of religious participation, a way of reaching the God. The Indian sages have prescribed *Kīrtanam* as a way to God-realization.

Andhra Pradesh, like any other state in the country, is rich in traditional folk art forms, which have provided popular entertainment for the common folk, imparting instruction, while providing entertainment. In the absence of classical forms of dance and drama for a considerable period in history, the folk performing arts had filled an important lacuna in the otherwise restless lives of the people.

The term 'folk arts' would include plastic arts such as sculpture, architecture and painting, and the varied house decoration techniques prevalent in the state. Folk performing arts are more popular and involved great numbers, as both performers and spectators. These forms may broadly be divided into three major categories: musical, dance and drama forms. It is imperative to note here, however, that no folk art form may be designated as an exclusively musical or dance or drama form, for the three media of self-expression go hand in hand with the folk. But such a division is made here on the basis of the major trend discernible in each form.

MUSICAL FORMS

The Ballad

The natural outburst of pain and pleasure for the folk is done through a musical note or uttrance. The different varieties of folk songs that go with specific professions only suggest that work and merry-making are inclusive of each other : they forget the troubles of their toil in song; and while singing out their joys they celebrate the charms of life. There are songs sung by various labourers while working, songs by ladies while reaping the corn, harvesting and even pounding the rice! Then there are a large variety of songs sung during marriages; almost every ritual in marriage is celebrated through song.

The folk song covers every aspect of our life; songs sung by individuals and groups; humorous songs, divine songs that praise the God; philosophical songs that bemoan the mortal man's limitations. However, a most important section of the folk songs is concerned with the narrative song, the ballad, which narrates a story. The ballad is a folk musical performing art which is very popular in Andhra Pradesh. The form, seen in a large number of varieties, differs from place to place and from time to time.

A ballad is a narrative song intended for singing. Its dramatic mode of narration usually uses on a single incident, especially on the resolution, leaving the listener to supply the ıer details and antecedent material. It is a highly emotive form, arousing anger, fear and row almost instantaneously. That is because the ballads very often narrate acutely startling ıries, either stories of exceptional valour or of agonising sorrow or, ideally, stories containing th these elements. Telugu is, in fact, rich in both varieties, though hair-splitting stories of our edge out the completely sorrowful narratives of bathos and pathos, both in terms of pularity and emotional content.

ngam Katha : 'Jangams' are staunch Vira Saiva followers and belong to the cult ever since ecame prominent in Andhra in about 1200. The stories depicting the greatness of the Lord d his disciples were sung by the Jangams. As such, Jangam Katha is one of the earliest k ballad forms prevalent in Andhra, making use of several *dēśi* metres.

In later years, however, the Jangams took to other stories as well. Popular among them re legendary fantasies like Balanagamma Katha, Are Maratheela Katha, Desinguraju Katha, ırdar Paparayuni Katha and Satya Harischandra, besides the stories from the Mahabharata.

The main singer of Jangam Katha narrates the story, playing on a 'tambura', while two hers called "vanthalu' follow him providing the refrain (such as : "bhala bhala, tandana, ndana tana," etc.). They play on a percussion instrument called "gummatam" or "budige". ıe singer wears two brass rings around fingers striking them for the basic rhythm. The langana Jangams wear a turban and coat. As the instrument they use for providing rhythm called "budige" the singing community is known as "Budige Jangalu".

They are today spread all over Andhra and follow more or less the same format of rformance. It is mainly from this form that the latter, more vibrant form of Burrakatha, has olved.

ggu Katha : *Oggu Katha* derives its name from the inspiring "damarukam", called oggu, hich initiates the stories sung by the ballad singers. Several Saiva stories are in the repertoire the Oggus, though others not connected with Saivism are also sung. The major stories are ıose of Mallanna (Lord Siva), Yellamma (or Renuka Devi, their caste deity) and Beerappa.

Oggus are wandering minstrels. Besides, they are also priests to the Yadavas. They are ıitiated into both by a senior priest in a ceremony either in the Srisailam temple or any other aiva temple. This initiation (often called 'Mallanna Deeksha') is necessary to become an ggu singer and sing in praise of Mallanna.

Oggu Kathas are sung during all important festivals and marriages. On special occasions e marriages or Mallanna and Yellamma festivals, a day-long ritual is performed by the Oggus viting the gods to the place of the ceremony and in their 'presence' narrate the stories.

There are usually four participants in Oggu katha narration. The main singer-narrator, an assistant singer-narrator who assits the main one and participates in dramatic dialogue and two instrumentalists, one playing the 'ramdolu', a huge drum, and another playing large cymbals. Usually the ballad presentation goes on for twenty one nights, though the singers now reduce it to a one night performance. If the story is that of Yellamma or any other female deity, the main narrator impersonates himself as a woman.

The costume is striking. The main singer wears a white-red dhoti and will have a 'dhatti' tied to his waist. He will also wear ankle bells and a garland made of seven shells. Singing and dancing form a part of the performance. Prose is recited musically and is often improvised. Mime, acrobatics, speech - both in prose and verse - and improvised dramatic elements make the Oggu story a very absorbing experience.

Besides Yellamma and Mallanna stories, the Oggus also sing the stories of Nalla Pochamma, Mandhata, Sarangadhara, Siva Kumara, Balagiri Raju, Sirithonda Maharaju, Harischandra and Neelapati Raju. All of them are either Saiva stories directly connected with caste deities or devotees of Siva who had gained martyrdom.

Kinnera Katha : *Kinnera Katha* is a folk ballad form narrated by 'Dakkala' community in Telangana to the accompaniment of a string instrument called 'Kinnera'. It has usually seven notes and so is called 'Edumetla' Kinnera. The Dakkalis are Harijan minstrels. They narrate short ballads, especially on those whose exploits have atttained a heroic nature.

"Panduga Sayanna Katha" is their most popular story which tells of Sayanna, a local hero, who robbed the rich to help the poor. Other stories include "Gadwal Rani Katha", "Pakeer Katha", "Jagilamma Katha", "Chandramma Katha", etc.

'Kinnera' is made out of a bamboo pipe, measuring one metre in length. Three dried gourds are fixed to one end of the bamboo pipe through wooden pegs.

The Dakkala community sings in praise of the 'Gothras' of other Harijan families.

Pandavula Katha : The minstrels who narrate the stories from the *Mahābhārata* are known as "Pandavula vallu". They hail mainly from the Adilabad district. They are hill tribes, but have come to the plains to settle down. They are Gonds and belong to a sub-sect called 'thoti'.

The 'Pandavula vallu' are also their clan- doctors, giving herbs and other medicines. Their women are engaged in tattooing. These minstrels follow Vaishnavism, but also worship local gods and goddesses.

They narrate the story of the *Mahābhārata* in 40 nights to the accompaniment of a *danḍe* (a Kinnera or ektara) and a *maddela*. The main narrator plays the *danḍe* while singing.

These tribal minstrels sing these stories only to Mudiraja, Mutharasi, Dandu, Bantu and Kavali castes and sub-castes.

Runja Katha : 'Runja' is a rhythm instrument made of a tapering cylindrical drum, to the broader side of which is fixed a tough goat skin. Two slender bamboo sticks are used to beat the drum. References from the epic *Hamsa Vimśati* and inscriptional evidences show that the instrument was in vogue in the 11th and 12th centuries.

According to a legend, Viswakarma was asked by Siva to kill the demon Runjaka and when Viswakarma was about to kill him, Runjaka requested him to make him immortal along with Lord Siva. Viswakarma then made an instrument with the skin of Runjaka and eversince it was played before Siva.

The instrument is played before the idol of Siva on festive occasions. To the accmpaniment of the instrument, the *Runjala Vāḷḷu* (the Runja people, i.e. players) narrate stories of Lord Siva and Viswakarma. As such, they are patronised by Viswa Brahmins who invite them to play in their houses on auspicious occasions and during other religious festivals.

Their popular stories include 'Daksha Yagjnam', 'Parvati Parinayam' and the 'Viswakarma Puranam'. They also use a conch and a bell as is done by other jangam minstrels. They are adept in creating several tones and sounds out of the Runja, like those of the maddela, tappeta, a running horse, a 'tasha marapa', etc.

Jamukula Katha : Pujaris from a sect of the Harijan community who narrate the Shakti stories and perform the weddings in the sect are called Bavaneelu or Jamukula vallu. They got the name because of the main instrument used in the narration of the stories - jamuku or jamidika or bavanika. In Telangana they are called 'Baindlu'.

The Jamuku consists of two hollow cylinders - a small one made of tin or wood and the large one of *panca lōhas* (five metals). The smaller one is used for *śṛti* with the help of an animal nerve and a bamboo stick placed inside. The larger one covered with goat skin on one side is used for rhythm.

Bavaneelu narrate several stories including those of Ankallamma, Ankamma, Manemma, Gangamma and Poleramma besides the stories of Palanati Yuddham, Bobbili Yuddham and Balanagamma.

Sarada Katha : 'Sarada' is a string instrument used by the ballad singers known popularly as *Sārada Vāṇḍḷu*. They belong to Muthrasi or Munnur caste. Their patrons are Muthrasi, Mudiraj, Bestha and Munnur Kapu castes of Telangana. They are called "Sarada vallu" because the image of Sarada or goddess Saraswathi is engraved at the tail end of their instrument. Their patron goddess is also Sarada whom they invoke at the beginning of their narration.

"Sarada vandlu" belong both to the Vaishnava and Saiva faiths and so can be callec the first secular performers in Andhra. Similarly, they don't narrate any particular religious story like the Jangams or Oggus. They usually sing the stories like Bobbili Katha, Palanat Yuddham, Desingu Raju Katha and Are Maratheela Katha. Besides the 'Sarada' and 'finge bells' (andelu) which are used by the main narrator, two 'vanthalu' (accompanists) supply th rhythm by playing on two 'gummetas'.

Kaki Padagalu : *Kāki Paḍagala vāru* - the people of the 'Kaki Padaga' community - bear their name due to the crow (kaki) symbol (padaga) that is worn by their caste diety, Pendota Peddamma, or Jyestha Devi. They sing the stories of Yayati, Padma Vyuham, Virata Parvam, etc., showing a series of pictures of the stories drawn on a huge canvass.

The Kaki Padagas trace their origin to Yayati, and so the caste story centres round Yayati, Sarmishtha, Devayani and Sukracharya. Their family deity is Jyeshtha Devi, Goddess of the Mudiraj community and is called Pendota Peddamma in her local habitation. Her idol has a flag on which a crow is drawn and hence "Kaki Padaga" or "Kaka-dhwaja".

The rolled cloth which is about 100 metres long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. wide has several pictures carefully painted on it. The singer-narrators unroll the cloth-screen slowly while narrating the story, accompanied by maddela, talam, harmonium and tambura. They also dance to the tunes with ankle bells tied to their feet.

Golla Suddulu : 'Golla' is an earlier name of a community which, in olden days, reared the sheep and traced its origin to Sri Krishna. 'Suddi' means a 'good word' - a moral. 'Golla Suddulu' are stories sung in praise of the Yadava Kings, Katamaraju and his followers, sung by the 'golla' minstrels. The story of their origin is contained in the *'Bhaktiranna Katha'* (which is popularly known as *'Yadava Puranam'*) and describes how Bhaktiranna brought twelve disciples from Kasi (Benares) and entrusted them the job of singing the stories of Katamaraju. They wander from place to place and their performance is noted for the use of six important signs: a tent (*guḍāram*), a horn (*Kommu*), a drum (*Vīraṇam*), the idol of a white cow (*Kāmadhēnu*), the idol of a bull (*Basava Dēvuḍu*) and a whip (*Vīratāḍu*).

'Golla suddulu' are accompanied by a drum and a horn. These 'gollas' also participate in reciting a long verse (*danḍakam*) on religious occasions and offer sacrifices during ritual ceremonies (*bōnālu*).

Though basically they sing the ballad of Katamaraju, they also sing in praise of the local deities like Yellamma, Chowdamma, Gangamma and Ankamma and offer "bonalu" during their festivals.

This is one of the popular forms modernised and used for political propa-ganda.

Vira Musti : *Vīra Muṣṭi* singers belong to the Vira Saiva cult and are known both for their valour and their singing abilities. They are especially famous for singing the 'Kanyaka' story, besides several others on Vira Saiva saints. Their patrons are Jangams and Vaisyas.

A legend about the Vira Mushtis tell us why they earned the patronage of the Vaisyas. When Kanyaka, the caste deity of the Vaisyas, was about to be captured by one Rama Raju, the Vira Mushti soldiers and the palanquin bearers in the army of Rama Raju delayed his arrival so that Kanyaka and her kith and kin could sacrifice themselves in a holy fire. Even now the Vaisya families annually present gifts to Vira Mushtis when the latter sing to them the story of Kanyaka.

Vira Mushtis are said to have been born from the drops of sweat of Virabhadra when he was engaged in the destruction of Daksha's *Yagjna*. They also worship the village dieties like Maremma, Mutyalamma and Pochamma, besides Siva.

The ballad of Kanyaka Parameswari is the most important ballad narrated by the Vira Mushtis. This narration is accompanied by a *jē ganṭa*, a *śankham* and *tappeṭa*, all the three evoking sentiments of *vīra* and *bībhatsa*.

The Vira Mushtis are also known for ferocious acts of religious import such as piercing sharp spears on their tongues and cheeks at the time of Saiva festivals. It is a warrior community and is known for its expertise in *Karra sāmu* and *Katti sāmu*.

Kommula Vallu : 'Kommu' is a horn, used as an initiating instrument at the beginning of a Yadava story. A section of Harijans, followers of Shakti cult and devotees of Gangamma, the 'kommus' mainly sing in praise of Yadava kings and especially of Katama Raju. Though the 'Kommus' were originally made out of animal horns, the present-day horns are made of brass, iron, silver and rarely even of gold.

In addition to kommu, the narrators also use a *vīraṇam* and a *titti*. Though the 'kommus' are the appointed singers of Katamaraju stories, they also narrate Palanati Virula Kathalu, Ankamma and Poleramma stories and also the story of the caste of the Kommus as *Mātha Purāṇam*. They have aslo specialized in narrating the stories of Mother goddess.

The chief narrator wears a long *angarakha* and ankle bells when he sings the stories. Some of them also wear a sword in their hand, which practice evidently is borrowed from the Vira Vidyavanthulu. They invoke Ganapathi, Siva, Parvathi, Saraswathi, Brahma, Krishna, Katama Raju, Simhadriraju, Gangamma, Bhaktiranna, Bolli Avu, Ankamma and Poleramma in that order.

Though they narrate the stories mainly during festivals of the local goddesses, their story-telling also forms a part of the birth and death ceremonies in the Yadava community.

Vira Vidyavantulu : "Vidyavantulu" are artists or knowledgeable people and 'Vira' means the heroic. 'Vira Vidyavanthulu' are the artists who sing the stories of the heroes of the Palnadu war, waged by two opposing brothers - Nalagama Raju and Malideva Raju at Karempudi in the Palnad region.

'Vira Vidyavantulu' claim their origin to Kannamadasu, the Harijan commander-in-chief of Malideva Raju, who along with sixty six others died in the battle field protecting his kingdom. They continue to observe a festival in the month of Karthik to commemorate the death of the heroes.

The narrator, who himself dresses as a hero with a shield and sword, sings *Palnāṭi Vira Carita* accompanied by a *Vīraṇam*, and *titti*.

The entire story, running for 12 nights, has been taken up by other ballad narrators also, including the Saradagandru and the Pichukuntalu, with variations in costume and the accompanying instruments.

Pichukuntalu : *Pichukuṇṭalu* or *Pichikuṇṭivāḷḷu* are originally narrators of the origins of Reddis, Kapus, Kammas and Yadavas - and also give detailed accounts of their clan histories. Different legends are in vogue regarding the origin of these narrators. A legend says that Brahma created a lame man who was the originator of this sect *(kuṇṭi* in their name means 'lame'). Some others claim that a lame Yadava boy, born of divine grace was asked by the community to undertake their clan-profession. Others say that his name was Pichukunta Malla Reddy, born to Bhujanga Reddy and Taraka Devi. He was born lame and so was given a bull and a bell. He rode the bull and played on the bell when he narrated the origin of the Reddi clans.

All the Pichukuntas are Saiva devotees and wear vibhuti and lingam and rudrakshas around their neck. They also worship village gods and goddesses.

They also narrate, along with *gōthras*, stories of Katamraju and Palanadu battles, Kamamma and Laxmamma and Sadasivareddy and Sarvai Papadu. Like the Jangams and 'Sarada Kandru', they also tell stories using a tambura, andelu and 'gummetas'.

The repertoire of Rayalaseema, Andhra and Telangana 'Pichukuntala vallu' differs to some extent, each one choosing stories of regional interest.

Beerannalu : 'Beerannalu' are Kuruma ballad singers, who specialize in telling the story of Beerappa and Mallanna. The word "Beeranna' is said to be a distorted form of 'Virabhadra' whom the Kurumas worship.

To the accompaniment of a 'dhamaru', 'ramdhol', ankle bells, 'nafeera' and big cymbals, Beerannalu narrate the story of Beerappa, especially during the festivals dedicated to that god.

DANCE FORMS

There are two major types of folk dance forms - those that are pure rhythmic forms (the rhythm being provided by an instrument) without any accompanying song and those that couple dance with story narration in which the dance content is more important than the narration of a story. Dappula Nrityam belongs to the first category. There are also some forms in which the rhythmic accompaniment of a percussion instrument becomes the base of a dance, but there is also minimal singing. While *Butta Bommalu, Gargalu* and *Vīra Nāṭyam* belong to the first category where there is dance without any signing; such forms as *Guravayya Nrityam* and *Urumula Nrityam* have some initiatory music. At the other extreme are the second category of dances which combine rhythmic dance movements with musical narration : *Kōlāṭam, Cakka Bhajana* and *Tappeṭaguḷḷu* are such forms which happily combined musical narration and dance.

The validity of such a two-fold division will become all the more obvious if we look at the functional aspect of these forms. The first category of dances - tappeta, guravāyya, urumulu, garagalu, Viranatyam and butta bommalu belong essentially to large-scale religious festivals when involved devotees or devotees were assigned to dance with a specific function during the festival. The other category of dance is more concerned with a particular group's joy while singing and dancing a mythical story. There is no festival needed; there is no large attendance required and it does not lead to a religious ritual. There is a self-limitation that the participants themselves prescribe on the restricted use of these forms because they use this as a tool for self-recreation.

Vira Natyam : Among the several rituals in the Vira Saiva cult that dominate the festive occasions and incite the devotees, the *Vīra Nāṭyam* is the most important. The external manifestations of bhakti are prominent during these festivals. Some of them are very ferocious and incite awe and fear. To oneself with long, sharp intertwined ropes (*vīra tāḷḷu*), to insert sharp and pointed instruments into cheeks, into the tongue and in to the lips and render eulogistic entreaties in praise of Lord Siva are common to Vira Saiva rituals. Vira Natyam has long been a part of this whole ritual, but now is taken out of the context and is shown as a separate dance form.

In this dance, five to ten people, dressed as 'Virabhadras' - (Virabhadra was created by Siva to punish Daksha and destroy his sacred ritual - yagjna) with *vibhūti* smeared all over their bodies, with *trisūlas* in their hands and with ankle bells, render *jatis* and *stōtras*.

Accompanied by several *dēśi* instruments like 'dolu, tasha marapa, dappu, sankham and *vīraṇam'*, the dancers reenact the episodes from "Daksha Yagjna", such as pulling down the *yagjna vāṭika*, killing the followers of Daksha and then celebrate the destruction. It is the final celebration that gives vent to very fast rhythmic dance movements. This is accompanied by piercing sharp, pointed iron rods into the tongues and at other places, to the rendering of *khadgās*. The dance concludes with a *hārati* given to Siva by piercing iron sticks into palms and by lighting the ends of the sticks.

This is a very ferocious dance, prevalent in all the Saiva-dominated villages and towns and even today forms part of longer rituals on festive occasions such as Sivaratri and also marriages in Vira Saiva families.

Kolatam : Known as *daṇḍa rāsakam, daṇḍa nartanam, vēṣṭitam* and *hallīsakam* in different parts of the country, *Kōlāṭam* is a popular dance in all parts of Andhra Pradesh. It is also called *Kōlannalu, Kōḷḷamāta* and *Kōlanna* in other parts of the state. Though we have literary evidence to show that this dance was prevalent more among the ladies at one time, this is now mostly performed by men only.

In most of the Andhra Villages, learning and performing this dance is a pastime and temples have been the places of learning. Simple in its performance style and without much paraphernelia and large in its repertoire, the dance form, in its multifarious variations, has stayed on as popular entertainment.

The team contains twenty to forty performers. All of them are dressed in a common uniform with a white dhoti, white shirt and on it a coloured 'dhatti' - a waist cloth. Ankle bells and two sticks in either hand supply the necessary rhythm. The group forms into two circles, each person in the inner circle stands opposite another person in the outer circle. Together they are called 'Uddi'. The performance starts in a slow pace with an invocation to Vinayaka and soon picks up its pace. The pace of the song is in direct relation to the pace of the movement. The group moves in a circular path striking at the two sticks they have in either hand. Alternately, they strike at the sticks of their opponent in the 'uddi'. These players in the two circles interchange their places, also changing the pattern of the striking.

A single song is divided into several *kōpu-s*. A *kōpu* is a unit of rhythm. If the pattern changes, the *kōpu* also changes. There are about hundred *kōpus* in all, with separate names. The variations in movement followed by rhythm and accompanied by harmonium and tabla result in a fine musical entertainment of an evening to the entire village.

Urumulu : "Urumu" means thunder. As it gives a reverberating thunderous sound, the instrument and the dance that accompanies its rhythm are known as "Urumu" and "Urumula nrityam". It is widely prevalent in Anantapur and Kurnool districts and is popular in Saiva festivals. It is also performed in Jangamma and Timmamma festivals and during the worship of such deities as Bommayya and Veeranarayana Swami.

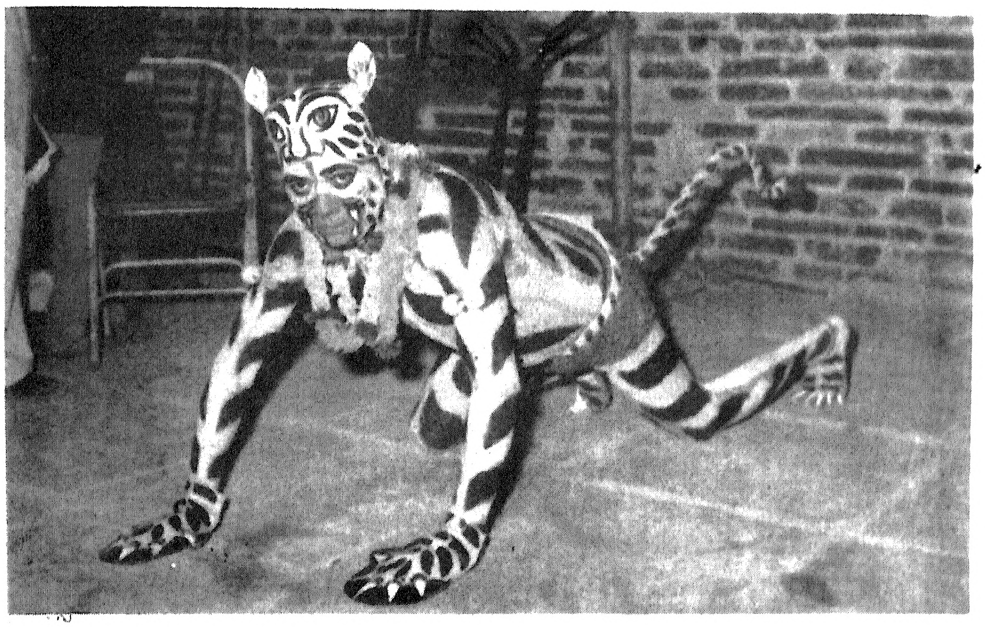
The instrument is a little bigger than mridangam with $2\frac{1}{2}'$ long and $1\frac{1}{2}'$ radius. The outer cover is made either of brass or iron and is circular in shape. It is closed on either side by goat leather. It is played by two sticks, the left stick rubbing the blackened central part of the instrument upwards and downwards (which gives a base sound of the thunder) and the right stick is used for rhythm. The dance consists of eight to twelve people. It is mainly a ritualistic dance and is used in festivals, especially to inspire the 'pujaris'. With a specially prepared costume - a head-cloth, a chain made of large silver coins, a long kurtha and dhoti tied with a *kāsi paṭṭi* - and with a smear of yellow powder (called *banḍāru)* and kumkum - the performer at once gains the awe of the audience. The dancers not only dance with their instruments tied around their waists, but also render loud cries in praise of Siva and other deities.

The 'Urumu' performers are harijans and can participate in religious rituals only if they are initiated.

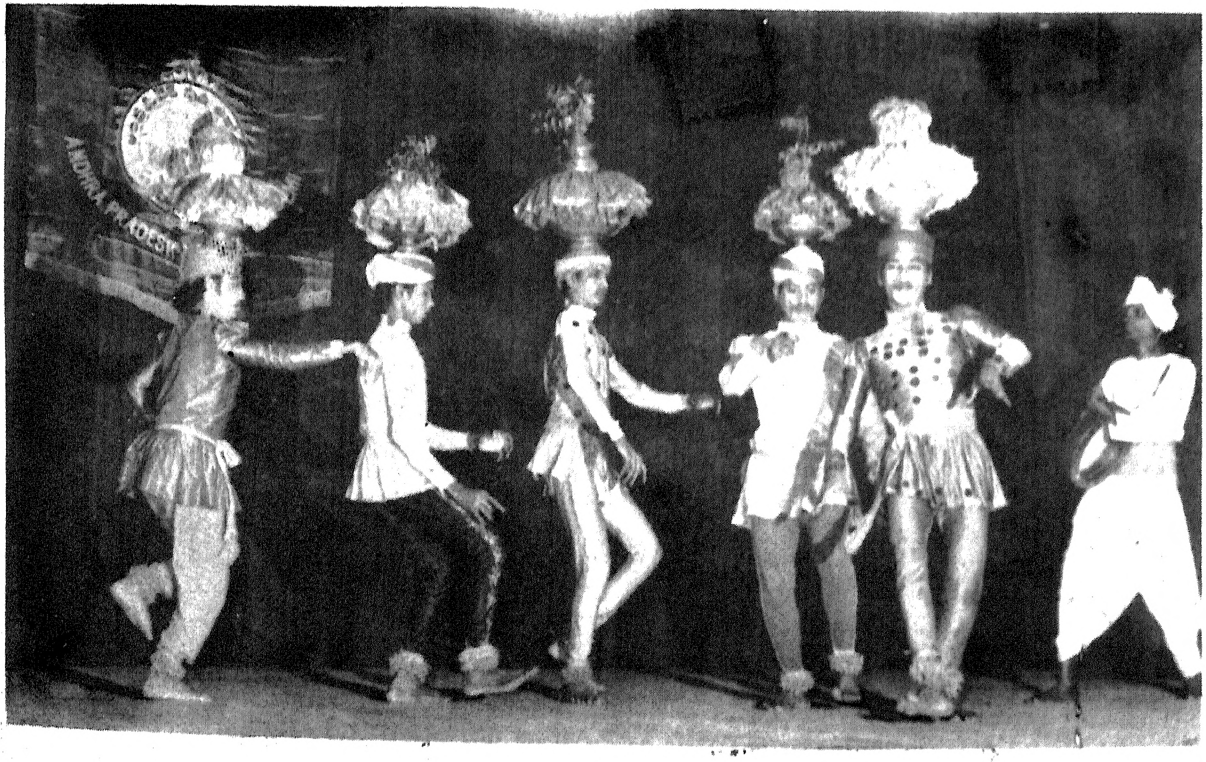
Tappeta Gullu : Widely popular in the extreme northern districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam, *Tappeṭa guḷḷu* is a celebratory dance, presented in honour of Gangamma, the water deity by the Yadava community. The dance gets is name from the instrument used by the performers - the 'tappeta gundu' which is made either by tin or wood, almost in the form of a cone and is covered by leather. The instrument is hung round the neck with a small rope and is played with both the hands.

Street play (Veedhi Natakam)

*Turpu **Baaghavatam***

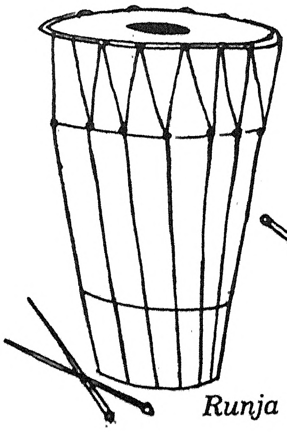


Puli Vēṣam



Garagalu

Musical Instruments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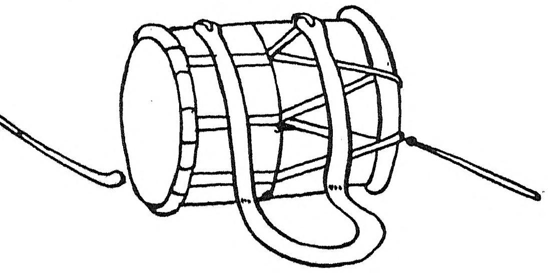
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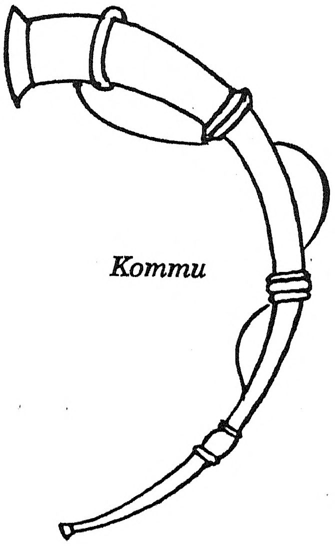
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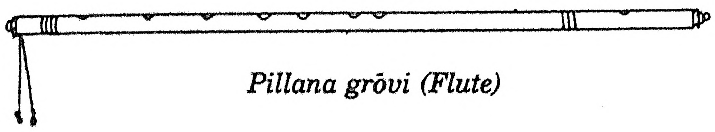
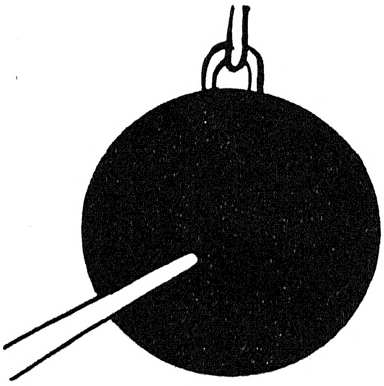

Pillana grōvi (Flute)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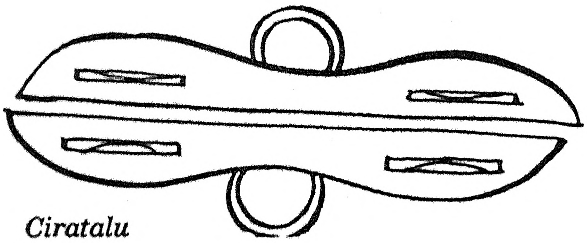
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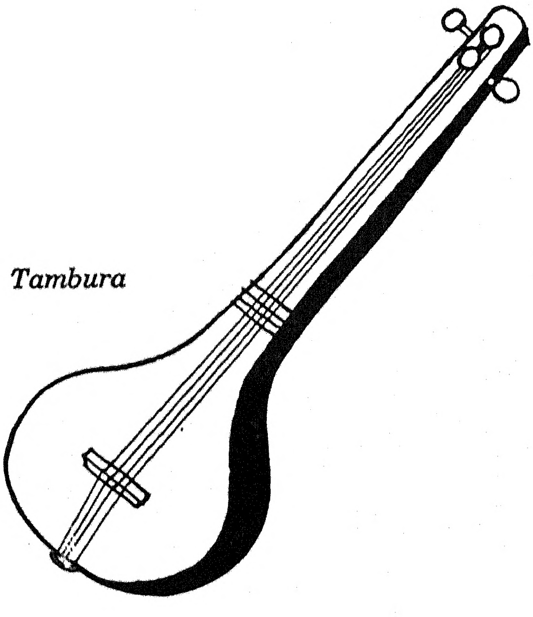
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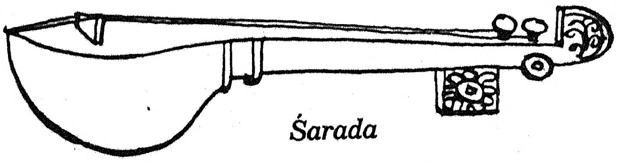
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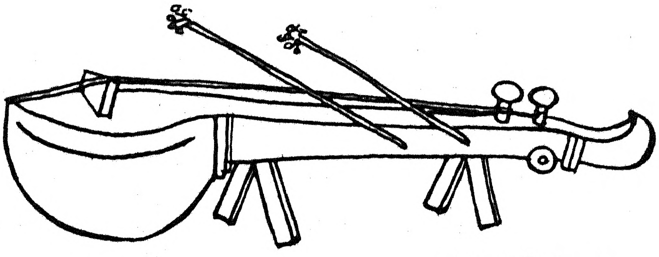
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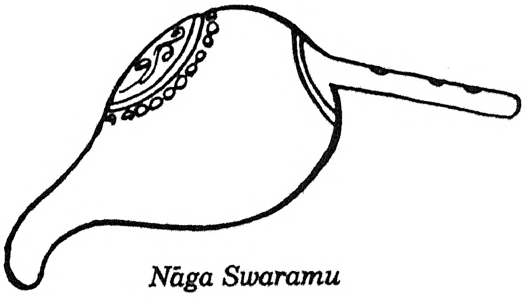
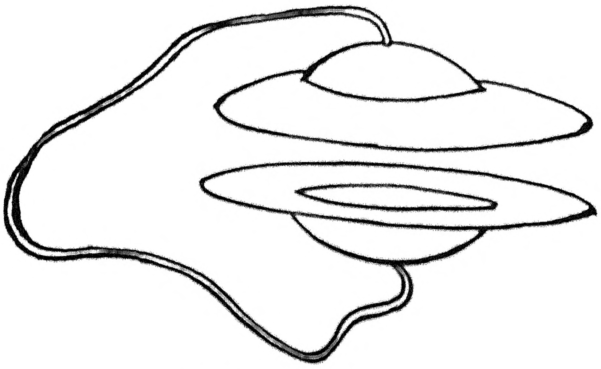
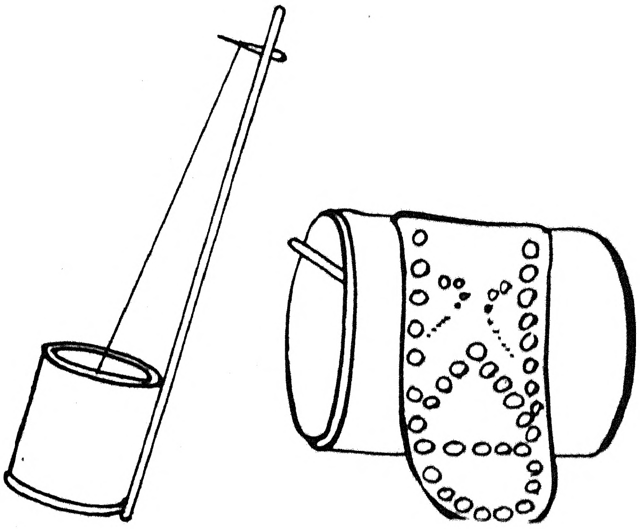


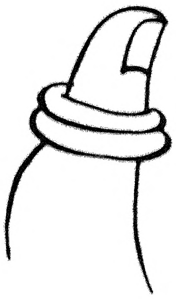
Nāga Swaramu



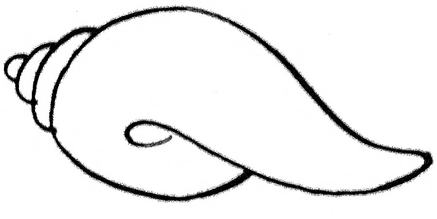
Tāḷālu



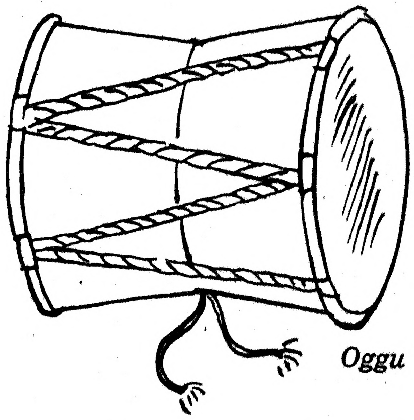
Jamidikalu



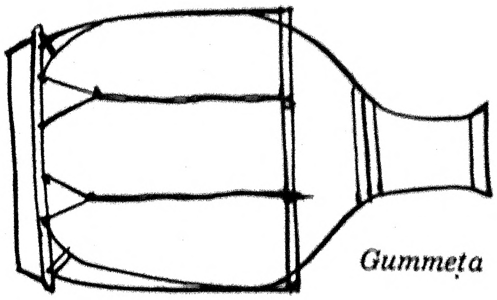
Andelu



Śankhamu



Oggu



Gummeṭa

The costume of the *tappeṭa guḷḷu* performers is typically rustic, but formalised. They wear a close knicker with large bells stitched to it. A large tuft of cloth hangs from the knicker at the back. They also wear a tight half shirt. The bells tied to the anklets, the bells on the waist stitched to the knicker and the sound of the 'tappeta gundu' provide the necessary rhythmic variation that is needed for the large variety of songs by these dancers.

The dancers dance to the stories of Sri Krishna and Gangamma. They also sing some narratives, especially the story of Sarangadhara. There is always one main singer who renders the line and the others repeat the line, moving in a circle. They are also good in acrobatics in which they indulge while singing.

Cekka Bhajana - Ciratala Bhajana : *Cekka Bhajana* is a form of dance accompanied by the striking of two wooden pieces of $1\frac{1}{2}'$ long and about 3″ wide to the ends of which two round brass or iron pieces are fixed. They are held one against the other in the right hand. While they are struck at each other, they make a rhythm to which the dancers dance. *Cirata* is a smaller instrument which is 8″ to 9″ long and 1″ to $1\frac{1}{2}''$ wide. The are used especially to sing songs in praise of Lord Rama and the performance is known as Rama Bhajana and the performers 'Rama-Dandu'. In the olden days the group *(danḍu)* used to move with a lamp and an idol of Rama from one village to the other. It is obligatory to the Rama-Dandu of the next village to receive the bhajana troupe and the idol and take it to the next village. Ultimately, after touring several villages on the way, the troupes reach Bhadrachalam on the Ramanavami day and pay their homage to the Lord. Though this practice has ceased to be in vogue any more, there are innumerable troupes all over Andhra which perform the *Cekka Bhajana* even today. They are however limited to their villages.

The *Cekka Bhajana* performance contains several songs sung to varying rhythms called 'kopu-s'. There are about 100 Kopu-s. A *kopu* or *aḍugu* is a unit rhythm in which a particular song is sung. Every song contains several kopu-s, based on the variations. As in *kōlāṭam*, even in this performance, there is a main singer who initiates each song and sings a line which is repeated by the others.

There are songs other than those on Rama. Some humorous songs are very popular.

Garagalu : Known also as *Garika, Gariga* and *Garige* in other parts of Andhra, *Garaga* is especially popular in East and West Godavari districts with that name. 'Garaga' means a vessel - usually an earthen-ware one. The decorated vessel represents holy water and hence is a symbol of Gangamma. Likewise, there is also a mythical story according to which Draupadi was said to have danced with the Pandavas with the vessel on her head. The *Garaga*, an important and sacred vessel which symbolizes the synthesizing of earth, water and seed, occupies an important role in all wedding celebrations. Besides, in all village festivals, the *pūjāri* carries a large *garaga* on his head in which devotees put rice, curd and other eatables as a part of a fulfillment of their oath. The vessel occupies a similar place in rural festivals as the 'Utsava vigrahas' have in temple festivals.

These *pūjāris* belonging to shepherd and potter communities, decorate the vessels with 'neem' branches and turmeric paste around the vessel. According to common belief, this cools down the anger of the Mother Goddess.

This is a festival dance usually performed throughout the night. Eight to twelve performers, with *garagas* on their heads and bells to their ankles, dance to the beat of several rhythm instruments such as 'dappu, tasha marapa and dolu'.

The multi-coloured costume, the fast moving dance and the varying rhythms put the audience and the devotees into a deep sense of participation in the festival.

Goravayyalu : 'Goravayyalu' are said to be the personal followers of Mylaru Deva, a manifestation of Lord Siva, who came to this world to kill the demons, Mani-Mallasuras. He appeared here on the earth with a special costume - a long woolen coat, a cap made out of bear skin, a 'damarukam' in his right hand, a bell and a *trisūlam* in the left. His forehead is endowed with 'vibhuti'. The Goravayyas, as the true followers of Mylaru Deva, wear this costume on all festive occasions.

During the celebration of the wedding of Mylaru Deva with Malavi, the Goravayyas specially dance out a sequence in which they move round a vessel of milk in two groups and each group 'barks' at the other. This is a replaying of a similar situation in which, according to the lore, the dogs of Mylaru Deva and those of Malavi fought out to win a bet. The milk, curd and fruits left out in the vessel after the ritual are considered sacred and the devotees receive them with great reverence.

The Goravayyas use a flute in one hand and a *ḍamarukam* in another, while dancing to the rhythm of a 'maddela'. The man who plays on it is usually the leader of the group. The dance mainly contains devotional participation in Saiva religious festivals. Some of the Goravayyas follow more ferocious modes of devotion including lashing themselves with a long twined rope (called 'Vira tadu') and giving 'harati' to the lord by piercing one end of the trisulam to their ankles.

The Goravayyas, as the religious followers of Mylaru Deva, are revered as the direct link between the god and the devotees and the 'bandaru', the milk and the fruit they distribute after a devotional dance are believed to cure ills and give health and happiness.

Gobbi : Out of the three group dances exclusively performed by women - the Gobbi, the Batakamma and Boddemma - the first one is prevalent in coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema and the latter two are popular in Telangana.

Gobbi is a popular dance performed by girls in Andhra during the Sankranti festival. Sankranti, the harvest festival, is celebrated all over Andhra. Welcoming the new harvest, the girls prepare the images of the Goddess with cow dung, decorate it with turmeric, kumkum and flowers and place them in the court yard, in the midst of the beautifully designed *muggu*-s. They go round the gobbi, singing songs and pray the goddess to bless them with prosperity.

The dance, like the other women's dances, is simple. The girls form into a circle and sing songs clapping their hands and rhythmically moving around the *gobbi*. On the tenth day the immersion ceremony is done with great pomp and several groups of girls carry their *gobbis* and, singing songs on their way, immerse their images in the nearby river or tank.

Batakamma : Batakamma is a festival of the goddesses of Gauri and Laxmi (both called by the name 'Batakamma') performed by women of all ages during the Dasara festival for ten days. Right from the preparation of the image of the goddess to its 'nimajjan' (the withdrawing of the image by immersing it in waters), the rural women folk take great interest and perform the rites with devotional attention.

There is a legend regarding the Batakamma festival. Dharmanga and Satyavati, rulers of Chola country, had hundred sons who were killed by enemies. Then both of them went to the forests and meditated and did penance for a long time. When Laxmi appeared before them, they requested her to be born as their child. When Laxmi was born, the seven sacred *ṛṣies* appeared and blessed her to live eternally ('Batakamma': 'batuku', to live). She was married to Chakranka (an incarnation of Vishnu) and lived happily ever after.

Whatever be the anthropological and philosophical implications of the legend, Batakamma remained a deity very dear to women. The Batakamma image is prepared by arranging all types of flowers in a conical order and on it is placed turmeric paste with 'kumkum' (a symbol of womanhood) and decorated with flowers. It is around this image women circum-ambulate and sing songs by clapping their hands to the rhythm of the songs.

Boddemma : Boddemma dance, at the Boddemma Festival, is celebrated by unmarried girls. If Batakamma festival is celebrated during the first ten days of the month of Aswayuj, the Boddemma festival is celebrated nine days before that and concludes on the Mahalaya Amavasya day. Thus Batakamma is a continuaion of the Boddemma festival.

The image of Boddemma (the 'young goddess') is prepared with a special kind of mud in five layers. On it is placed a vessel *(kalaśam)* which is decorated with flowers. It is ceremoniously brought out into the front yard of the house and all the girls of the neighbourhood sing songs in praise of Boddemma. The refrain of most of the songs is "Chandamama". Besides songs on Gauri and Laxmi, other stories of mythological importance are also sung during the festival.

The circular movement around the image of Boddemma and the clapping of hands as a rhythm are common both to Boddemma and Batakamma dances. The images are dried and on the ninth day milk and newly harvested rice are mixed and cooked on dried cow dung as an offering to the deity.

Puli Vesham (Tiger dance) : *Puli Vēṣam* is a popular entertainment in Andhra villages. Also known as 'Veta (hunting) Nrityam', the form is one of those that imitate animals and recreate the feeling of an ancient man fighting his way through the terrifying experiences of confronting and overcoming the beasts of the forests.

This dance is performed both by the Hindus and the Muslims. The former present it during Sankranti and Dasara festivals whereas the latter perform it on Moharrum and on other festive occasions.

Puli Vesham is awe-inspiring. The man who imitates the tiger looks ferocious and with his slow movements and fearful looks, he dances to the rhythm of two 'tappetas'. He hides behind a bush, pounces upon his 'prey' and in the fight sometimes loses and at other times wins. Often there is also an opponent usually attired as an archer who is after the tiger.

The make-up and costume of Puli-Vesham is complicated. The performer will have black and yellow stripes on his body carefully drawn and painted with varnish or with other powders. He also uses a tiger mask.

Butta Bommalu : *Buṭṭa Bommalu* are huge dolls made out of light weight materials like bamboo, paper and wood. The outer structure is painted as needed and the inner part is hollow into which a person enters and dances to the rhythms of dappu.

The dolls of Siva and Parvati, Hanuman, Snake-charmer, Rama and Laxman and scores of others are popular. A small story-line is given to their performance. The show is all mimed. Sometimes humourous dolls also participate. The most entertaining of them all is the doll of Hunuman doing 'monkey' tricks.

This art form is popular especially in village festivals, jataras and in marriage processions. With multi-coloured dolls huge in size, and dancing rhythmically to the varying rhythms, Butta Bommalu are easy attraction to children.

Dappu Dance : *Ḍappu* or 'tappeṭa' is a percussion instrument very popular in Andhra. Used originally while announcing an important event in the village - a meeting, a sale, etc., it has developed into an artistic form for over a hundred years. The instrument is used in marriage processions, in village festivals and even in funeral processions. Thus it is used both on auspicious and inauspicious occasions.

The instrument has a round frame, usually made of neem wood, with a diameter of $1\frac{1}{2}'$. Fitted into it is leather of medium thickness. After a long process of cleaning the leather and making it fit for fixing into the frame, the instrument is ready for use. Two sticks - one of 9 inches long and two inches thickness and the other one of the same length but much thinner - are used for creating rhythms of innumerable variety. The 'laya' varies according to the occasion. For example, separate rhythms are used for marriages, deaths, rituals and villages festivals. The performers wear ankle bells, especially when they participate in village rituals and dance to the rhythm of the beat.

Of late, the dance has started using traditional *tāḷas* such as *triśra, miśra* and *caturasra.* These *tāḷas*, popularly known as *debba* (beat) have also been given native names depending upon the occasion during which the instruments are used. 'Police debba' (used for march past), *peḷḷi debba* (used for marriages), *cāvu debba* (used for deaths), *Puli debba* (used to imitate the tiger's movements), etc.

Dappu is used for every important occasion in an Andhra village. The dappu dance, consisting of twelve to twenty people, do acrobatics also while dancing. The dances are specially performed during marriages and on festive occasions.

THEATRE FORMS

Andhra Pradesh is rich in its folk theatre forms - the *Shadow puppet theatre* (tolu bommalata). *Yakṣhagānam, Vīdhināṭakam* and *Cindu bhāgavatham* are some of the more popular theatre forms. There is also a fragmented theatre form - the *Pagaṭi Vēṣam*.

Yakshaganam : *Yakṣagānam* is one of the earliest folk performing art forms that was popular in Andhra. Started perhaps as a form of devotional singing at religious festivals, it soon developed into a full-fledged dance-music-drama form and, at one stage, had achieved unprecedented royal patronage.

Yakṣagānam means the singing of the Yakshas. Who these Yakshas were and how they had come to be associated with singing and later with performing dance-dramas, is not known, lost in the hazy mist of the past. The first-ever reference to their singing occurs in the early 13th c. text of Palkuriki Somanatha, *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra*. The text mentions that several people, disguising as Yakshas, Gandharvas and Vidyadharas, sang on the occasion. The first mention of the compound word *yakṣagāna* appeared in Srinatha's *Bhīmēśwara Purāṇam* (written about 1430) in which is mentioned that the sacred place Daksharama was praised by Gandharvas in the *yakṣagāna* style, suggesting that, by that time, it developed into a particular style of singing. Several other texts, including *Krīḍābhirāmam, Manu Caritra, Rāmābhyudayam* and *Citra Bhāratam*, while mentioning the singing style also added that the songs were accompanied by dances. All this proves that the form, started as a musical one, later on developed into a composite form of dance, music and drama.

Several scholars relate the Yakshas to the 'Jakkulu', which, they say, is a Telugu word for the Yakshas. They maintain that Jakkulu form a caste in certain areas of Andhra, citing some villages named after this community : 'Jakkisani Kuntla' 'Jakkula Cheruvu' in Kurnool district and 'Jakka Samudram' in Anantapur district and they also relate the form *yakṣagāna* to 'Ekkala gana' of Karnataka. It is also possible that both 'Jakkula *Pāṭa*' and 'Ekkala *gāna*' were originally native forms of singing, and later sanskritised as *yakṣagāna*.

The development of *yakṣagāna* as a dramatic performance reflects how the folk forms tend to develop from simple to complex forms. The references both in Telugu and Kannada prove that originally they were musical recitations, with or without the accompaniment of instruments. At that stage they could be independent songs in praise of a god or goddess. When a whole divine story was to be narrated, they developed into narrative songs, including in them the various *dēśi* metres that hitherto formed the individual songs. Such were the 'ēla', 'ragada' etc. There is no evidence to prove that this narrative tradition emerged into a dramatic tradition earlier than the 15th century.

The earliest available *yakṣagāna* text dates back to the latter half of the 15th c. It was *Saubhari Caritamu* by Proluganti Channa Sauri. Unfortunately, the text is not available. Among the available *yakṣagāna* texts, the earliest is Kandukuri Rudrakavi's (16th c.) *Sugrīva Vijayamu*, though Chakrapuri Raghavacharya's *Vipra Nārāyaṇa Caritra* is claimed by some to be an earlier one. From the 17th c. onwards, both the writing and the performance of *yakṣagāna* had been widely popular.

During the Nayaka and the Maratha rule in the South, *yakṣagāna* received wide support from common people as well as the royal courts. Several kings themselves took to writing *yakshaganas* and got them performed in courts. Shahaji (1684-1712) alone was the author of about 20 *yakshaganas*. Darbha Giriraja kavi was his court poet who authored six well-known *yakshaganas*. Some saint-poets also wrote *yakshaganas*. Mention must be made of Narayana Tirtha, Tyagaraja and Melattur Venkatarama Sastry, the last mentioned being responsible for the famous 'Bhagavata-Mela' tradition. During the Nayaka rule, *yakshaganas* continued to flourish with Vijayaraghava Nayaka, Rangajamma and scores of others contributing to its richness and variety.

In Telangana area, *yakṣagāna* which started about 1780, with *Śeṣācalapu Dharmapuri Rāmāyaṇam*, continued well into the 20th century. Govardhanam Narasimhacharyulu, Seshabhattaru Krishnamacharyulu, Vattemu Papakavi and others contributed to its popularity.

Soon, special caste groups developed *yakṣagāna* and the Jangams and the Chindus are justly famous for their performances. A typical *yakṣagāna* performance may be outlined on the basis of the tradition of Chindu Yakshagana.

A cleared and cleaned place at the centre of a village is its acting area. No curtain is used. *Titti* (for *sṛti*), maddela and cymbals (for rhythm) are all the instruments used. A 'Sutradhara' introduces the story after the necessary invocation, assisted by a group of 'vanthas' who repeat what either the Sutradhara or the actors sing. The prose connections (*Sandhi-vacanālu*) in the story are supplied by the Sutradhara, who is occasionally aided by a humorous character (*hāsyagāḍu*). Though no female artist participated in *yakṣagāna* performance until the 18th c., there are references to their participation later.

The stories that are chosen for *yakshaganas* are usually well-known mythological ones. During the Nayaka period, however, *yakshaganas* were written on the life-histories of contemporary kings also.

There are evidences to show that some performing groups *(mēḷams)* were so popular during the 17th and 18th centuries that their mention was made even in literary texts. Lepakshi, Vemulapalli and Tadipatri *Mēḷams* of Rayalseema, Padakandla Swamiraya Kavi's and Twarakavi Ramakrishnayya's *mēḷams* of Nellore, Palnati Seema *mēlams* and Kandala Chidambara kavi *mēḷam* in Visakhapatnam attained such popularity.

In recent years the form has been exploited to reflect contemporary social and political life, especially by the Praja Natya Mandali groups.

Vidhi Natakam : *Vīdhi Nāṭakam*, often called *Vīdhi Bhāgavatam*, is the most popular folk theatre form in Andhra. In contrast to the Sanskrit plays performed in the courts of the kings, this theatre form is performed in the street *(vīdhi)* and hence its name *Vīdhi Nāṭakam*. Though it has been evolved from *yakṣagāna*, it is a more 'dramatic' form because it contains less elaborate singing and dancing and more dramatic elements. In *yakshagānas*, we do not find a character introducing itself (which is done by the Sutradhaṛa) whereas in *Vīdhi Nāṭakam*, all the major characters, both male and female, introduce themselves to the audience. (This is called the *pravēśa daruvu*). This *Vidhi Nāṭakam* is entirely different from *Vīdhi*, one of the *Daśa Rūpakas* mentioned by Dhananjaya.

As many of the stories they perform are related to God ('Bhagavan') and his actions, the performances are known as *Bhāgavathālu* and the performers, *Bhāgavathulu*. The place of their performances is any street corner at which, usually, a raised platform is improvised and is covered by palm leaves or a cloth. This is a night-long performance with a story sung and enacted, often interrupted by a Sutradhara who is the leader of the singing group, a Vidūshaka *(hāsyagāḍu)*, a humorous character, who butts in whenever the play needs a boost. It is he that supplies the fun but he also serves as a bridge between the story's past and its relevance to the present, by commenting upon the incidents.

Krīḍābhirāmam, of 15th c., is a *vīdhi* in the Sanskritic meaning, but not a folk theatre form. However, this play contains enough evidence to show that by that time open-air street performances were very much in vogue. The text especially mentions the actors from Dora Samudram who performed at the Bhairavà Festival at Mopuru and at Orugallu. Much earlier, *Panditārādhya Caritra* mentioned *tera nāṭakamulu* ('curtain performances' or performances which used a curtain).

The Kuchipudi *Bhāgavathulu*, who also used the curtain on specific occasions and sparingly, must have by then started their performances of *Kalāpam*, a form which also emanated from the *yakṣagāna*. It is a specialized form with two characters and which gave importance to *sāthvika abhinaya*. They also took to performing *Vīdhi Nāṭakams* in later years. Several Kuchipudi families soon became famous in performing these street plays, along with their *Kalāpams*, the most important among them being *Prahlāda, Hariścandra, Rāmanātakam* and *Śaśirēkhā Pariṇayam*.

Among other *Vīdhi Nāṭakam* groups Kotakonda Bhagavathulu of the 13th c., Kapatrala Bhagavathulu of the 13th and 14th centuries, and Tayikonda Nataka Samajam were famous. Tammarapu Venkata Swami's group was well-known during the 18th c. Venkataswami hailed from Tammapuram near Ongole and his actors came mainly from Ammanabrolu, also near Ongole. Well-trained and well-disciplined, the group performed *Uttara Gōgrahaṇam, Hariścandra* and *Nala Nāṭakam*.

During the 19th c., several caste-based *Vīdhi Nāṭakam* groups became well-known, among which the 'Yanadi Bhagavathulu', 'Mala Dasarulu' and 'Golla Bhagavathulu' were the most noteworthy. Performing troupes of *Vīdhi Nāṭakam* are popular in the villages even today. Mention must be made of such groups from Kuppam in Chittor district and Nagaram in Guntur district. Similarly several Rayalaseema groups perform *Bayalāṭa*, a variation of *Vīdhi Nāṭakam*.

Modern street theatre plays are different both in content and form from these folk street theatre and from the classical *Vīdhi* performances, though the performance place, i.e. *vīdhi*, is common to the first two types.

Tolu Bommalata : *Tōlu Bommalāṭa* (Leather Puppet play), the shadow puppet theatre, has been popular not only in Andhra Pradesh, but in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Maharashtra, and Orissa as well. While the puppets of Kerala, Maharashtra, and Orissa are traditionally black and white, the Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Andhra puppets are multi-coloured. The Andhra puppets are larger in size, with separate parts of the various limbs stitched loosely for better articulation. The earliest mass medium using coloured images, the shadow-puppet theatre has always been popular among rural folk, combining entertainment with moral instruction.

A general belief is that the art of puppetry was prevalent in this part of the country even by the beginning of the Christian era. It is also believed that this art was carried from here to the South-east Asian countries where Indians had colonised.

Historically speaking, there are two distinct shadow-puppet traditions in Andhra Pradesh - the ancient and the comparatively modern. The earliest mention of the ancient tradition occurs in a 13th-century poetic work, *Panditārādhya Caritra*, written by Palkuriki Somanatha. In the first canto, Somanatha mentions two types of puppets - those that are manipulated behind white curtains and those that are manipulated with rods. The former are leather puppets and the latter rod puppets. This reference proves beyond doubt that the shadow-puppet theatre had a well established tradition in the Andhra region by the 13th century.

An inscription dated 1208 shows that in that year Vipparula Kondapa and Gundapa donated a village to the puppeteer, Sutradhari Bommalayya. Many other inscriptions, epics and legends contain references to the existence, popularity and scholarship of puppeteers in different parts of Andhra Pradesh. A 1521 inscription shows that a group of puppeteers was honoured by royalty. A textbook of mathematics, written at the instance of a puppeteer, commended the worth of a puppeteer called Bommalata Kala who, by his sheer virtuosity in the art, had become close to Krishnadeva Raya, the great south Indian king, and was honoured by him. Similarly, an inscription belonging to Cuddapah district (1928), says that two master puppeteers - Chandramayya and Bommalata Amrita Kavi - had donated a village, Chidipirala of Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah district, to another puppeteer, Peda Chittayya, in order that he might continue to perform shadow plays. Some of the puppeteers of the day were evidently rich enough to donate a village to other puppeteers for the propagation of their art!

Gobbemma

Batakamma

Chindu Dance

Burra Katha

Oggu Katha

There are many references to shadow plays in the Telugu classics. The central interest of a puppet show is the story, says a late 16th century poetic text, *Gangāvataraṇam*. Another text, *Candrāngada Caritra*, (c.1650), describes a whole puppet show and the different elements of the show. The curtain, the audience seated before it, the commentator behind the curtain, the lights that throw the shadows on the screen, the actors, and the puppets - these, the poet says, are the essential components of a puppet show. That puppet shows were performed all through the night is indicated in another text, *Pāncālī Pariṇayamu*. References in *Bhāskara Śatakam* and *Vēmana Śatakam* throw light on the contemporary significance of puppet shows.

These references indicate that the art of shadow puppetry occupied an important place in rural entertainment in the Andhra country at least from the 13th century. All the instances refer to native puppeteers who, in many cases, were known by their profession - Bommalata *Vāḷḷu* - and sometimes carried it as their surname together with their family names. There are, however, later inscriptions of the 19th century which indicate a different set of non-Telugu people who had settled down in this part of the country and earned their livelihood by shadow-puppet performances.

One gets such information, curiously enough, from a Telangana inscription recovered from Guduru in Warangal district. It mentions the puppeteer's art and especially the name of "Sutradhari Kommajanaha, Baraha", indicating it is an inscription ordered to be written by Sutradhari Kommoji. Similarly, the Panugallu inscription contains references to another Sutradhari Brahmoju (or Brahmoji).

Some references in late-18th-century and early-19th-century inscriptions give names of non-Telugu performers like Kommoju and Brahmoju. Earlier puppeteers were of native origin and had established themselves as traditional puppeteers, hereditarily devoted to the art. The references to Kommoji and Brahmoji suggest that a second tradition had started with puppeteers of Maratha origin. These 'western' performers who spoke a dialect of Marathi, might have migrated with the Maratha kings of the Nayaka dynasty (17th century).

The *Āres* are known as *Āre Kāpus* in Andhra Pradesh, a name which suggests their assimilation into Telugu society. The *Āres* themselves prefer to be called Balijas or Balija Kshatriyas or Bondilis as they are called in Maharashtra. They were mostly itinerant, wandering nine months a year from village to village, staying at each place for a few days. In more recent times, however, they have settled down at different places, doing odd jobs. The villages where these puppeteers have settled range from Sringavarapukota in Vishakhapatnam district to Bommalatalapalli in Anantapur district. A group of about 40 *Āre* puppeteer families made Madhavapatnam near Kakinada their home in 1937. Families in southern Andhra Pradesh do not have a permanent home and are still itinerant.

The Andhra puppets are the largest multi-coloured puppets in India. The usual size of a puppet ranges between 5×3 to 6×3½ feet. There are even larger figures. A *gaṇiyam* or puppet box usually holds 100 puppets. These hundred-odd figures are used to present both Ramayana and Mahabharata stories. Some characters come in several sizes, according to the needs of the story. For example, there would be at least four figures of Hanuman in a *gaṇiyam* ranging from a small one of ½ × ½ foot size to a large one of 7×3½-feet size.

The head and body are held together with a bamboo stick so that the figure is stiff when held aloft against the screen. Since the puppet is coloured on both sides, it can be used both ways depending upon the direction of the head required to suit a scene, especially when the character is engaged in conversation.

A stage with a white screen is a prerequisite for a performance. Unlike string puppets, which are operated in front of a screen, leather puppets appear behind the screen. The entire manipulation also takes place behind the screen. The white screen - usually 8×6 feet (for larger performances, it would be 10×6 feet or even 12×8 feet) - is stretched and fixed to poles on all four sides. The screen has to be stretched tightly, without creases, to afford a clear view from the other side. Usually the curtain is about 1½' from the ground, which part is covered with black cloth.

For illumination, two lamps are placed a couple of feet behind the screen at a height of about six feet. In the old days a row of earthenware lamps was used, lit with castor oil. Now performers use petromax lamps, even electric lights. Care has to be taken to light up the screen uniformly so that the puppets glow uniformly on the screen. The old style of lighting achieved a more natural and uniform illumination while with the aid of petromax and electric bulbs, the light is less diffused and more concen- trated.

The manipulation of the puppets is intricate and subtle. The free-moving limbs have to be manipulated simultaneously; the one-piece figures without joints are more easily managed. The manipulation must achieve a stylized effect while retaining the realistic visual impact made by the puppet. The important thing is to achieve the right posture of the character concerned.

The 'text' the puppeteers use for their performance is not a written document. It is collected (and orally transmitted) from different sources at different times in the development of the art. For example, the Ramayana story is drawn from different written and oral texts. The narrative part comes from the *Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇam*. The text is chosen partly because of its conversational idiom, necessary for a theatre performance, and partly because of its musicality. The poems are taken from the *Molla Rāmāyaṇam* and the *daruvus* from the *Kucikonda Rāmāyanam*. The different components are put together appropriately in a performance. It is not known when these different textual elements came to be assimilated in Andhra puppetry. The puppeteers learn the text by rote.

Verbal improvisation mainly occurs during the humorous interludes which do not depend upon any text. Audiences eagerly await the arrival of the comic characters, Bangarakka and Kethigadu. Through these minor characters, the puppeteers bring relief to the serious tone of the story. There are duets specially written for these two characters who have become synonymous with folk humour in the Andhra country. They are recalled with delight by the spectators. In the old days the relative merits of puppeteers were decided on the basis of their improvisations with these comic characters.

Music is the soul of a puppet show. The dances, conversations, fights, descriptions, and even humorous episodes come to life through appropriate songs and poems, recited in the proper *rāga*.

A group consists of about eight performers, of whom two male and two female members are the manipulator-singers. Three instrumentalists accompany the songs on the harmonium, mridangam and cymbals. In southern Andhra Pradesh, the mukhavina is also used.

The shadow-puppet theatre was for long the chief entertainment of the village folk of Andhra Pradesh. The puppeteers practised the art professionally, and had no other source of livelihood. But things have changed in the last 70 or 80 years. The flourishing art of puppetry is now almost on the path of extinction.

Pagati Veshalu : *Pagaṭi Vēṣam* means role-playing during the daytime. While all the dramatic performances take place during the night, these 'veshalu' are performed during the day and have been popular for over two centuries. To hide one's identity and take up the role of another was a part of the espionage work in the old days. Used for spying, specially trained people changed their garb, their accent and their total personality to know the secrets of the enemy kings. Examples in history are abundant. Tanaji and his group of soliders entered the Simhgarh fort and conquered it in this way. Minister Yugandhara was victorious over the soldiers of Khusru Khan pretending to be an insane man.

But when this role-playing was taken as an art form, groups of itinerant performers appeared in the guise of caste leaders to satirize them and through them contemporary society. The orthodoxy of the Brahmin community was ridiculed in 'Somayaji - Somidevamma', the Pathan and his adamant nature in 'Pathan'. Similarly the fakir, the Budabukkala, the Satani Jiyyaru, the Bairagi - all these were chosen as different "veshalu" to comment upon contemporary happenings.

Historically speaking, one Pallavajjhula Venkataramaiah was said to have migrated from Mysore to Repalle and taught the art to several people. Later on, the art was patronised by Gaddipadu Bhagavathulu. In Gaddipadu several Bhagavatha families learnt the art and performed it. Later on the Kuchipudi Bhagavathulu and also great artists like Sunnam Veeraiah outside Kuchipudi brought this into forefront.

The most important aspect of these daytime performances is that not only the costume of the realistic people that are being shown in the performance, but their language, their dialect, their accent and their entire personality are to be imitated.

The Kuchipudi performers are adept in diverse 'Veshalu'. Pasumarti Seshayya, Hari Laxminarayana, Vedantam Venkateswarlu, Pasumarti Anjaiah and several others have achieved considerable expertise in the art. Vibhuti Bhavani Lingam is a leading performer of this art.

OTHER FORMS

Besides the musical, dance and theatre forms, there are several others which have been closely associated with folk life. Among these are skills such as *kathi sāmu* and *karra sāmu*. Some others are closely linked with certain rituals. *Dāsari Bhajana* and *Bāla Santhu* are such forms. Still others are related to the people's beliefs. *Buḍabukkala* and *Sōdi* are two such. In the former one the male fortune-teller moves round the village, singing and playing on his 'bud-buduk' and in the latter the female fortune-teller predicts the future by invoking several goddesses.

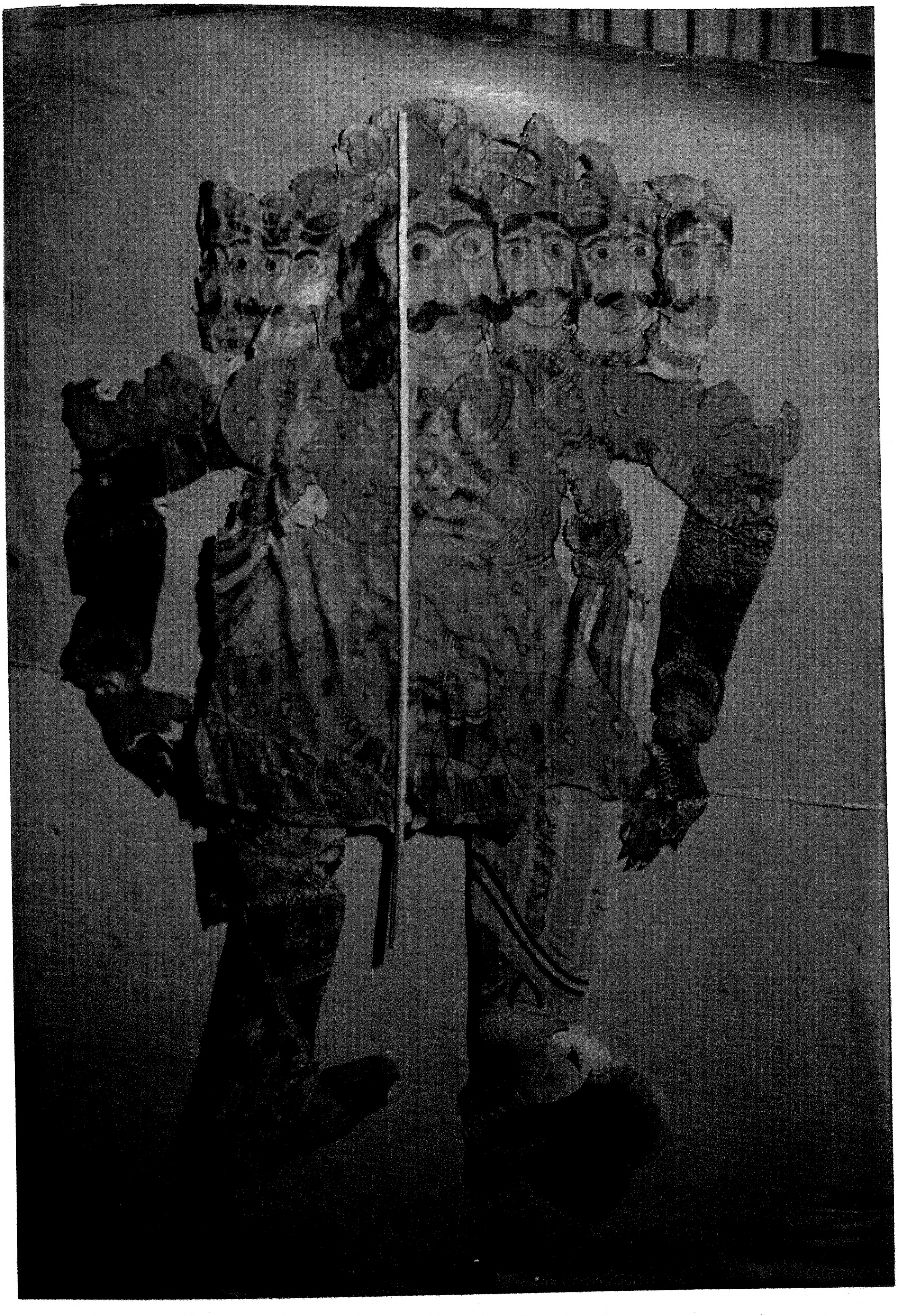
Dasari Bhajana : 'Dasari' is not a caste name. It is the Telugu equivalent of the Sanksrit word *dāsa* which means a person who has totally surrendered himself to God. The devotees of Vishnu who are wandering minstrels and who sing *kīrtans* on Him are called dasaris. As opposed to the Jangams who sing Saiva songs, dasaris are Vaishnava singers.

The large number of dasaris, in later years, are demarcated either by the caste or the instrument associated with the bhajan: Golla dasari, Mala dasari, Balije dasari, etc. are examples of the first variety and thambura dasari, ganta dasari, jeganta dasari, chapa dasari, kommu dasari etc. are of the latter variety.

A *bhāvarāsi* (copper utensil used for holding rice and other millets), a *tulasi māla*, a pair of *ciratalu*, tambura across his shoulders, a *śankhu* (conch) and occasionally a *gaṇta* (bell) and a *dīpa stambha* (a light stand with 'garuda' image on the top) and *gajjelu* (ankle bells) form his costume. A long red-coloured 'tirunamam' indicates Vaishnava mark on his forehead.

The songs are usually in praise of the Vaishnava gods of the Telugu land (Yadagiri Narasimha, Bhadradri Rama, etc.). They are especially seen during the festive occasions of Sankranti and Dasara. Some of them participate in Bhagavata performances also. They used to go in groups to other villages and perform *bhajans* throughout a night or seven nights (*saptāham*) at a stretch.

Bala Santu : 'Bala Santhus' belong to the "budige jangam" caste. They are 'Saiva' minstrels, singing the story of 'Lava-Kusa' from *Uttara Rāmāyaṇa*, and their appearance is usually considered a good omen. It is especially so when a woman begets a child. The Bala Santhus bless sterile women to bear children and mothers for the long life of their children.



Tōlu bomma (Leather Puppet)

The Bala Santhu's costume is of particular interest. His make-up resembles that of a devout *Jangam* with 'vibhuti' smeared on his forehead and his shoulders, and with a large 'kumkum' mark. He also wears a 'Perini bontha', a quilt made of different colours and multiple designs which he adorns in front of him, hanging. He has a bell and a conch to announce his presence, the bell usually suggesting his presence in the village and the conch when he approaches a particular house. They sing songs in praise of Siva. They narrate an episode prevalent in regional circulation of the story of Laxmana visiting Sita and her children to the accompaniment of the bell and the conch.

It is customary in Telangana areas to invite and honour a Bala Santhu on the day on which the newly born child is named. He touches the baby and blesses it, singing songs from *Uttara Ramayanam*. Legend goes that Laxmana went to see Sita in this guise, when she gave birth to Kusa and Lava. His blessing the child, according to popular belief, brings good health and prosperity to it.

The Bala Santhus are also mendicants and astrologers.

Budabukkala : *Buḍabuḍakala* or *Buḍa bukkala* is a name given to those Bondili Kshatriyas who play on a small *ḍamaruka* giving the sound of 'bud buduk'. They tour villages and wake up people early in the morning with their instrument and their singing. They are fortune-tellers and it is commonly believed that their stay and their visiting the houses bring happiness. "Amba Paluku, Jagadamba Paluku" is the refrain of their songs. They claim that they have the blessings of Bhetala, the god of the crematorium and know the language of the birds. The claim is far-fetched, though that brings an authenticity to their fortune-telling. They wear a black coat and also several clothes on them and always carry an umbrella. Their fearsome appearance tantalises the village folk.

Both the Pagati Veshagallu and IPTA (Indian People's Theatre Association) have exploited the form to bring it to contemporary use. Kuchipudi's Pagati Veshalu, a series of role-playing performances start with 'Buda Bukkala Vesham (role)'.

On the last day of the tour of a village, the buda-bukkala fortune-tellers go to each house in the village begging alms and clothes.

Pittala Dora (Or Latkor Sab) : *Piṭṭala Dora* in coastal Andhra and *Latkōr Sāb* or *Buddēr Khān* in Telangana are similar both in costume and presentation. It is a form of pure fun in which a man dressed in imitation of a Britisher *(sāb* or *dora)* of yester years, boasts of his exploits by exaggerating and by promising things of impossible nature.

With Khaki trouser (folded upto knees) and a Khaki shirt, french-cut moustache, a hat and a wooden gun in his hand, this man is a veritable fun-maker, touring the villages and collecting alms.

This form has been exploited by Andhra Praja Natya Mandali to condemn the British rule during the 1943 agitation.

Sodi : *Sōdi* means fortune telling, especially by professional women. Also known as 'erukatha', the female fortune-teller is a popular figure in classical poetry and the Yakshagana literature of the 18th and 19th centuries. The 'Sodi' people who are engaged in the profession, are nomads and are divided into 18 tribal sects.

These tribes, again sub-divided into several clans (gothrams), are followers of both Vaishnavism and Saivism. But all the fortune-tellers invoke Mother Goddess, both while prophesying and in their daily life. They invoke several manifestations of the mother goddess such as Bezawada Kanakadurgamma, Kanchi Kamakshi, Madhura Meenakshi and Kolhapur Mahalakshmi, all of them being presiding deities of pilgrim centres.

Besides their costume which suggests their tribal ancestry, they carry a brass plate with the image of the Kolhapur goddess in it and occasionally an old manuscript of palm leaves.

The 'sodi' women also give medicinal herbs for sterility and to ward off evil spirits.

The 'sodi' women of Rayalaseema narrate short ballads on local heroes to the accompaniment of a kinnera, looking like an *ek tāra*.

Karra Samu (Stick fight) : The earliest weapon for man is a stick. To protect himself and to protect the land, the early soldier used it very effectively. But when more dangerous weapons replaced this age-old one, it remained a human skill and is performed during festivals and marriages. The 'samu' is done either with one stick in the right hand or two sticks in both the hands.

The minimum training for 'karra samu' will be for eight years which involves body building along with the several stages ('varasa') of defence and offence. Skilled fighters often fight with five opponents at a time and it needs great expertise. This is prevalent even today among Harijan families in the coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh where the fighters show their skill when the dappu is played as an accompanying and enthusing instrument.

Katti Samu (Sword fight) : *Katti sāmu* was a part of military training in the ancient days when sword was the most common weapon. But today it remains only as a skill in which several 'tricks' are shown. The tricks include breaking a coconut kept on the stomach of a person without hurting him, keeping a boy on a plantain trunk, cutting the trunk into several parts without the boy falling down and breaking a needle placed on the forehead of a person into even halves. This needs a great skill and perfection.

TRIBAL LORE

Andhra Pradesh, with 41.99 lakh population of scheduled tribes, has the largest tribal concentration in South India. The tribes of Andhra Pradesh, whether they dwell in the forest-hilly regions or on the plains, represent a fascinating diversity, with their variegated socio-cultural traditions,multiple occupations and diverse linguistic heritage. There are 33 tribes in the state and they can be classified into different groups on the basis of their geo-ethnic identity:

TRIBAL REGIONS

1. Savara-Khond-Bagatha region : the tribal areas of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram regions. The tribes that live in this region are: Savara, Khond, Jatapu, Konda Dora, Gadaba, Manne Dora and Mukha Dora. The Savaras and Khonds are the most predominant ones in this area.

In the Visakhapatnam district, in and around the Araku Valley, inhabit the Bagatha, Mukha Dora, Gouda, Kotia, Konda Dora, Manne Dora, Reddi Dora, Porja, Mali, Gadaba, Kammara Mulia and Khond tribes. The Bagathas are the most predominant in this region.

2. Koya-Kondareddi region : the tribal areas of East and West Godavari districts, Karimnagar, Khammam and Warangal districts. Koya, Konda Reddi and Naikpod tribes inhabit this region.

3. Gond-Kolam region : the tribal areas of Adilabad district. The tribal population of the region is divided into Raj Gond, Pradhan, Thoti, Kolam, Naikpod and Andh. The Raj Gonds are the most numerous.

4. Chenchu region : The tribal areas of Guntur, Prakasam, Kurnool, Nalgonda and Mahabubnagar districts.

5. The Plains : Areas of habitation of Yanadis, Yerukulas and Banjaras or Lambadis. These are spread all over Andhra, though the concentration of Banjaras is more in Telangana and Rayalaseema areas and that of Yanadis in the Andhra region.

The tribal regions in Andhra Pradesh fall under the Central-Southern Tribal region and identical tribes are found in adjoining areas of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. This region is rich in forests and the tribals have been living harmoniously with the nature around them. The symbiotic relationship between the tribals and the natural surroundings around them - the hills and the forests - is held in great regard by every tribal.

Unlike the social structure of the caste groups, the tribal's social organization is generally based on totemic clans. Many tribal groups claim their ancestry to certain species of natural phenomenon or to some inanimate objects or to an animal or bird found in the area. These objects are often called totems and the belief in them is totemism. These totemic objects are considered sacred. Killing them or eating their flesh is considered sacrilegious. If the totemic objects, especially animals die, those clans who worship them, observe such rituals as they do for their kith and kin. The totem clans are found in Jatapus of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts, in all the 15 tribal groups of Visakhapatnam district, in Koyas of the Godavari basin, and in Kolams, Pradhans, Thotis and Gonds of Adilabad district.

For example, the totem clans of Koyas are: Murram (Tortoise), Turam(cat), Kurasam (wild goat), Madakam (a kind of fish) and Korsa (also tortoise). Each clan member prefixed the name of his totem object as his surname.

In some tribal organizations, the totemic clans are further aligned on the basis of exogamus phratries. The totemic objects - especially animate objects like animals and trees - are regarded sacred by each phratry and killing such animals or felling such trees is a taboo. Such phratries can be seen in the Kolams and Gonds of Adilabad district.

Similarly, the tribals have great regard for the trees which provide them sustenance. They do not eat fresh fruit unless the new crop is offered to their deities. An interesting ritual in the Kolams and Gonds is related to the mango harvesting: the ceremonial eating of mango fruit is preceded by the celebration of a ritualistic marriage to a mango tree.

Along with the harvesting festivals which include "Mamidikotha Pandaga" , "Korra Pandaga", etc., there are rituals concerning the tribal deities.

For example, the Savaras worship the following Gods and Goddesses:

1. Janamgo or Jakara Devata (Village deity) 2. Barubuoy (Hill deity) 3. Yongubuoy (Goddess of small-pox) 4. Gusadabuoy (Village boundary goddess) 5. Mundadabuoy (Household deity) 6. Jamudubuoy (Goddess of fertility). Besides, there are new-fruit-eating-festival (Agava Pandaga), seed charming festival (kill jas) and hair-tonsuring festival (jamjumjal). In many cases, the temple is a simple thatched shed with a symbol of a deity, made usually with bamboo or wood, hung to it. The tribals celebrate all their festivals, both religious and social, with great joy and participation.

In almost all the tribal groups marriages are of several varieties, the commonest among them being "marriages by consent", in which the parents of both the girl and the boy agree for the match. However, marriage by love and elopement, marriage by capture and marriage by servitude are not uncommon. In almost all cases it is the groom that should pay a bride price (voli) to the bride's parents. Divorces are common in some tribes, but the decision usually rests with village councils and the person who seeks divorce should pay compensation to the other party.

TRIBAL ECONOMY

The tribal communities of Andhra Pradesh indulge in the following economic activities. Some tribes follow any one of the following activities, but many undertake two or more kinds in the same economic year.

1. Food-gathering : hunting, fishing,food collection including minor forest produce 2. Pastoralism 3. Shifting cultivation 4. Settled cultivation 5. Artisan 6. Industrial labour. The last mentioned activity is of relatively recent origin, whereas the others are age-old practices. Some of the tribes which follow the above activities may be mentioned here:

1. Food collection, Hunting and Fishing : Chenchus are hunter-gatherers. The Yanadis are traditional inland fishermen and rodent catchers.

2. Pastorals : Lambadas and Goudus are mainly pastorals and they largely subsist by rearing cattle, selling milk and milk products. All other tribal groups of Andhra Pradesgh domesticate cattle but mainly for agriculture purposes.

3. Shifting Cultivation : Shifting cultivation is very largely prevalent among the tribals all over the world, especially to cultivate lands on mountainous slopes. Savaras, Jatapus,Khonds, Konda Doras, Kotias, Bagathas, Porjas, Gadabas and Konda Reddis resort to shifting cultivation (Podu).

4. Settled Cultivation : Though many forest tribes are taking to settled cultivation through the incentives provided by the government, the traditional settled cultivators are only the Bagathas of Visakhapatnam district. Others like Reddi Doras, Koyas and Gonds living in plains also take to settled cultivation.

5. Artisan : There is only one tribal group that is classified as artisan community. That is the Kammara community which undertakes blacksmithy as its profession. Though not classified as such, a particular endogamous group among Lambadis - the Sonar Lambadis - are expert goldsmiths. The women folk among them are expert garment makers with attractive colours and embroidery. The manufacture of baskets is being undertaken by Porjas, Koyas, Konda Reddis, Chenchus, Kolams and Yerukulas.

6. Industrial Labour : Of late some of the tribals in the industrial belt of Khammam, Adilabad, Karimnagar and Visakhapatnam are recruited as industrial and mining labour. Many of them are also agricultural labour.

Legend and History of some Tribal Kingdoms

The religious texts in Sanskrit and Telugu are replete with references to various forest-living tribes. Kiratas and Nishadas are mentioned in *Ṛg Vēda*. Andhra, in fact, was referred to as a tribe in *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*. All the Telugus are believed to be the progeny of this ancient tribe. 'Andh', a tribe now inhabiting the Adilabad district, is supposed to be the direct descendent of the earlier 'Andhra' tribe. Some of the tribal kingdoms mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, like Janasthana, Kishkindha and Dandakaranya, are believed to be parts of Andhra Pradesh. The temple town of Bhadrachalam and places around it have for a long time been associated with Rama's wanderings in the Dandakaranya and the places are worshipped with reverence.

Savaras, the tribal people of the Srikakulam district, are considered to be the descendents of Sabaras, an ancient tribe mentioned in *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Sabari who offered Rama fruits after tasting them, is a Savara woman. Similarly, the Savara tribe is mentioned several times in the *Mahābhārata*.

There are many instances in the epics and puranas to show that, at a particular point of time, the tribals were invited and amalgamated into the Vedic dharma. The 'savage' who later became the greatest poet, Valmiki, was an instance of such amalgamation. Kannappa, whose devotion for Siva was proverbial, is honoured even to day at the Kalahasti temple where his idol stands as a memory of his undaunted courage and *bhakti*.

The Chenchus have a unique place in the history of Telugu cultural life. They are closely associated with both Saivism and Vaishnavism. At Srisailam, they are entitled to free and direct access to the *sanctum sanctorum*. Lord Mallikarjuna is popularly known as 'Chenchu Mallaiah'. Similarly they claim equal affinity with Vaishnavism, and celebrate the wedding of Chenchu Laxmi with Lord Narasimha, an incarnation of Vishnu.

This acculturation did not confine to religious beliefs alone. The social structure of the Hindus and its influence on that of many tribal groups. Some of the powerful tribal groups assumed the titles of Kshatriyas to establish hegemony over the other groups. Gonds became Raj Gonds and Konda Reddis became Racha Reddis. Bagathas, Mukha Doras and Konda Doras suffixed their names with the title 'Raju'(King).

Raj Gonds were rulers of Gondwana, not only in the areas of Warangal and Adilabad, but even in the neighbouring areas of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. Similarly, Savaras established small kingdoms in the northern part of Andhra, along with areas now in Orissa. The Srikurmam temple in Srikakulam district was patronised by them. The other princely tribes like Mukha Dora, Konda Dora and Konda Reddi also ruled sizeable areas in Srikakulam and Godavari districts.

Religious rituals and Festivals

Religion and its observance are inextricably woven into the life-pattern of all the tribal people. Rituals of religious and social nature condition most of the activities of their life. They believe in the existence of innumerable spirits and deities and diseases, death and misfortunes are usually attributed to the work of evil spirits and neglected deities. Every tribe adopts magico-religious practices for curing diseases, besides celebrating certain rituals in honour of the goddess of a particular disease. Similarly several tribes celebrate the harvest by offering new grain, fruit,etc. to their gods and goddesses before they consume them. Ancestral worship forms an important part of all tribal communities. The ancestral spirits are invoked both at times of birth of a new child and the death of kith and kin. Draupadi is the deity of many tribes both in Adilabad district and in the districts of East and West Godavari. Sri Rama is worshipped by the Koyas. Narasimha and Siva are worshipped by the Chenchus. Most of the Narasimha swami temples are situated on the hills in the heart of forests and, besides religious beliefs, there are anthropological reasons for making the lion-man their deity.

A study of the worship of the numerous gods and goddesses of various communities will help us to understand the deeper psyche of these people. For example, the Savaras worship many gods and goddesses. They have a clan deity ('Jataka Devata'), a hill deity ('Barubuoy'), a boundary goddess ('Gusadabuoy'), a household deity ('Mundadabuoy'),a goddess of fertility ('Jamudubuoy'), and a goddess of small pox ('Yongubuoy'). There are celebrations in honour of all these deities, besides other social festivals. Among the latter, the new fruit-eating festival (agawa pandaga), seed-charming festival (kil jas) and hair-tonsuring ceremony (jamjumjal) are the most prominent.

The Khonds, also called the Samanthas, are divided into a number of clans and each clan has a clan deity. They have a village deity ('Jakari penu'), deity of the house ('Illupenu'), besides deities of the mountains, streams, of forests, of rains and of diseases. Their festivals, at one time notorious for human and animal sacrifice, also include the worshipping rituals of Hire Parbu, Maha Parbu, Jananga Parbu, etc. A priest, called 'dasari', officiates at the life-cycle ceremonies.

Gadabas believe in spirits and also in transmigration of souls. Thus ancestor-worship predominates their religious festivals.

Similarly, for all the tribes in the Visakhapatnam district, ancestral worship is very sacred. These spirits, called 'dumba',are invoked and revered. All these tribes (except the Samanthas) have a common pantheon of gods and goddesses, each presiding over a particular sphere of life. 'Pedda-demudu Pandaga', 'Bhima-devudi Pandaga', 'Mankamma devi Pandaga', 'Ganga devudu Pandaga', and 'Nandi-devudu Pandaga', are the rituals associated with religion. Different harvesting times are celebrated. 'Mamidi Kotha', 'Korra-sama Kotha' and 'Chikkudu Kotha' are such festivals when men and women join in revelry. Chitra Parbo or Itila Panduga is the hunting ceremony which goes on for five days and includes the invoking of Nishan devata for a good hunt.

Koyas of the Godavari basin worship Mamili, Komalamma, Korraju (Korra raju) and Potharaju, the deities of harvesting, diseases, crops and village protection respectively. They worship Bhima Devudu as their supreme deity. Different religious functionaries are assigned duities during the rituals. Mamili Kolupu and Kondala Kolupu are celebrated with great pomp and gaiety. Their most celebrated festival is that of Sammakka-Saralamma Jatara, held once in two years, in honour of two sisters who committed Sati. This is celebrated at Medaram village in Warangal district when more than 2 million people worship the deities with great devotion. All of them are also great devotees of Sri Rama.

Konda Reddis celebrate festivals of life-cycle and harvest cycle with great involvement. Mamidi Kotha, Bhudevi Pandaga, Gangamma Pandaga, Vana Devudu Pandaga are some belonging to the harvest cycle, whereas rituals in honour of Mutyalamma, Pandavulu and Guntamma are celebrated with serenity and pomp. They believe in sorcery and black magic and so the 'Veju" (Magician-doctor) wields great respect in all Konda Reddi clans.

For the Naikpods who believe that they are the progeny of the Pandavas, the latter occupy an important place in their pantheon. Their supreme deity is Laxmi Devara and the festival in her honour is celebrated for a whole month. Peddamma is the deity invoked on occasions when diseases and epidemics encounter them.

Gonds have innumerable gods and goddesses in addition to the three main deities - Shamu Mahadeo, Pahandikupar Lingal and Jangubai. Each phratry has a clan god (Parsa pen - 'pen' means 'god') and two festivals are celebrated in honour of the clan god, in April-May and December-January. Other important deities of the Gonds are Akipen (village deity), Nat Awal (village mother), Siva Awal or Dasuri Awal (mother goddess, distinguished from the earlier one), Polam Rajul (gods of the forests) and Gauri pen (goddess of tiger). 'Nowon' (first-crop ceremony or the harvest festival) is celebrated in honour of Akipen. All the Gond clans participate in a number of common festivals, the most important among them being the one in honour of Nagoba at Keslapur.

Lord Bhima or Bhimayyak is the major deity of the Kolam tribe. The village deity, Nandidiyamma, is invariably found in the centre of every Kolam settlement. They also worship Sital Devi, Idumula Devi (Hidimbi), Potharaju and Jangubai. 'Bhimanayak Lagna', the marriage of Bhima with Hidinbi, is an important religious festival. Besides, they have seasonal festivals like 'Pokke Kotta Pandaga' (eating of Mohwa flowers), 'Mondos' (new year festival) and 'Kothala Pandaga' (eating of new food grains).

The Chenchus, who live in and around the Nallamalai forests, worship both Siva and Narasimha. They are entitled to customary shares from the revenues of Srisailam, Mahanandi and Ahobilam temples and are hereditary participants in temple rituals.

The Banjaras or Lambadas believe in spirits, both benign and malignant. These spirits are appeased through festivals. The Seetala Festival, which is celebrated to propitiate the deities of disease (seven types of diseases with seven presiding, malignant deities, Seetala being the youngest of them),is the most widely performed one. The worship of Tulja Bhavani (of Kolhapur) is another major festival. As they are expert cattle breeders, they worship Seva Bhaya and Mathral, the presiding deities of cattle very reverentially. They also hold festivities honouring several Satis. Similarly they worship Hindu gods like Rama and Venkateswara (as Balaji). They also worship another deity, Lankadiya.

For the Yerukula tribe, Ellamma is the supreme Mother-Goddess. They also worship Pochamma, the goddess of small-pox and Balamma and Mahalaxmi, the goddesses of epidemics.

It is thus apparent that almost all the tribes celebrate rituals concerning their environment (forest,river,hill,etc.) their professions (cattle,sheep,etc.) their harvesting (mamidi katha, Ugadi, Korra kotha, etc.) and their protective gods (Mamili, Potharaju, Persa pen, etc.) Though they also participate in Hindu festivals like Sivaratri, Narasimha Jayanti, Ramanavami, etc., they reverentially worship their gods. In fact, the rituals they perform for malignant gods and goddesses are more important than those for the benevolent gods. Many of these festivals and rituals have come down into the folk tradition. The Mango festival celebrated by the tribes of Eastern ghats became the New Year Day (Ugadi) for the lowland people. In the farms of the villages in the plains animals are offered to the deity before the Pongal and the remnants are buried in the fields. This ceremony has its roots in the tribal celebration of 'Rajula pandaga' (the anthropomorphic kings of the forest) celebrated by numerous tribal communities. The ritual worship offered by the new mother to the water deities has its roots in the tribal concept of anthropomorphic virgins who are water deities. The visible forms of these deities are frog, crab, fish,etc.

TRIBAL ARTS

MUSIC

Songs, ballads and dances play a significant role in the festive-ridden tribal societies. The Konda Reddis have special tunes matching dances, hence maintain a specific style. In their songs, both the Bagathas and Konda Doras seem to have been influenced by the folk traditions. Their dances are accompanied by the orchestra provided by the Porja tribal community, some of whom were court musicians in the courts of the sorrounding Zamindars of Jeypore, Madugula,etc. The Valmikis are folk singers without any matching games. The Savaras have a variety of songs pertaining to their daily life. Their festive songs are accompanied by a large variety of instruments. The Pradhans and the Thotis, who serve as bards to the Gonds, play on the kingri when they narrate the clan histories of the Gonds. The Lambadis are full of melodious songs for all occasions. Their Holi songs are sung to the clapping of hands. Music and festivities go hand in hand with the tribals.

A diverse variety can be seen among the songs sung by the tribals. Among Konda Reddis alone there are "Lollosi" - humorous songs; "Achukodalu" - marriage songs, "Uyyala"- sing-song songs and "ala"- songs during work. All these songs are very rich in internalising nature.

BALLADS

While songs reflect their moods during festive and social occasions, ballads reveal the world-view of the tribals as folk ballads more often do not. For example, Visakha tribes have a ballad called 'Nandipadam', a tribal version of the Mahabharata, sung during the fertility rites. It describes the progress of the Pandavas from 'Nature to culture', i.e. from their progress from food-gathering to agriculture. But, surprisingly, the ballad concludes that the Pandavas have not yet succeeded in 'defeating' the Kauravas. As the tribals identify themselves with the Pandavas and believe that they are their descendents and identify the lowland people with the Kauravas, they inadvertently suggest that they could not still come over the 'tricky' Kauravas. A popular proverb is that (an outcome of their point of view) says that the harvest of the Pandavas becomes the feast of the Kauravas (Pancha Pandavula Vanta - Duryodhanudi Panta).

The Thotis of Adilabad district are also the clan singers for the Gonds. The singers are popularly called "Pandavula Vallu", who narrate the Mahabharata story in 40 nights. Bhima is their hero-god whose exploits make up for half of the ballad cycle. His experiences in clearing the wasteland, his sowing and his harvesting and his marriage - all are sung with great enthusiasm.

Another ballad sung by women in the Visakha uplands, "Mala Ganga Pendli" (marriage of the untouchable, Ganga), criticises both the tribal puritan order which excommunicates their community members if they indulge in inter-caste marriages and the lowland people's permissive mechanism (they can keep an upland woman as a concubine). Madamma who, after a long hesitation, accepts her son who loved an untouchable girl of the Valmiki tribe (which is against the Konda Reddi tradition to which tribe she belongs) and performs their wedding, is worshipped today both by Konda Reddis and Valmikis with great jubilation.

On the other hand, the song of Gangalamma, sung by the East Godavari tribes, is the tragic story of a young girl who sacrificed herself when she was captured by force by a neighbouring king. Ganga, according to the story, is a beautiful girl. The king, who comes into the forests hunting, sees her and is tempted to have her. "When the Rampa King stretched his hands, the entire kingdom has toppled (just like water in a pot)", since "the temptation towards the beautiful and rich is irresistible". But when the King demands that she should yield, Ganga declines. No one dares to rescure her. Ganga, "dispersing her beauties to nature" curses that no girl with beauty be born among the unprotected tribals and immolates herself.

All these ballads, besides reflecting the experiences of the trtibes of their day-to-day life, reveal their responses to the world outside them and provide a succinct comment on their psychological and sociological thinking.

DANCES

Dance is a necessary adjunct of all religious and social functions of the tribal people. The tribal dances are known for their simplicity, grace, vigour and variety. They denote not only the participation of the entire community in the celebration of a particular event, but also reflects how recreation is made part of ritual festivity. Most of these dances are mimetic in nature.

Dandari dance : Dandari is a dance performed by Gond men on the full-moon day (Pournima) in the month of Ashadha. On this auspicious day the cattle are taken into the shrine of the forest deity, Rajul Pen. In front of the shrine, an image of the tiger, the wild beast who eats the cattle, is drawn with turmeric powder. A long line of about a hundred feet is also drawn from the open mouth of the tiger. The cattle are taken along the line into the shrine with the belief that the deity will protect the cattle from tigers. They return to the shrine of the village deity, Aki Pen, and start invoking Akadi pen, the presiding deity of music, by placing all their instruments, before the shrine. The rhythmic beat of the drums initiate the dance.

The instruments used are dappu, gumela, dhol, wettle and phara, all percussion instruments and a small shehnai called 'pepri' and khalikolam, a brass instrument which produces a jingle sound. The same dance has several variations when they are played during Deevali, the harvest festival and marriage rituals. On festive occasions, the male Dandari dancers confronted by Gusadi dancers play hide and seek to the merriment of the entire tribe.

The Raj Gonds perform another dance, called 'Demsa' in which both male and female members participate. Sometimes the male members attire themselves as females. The women form an outer circle, sing songs to the rhythm of the dance. This is performed especially during marriage ceremonies.

Mayura dance : The Mayura dance is performed by Samantha (Khond) men during marriage ceremonies. It is a dance depicting the entire marital ceremony in a sequential order followed by the girl's elopement with another man, divorcing her husband. The dance is in fact an enactment of these events.

The dance gets its name from the king of the forest birds, the peacock, which represents the youth. The male dancers sit in a circle when the invocation to Mother Goddess is sung. They then slowly get up and jump, crying like wild peacocks. They stand in two rows and spread the long tufts of peacock feathers tucked into their waist band. They start dancing moving to the left and right as a peacock would do.

Dimsa dance of Araku valley : The dance common to all the tribes of Visakhapatnam is the Dimsa dance. It is an ensemble dance in which the rich and the poor, the young and the old participate, especially during the Chaitra festival. Danced to the accompaniment of mori, kiridi, tudumu and dappu, it depicts the happy occasion of the joining of the bride with the bride-groom. It has several parts in which both male and female dancers participate. Gunderi, Goddi-Beta, Pothar-Tola, Bodo, Natikari, Khunda, and Bhag are the various stages of this dance sequence. Though tribal dances are all usually group dances, Natikari is the one exception. This is a solo dance sequence performed only by a Valmiki youth during the Diwali festival.

Peramakok Ata or Bison-Horn Dance : The Koyas perform this virile dance during the Bhudevi Pandaga, celebrating the successful return of the men from a hunting expedition. They put on bison horns and a peacock feather on their heads and wear colourful dress. As they dance, they sing in praise of Mutyalamma, Gangalamma, Bhudevi and other hill deities. The women sing the songs ending with a refrain 'rela rela re...', 'rela' or 'relli, being a small plant under which, as the legend goes, the ancestor of the Koyas was born. While women folk sing the songs and dance around the men, the men in bison horns collide with each other like bisons, with jumps and rhythmic movements.

Mamidikotha Dance : This dance performed by Konda Reddis and Koyas, to the accompaniment of two drums and a wood bean, the former played by men and the latter by women, is a harvest dance. Surging and retreating, gliding sideways and jumping and moving in an anti-clock-wise direction are the common steps in this dance.

Nandālāṭalu (festival dances) and *Gummalāṭalu* (marriage dances) are popular among the Konda Reddis. Many variations in a general frame-work are allowed in both these types.

Trance dances are popular both in Chenchus during their worship of Potamma and Ammavaru and in Gadabas during the ritual worship of their tutelary goddess called Thakur Rani mata. The Lambadis perform dancess around a fire on full-moon nights, resembling the hunting dances. Their 'Holi' dances are related to the story of Kama and Rati. With their colourful costumes and variety of ornaments, their slowly punctuated movements and postures, the Lambadi women bring rhythmic grace to the occasion.

Another immigrant tribe, the Mathuris, perform an all-female dance called after their tribe, the Mathuri dance. Accompanied by songs in praise of Omkar, it resembles the 'Ras' of Gujarat.

An interesting dance form lies with a small, but rare, tribe called the Siddis who are African in origin and reside only in Hyderabad. They speak a mixture of archaic Gujarati and Arabic. But their dance has resemblances to their original African character. They are specially noted for their sword-dance called 'Dhumal'. This is almost extinct now.

The folk tales narrated by Pradhan women, the tattoo designing of the Thoti women, the sooth-sayings of the Yeruka women and the acrobatic feats of the Dommara women are a part of the rich variety of other tribal art forms which lay hidden in the otherwise hard lives of these people. The Savaras have mastered wall drawings called 'Ittalmaran.' This design on the interior walls, drawn by the village priest, Vejju, forms the background of all rituals in a Savara house. Any person in difficulties vows to get a sacred design drawn on the wall of his house and performs regular ceremonies. He even worships the design, offering it new food grains, vegetables, etc.

There are very few theatrical forms among the tribals, for theatre involves a greater reliance on the text and the tribals have not developed any consciously created work. There are but a couple of exceptions. One is the Chenchu's theatrical form in which they show their own tribal daughter Chenchu Laxmi's wedding with Narasimha. The Chenchus of Sri Sailam forests perform this play, "Chenchu Laxmi" during the Narasimha Jayanthi festival. Another theatrical form is 'Bhagavatham', developed by the Yanadi community. Their repertoire consists of both Ramayana and Mahabharata episodes. In many parts of Krishna, Guntur and Prakasam districts, this Bhagavatham is still performed.

Thus all the songs, dances and dramas, designs, acrobatics and mimetic performances are a part of the religio-social life pattern of the tribal people, intricately woven into their life-cycle.

SOCIETY AND RELIGION

SOCIETY AND RELIGION

SOCIETY

The river valleys of Andhra had been the abode of Man from time immemorial, as is evidenced by the relics of burials, residences and tools discovered at various places. Until the Neo-lithic Age, he lived on hunting and food-gathering. There could not have been an organized society at this time. Only after he stepped into the Neo-lithic Age did Man begin living in organized settlements, with a semblance of agricultural activity. As the male member of the family played an imporatant part both in agricultural activities and in providing security to his property in settlements, patriarchy replaced the earlier system of matriarchy. The way of life in the pre-historic times can be gleaned through a study of the tribal life since several tribes living in hills and forests retained their age-old customs and styles of living uninterruptedly till recent times. The way of life of the people of the plains, on the other hand, had undergone many changes in the long course of history. However, they have retained, to some extent, the customs and beliefs of their primitive existence. For example, cross-cousin marriages, which are peculiar to Andhra, are a legacy of the past. They were so prevalent in the area that the later-day law-givers like Apasthamba and Bodhayana had to bestow on that custom a *dhārmic* sanction.

Aryan immigrants seem to have arrived on the scene during the Mega-lithic period. Notwithstanding sporadic conflicts, the Aryans appear to have merged with local people amicably. Even by that time, the society was an admixture of several races and tribes. One can find the Nordic, Mediterranean and Alpine types of the Caucasoid race, the Austroloids and Mongoloids among the tribes that inhabited the area. 'Naga' (also meaning 'serpent') was a general term applied to the people of the plains at that time. The Nagas are believed to be a warrior race. Popular legends narrate that serpents are the gaurdians of hidden treasures. The Mauryan emperor, Mahapadmananda, is said to have appointed the Nagas as the custodians of his treasures hidden in the river valleys of this area. When Buddhism came to Andhra, the Nagas accepted the new religion. The Buddhist lore which describes Nagas like Muchilinda as having offered protection to the Buddha from the hostile conditions of the weather may be containing allegorical references to the Nagas' acceptance of Buddhism.

Even during the first millennium B.C. new directions in social and economic activity had set in. Though agriculture was still the main occupation, the prosperity achieved through it had led to trading. In order to protect the economic interests larger communities were formed and a protective social-structure was developed with *gotti* as the central organizing unit of the economic activity, headed by an able representative ('pramukha'), references to which are found in a prakrit inscription of the 3rd c. B.C. found at Bhattiprolu. As the rivers served as the main trade routes, fortified towns with military guard came up along the banks of the rivers. Though towns were independent units of administration, they were united in protecting the interests of the Andhra land. Megasthanes, the Greek ambassador to the Mauryan court, made a mention of thirty such towns that existed during his time and also described the military strength of these fortified towns.

The prevalent administrative system was largely 'republican' in nature and was run by elected leaders, called pramukhs. It was only during the Mauryan period that the institution of kingship seems to have emerged.

As the needs of family and society increased, pottery, making of agricultural implements and tools offered diversification of occupations. Similarly the commecial activity prompted some to take up new professions like trading and providing protection to men and materials.

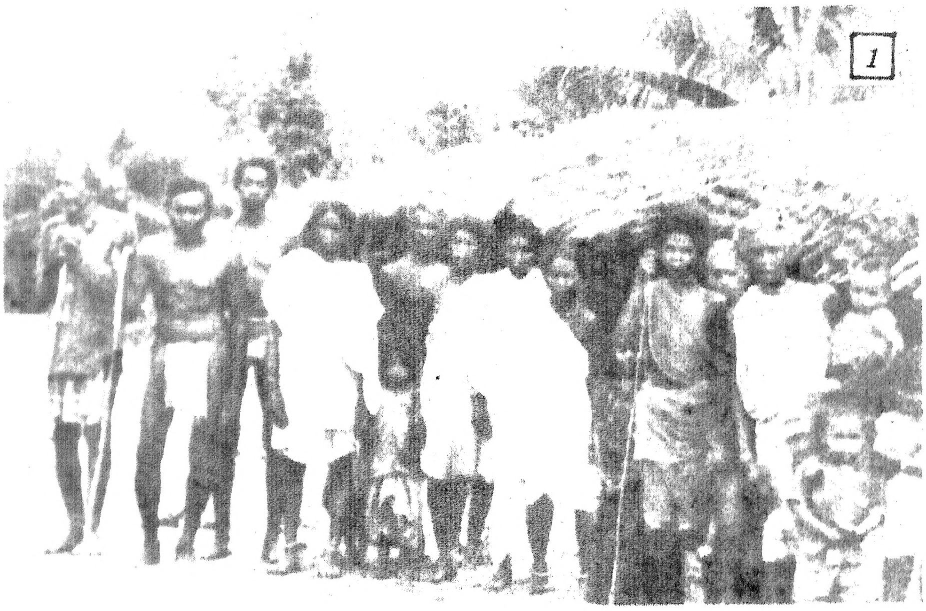
The advent of Aryans during the early part of the first millennium B.C. had a tangible influence on the existing way of life. The legend of Agasthya crossing over the Vindhyas is but a symbolic portrayal of this event. The story in *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* that the sage Viswamitra excommunicated some of his sons like Andhra and Pulinda is suggestive of the adventurism of some Aryans in mixing with some non-Aryans. These Aryans tried to establish the same social divisions that were in vogue in the North in Andhra also.

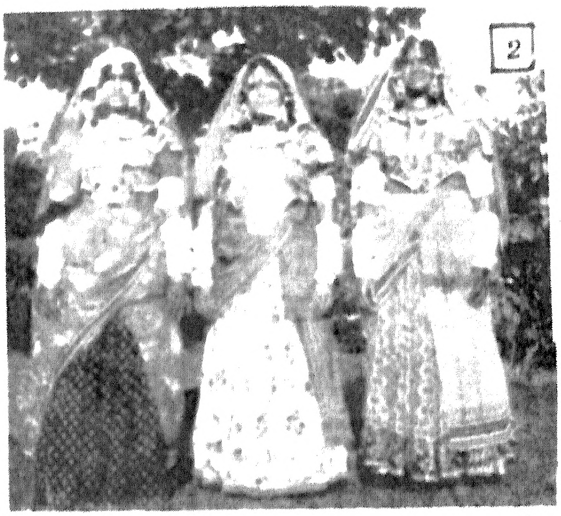
Since there was already a well-settled social and cultural base in the Andhra region, the Aryan culture could not overrun the existing system. It had received as much as it had contributed, resulting in a fusion of cultures. The four-fold caste system mostly remained a concept, never rigid in practice, except for the creation of an 'elite' group concerned with rituals and spirituality. The major function of this numerically small group is to protect the ritualistic base of the newly-emerging social structure. The function of the majority group belonging to several occupations and professions is to safeguard the social and military needs of the society. They came to be known only through the denominations of their professions and not by those of the four-fold caste system.

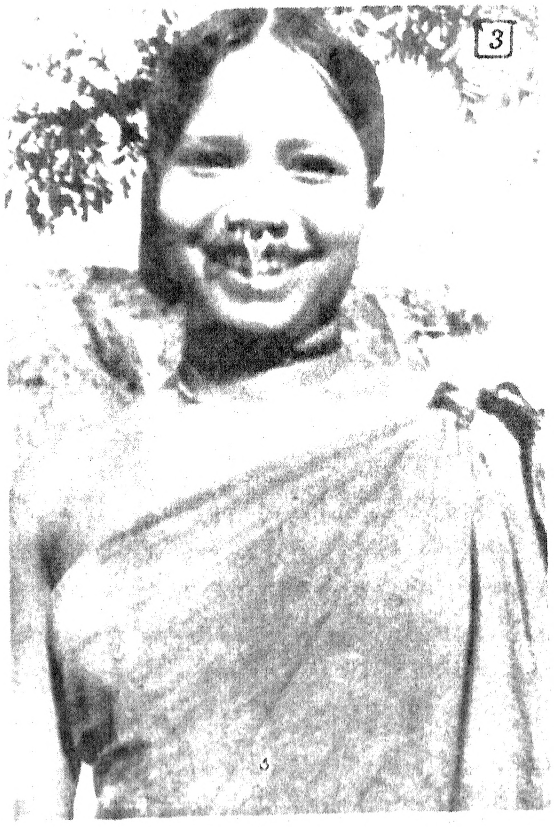
The Aryans had to adopt the conceptual frame-work concerning some of the popular gods and goddesses and fuse them with their own concepts. Similarly popular beliefs, customs and rituals of the local people had to be honoured by providing them a place for them in their own, as can be seen in the *gṛhya sūtras* which prescribe familial and social norms and the *śrauta sūtras* that deal with religious rituals, both codified in the South.

By the time the Satavahana empire was established, the entire Andhra region was inhabited by a society, in which an amalgamation of the Aryan and the native cultures was complete. Recorded evidences show that there existed a well-organised system of administration covering numerous aspects of public life such as animal husbandry, pilgrimages, tax collection, law and

Tribals







1. *Savara People*
2. *Lambada Women*
3. *Khond Woman*
4. *Bhagatha Women*

Chenchu Man

Porja Couple

Kotia Women

Konda Dora Women

order, judiciary, record-keeping, etc. There was a special department which was entrusted with converting forest areas into agricultural lands and the officer incharge of such work was *rajjuka*.

Though barter trade was the major form of commercial transaction among the public, transactions between one group of traders and another made use of coins mostly made of silver. The government collected a variety of taxes from the traders and in return gave them protection. At the same time started the over-seas trade and Andhras became experts in maritime activities. The Andhra ships were considered the most suitable ones for travel across the oceans. Built very strong, the ships used rudder for the first time to keep to their course. Andhra traders touched Rome in the West and the coast of China in the East.

The concept of kingship, initiated during the Mauryan period, gained strength in the Satavahana period. The ownership of not only the villages, but of the interspersing woods, hillocks and rivers was vested with the king, but only notionally. In actual practice this only meant collection of taxes and all the rights over the individual property remained with the owner. The elected leader of the village was responsible for tax collection. In course of time the rulers began appointing their own men as heads of the villages for effective collection of taxes. A village council *(grãma sabha)*, a trade centre *(nigama)*, and a professional guild *(srēṇi)* could exercise their influence on the village head *(grãmaṇi)*. The records of the period of the early centuries of the Christian era inform that agriculturists produced a variety of crops and that there were a number of professionals following a variety of occupations. (There were potters, weavers, basket-weavers, oil-extractors, etc.). The major exports were varieties of fine cloth which were a rage with the Romans and were sold hundred times more than their actual cost.

Whatever be the personal religion of the king, there was absolute freedom for the individual with regard to his religious worship and beliefs. The kings extended their patronage to the religion of the populace. For example, the Satavahana and Ikshavaku rulers, though ardent followers of the Vedic faith, donated liberally towards Buddhist constructions. In many cases, members of the Royal household including the queen followed a different faith other than the king's. Jainism, along with Buddhism, was popular in Andhra even centuries before the christian era commenced. Its influence on the social and public life of the people was deep and a comprehensive study of the same is yet to be made. The Andhras evinced interest in Buddhism even during the life time of the Buddha as evidenced by the story of Bavari and his disciples. Buddhism attracted the people because of its moral code and because of the various provisions it offered to earn 'merit'. It must also have given the people a more attractive alternative to the Vedic faith by professing a casteless society. Buddhism, as it gained strength in Andhra, promoted the arts of architecture, sculpture and painting. There are also evidences to show that sports and the performing arts of music and dance received public patronage.

By around 7th c. the rule over Andhra passed on into the hands of the Chalukyas, who established a large empire. Buddhism, which was hitherto the most widely practised religion lost its hold yielding place to the Vaidic faith as propounded by the various puranas. As a consequence, content in fine arts and performing arts was changed to suit puranic traditions. Available evidences point out to the eruption of a violent movement, probably by 'Kalamukha' Saivites, to wipe off the vestiges of Buddhism from the land. In the process several Buddhist places were turned into Hindu temples, by installing gods of several denominations.

Administration became more organized with additional departments and with officers in charge of such departments. With the consolidation of many professions, especially of the artisans, the people in a village came to be described as *aṣṭā-daśa-praja* (the 18 classes of people) as against the four-fold caste system, which remained only as a notion. Since the village administration was concerned with the welfare activities of the village and since only the village officer was directly responsible to the state administration, there was no need for the common populace to be associated with the state or its administration.

Grāmaṇi, the village chief, was all-powerful. He would preside over all kinds of agreements and settle disputes and decide the nature of punishment to be given to offenders. Exchange of *tāṃbūlaṃ* (bettle leaves and areca nuts) in the presence of the village chief signified the conclusion of an agreement. *Tāṃbūlaṃ* with a prescribed fee was offered to the *grâmaṇi* which was an equivalent of the modern-day registration. The society was mostly disciplined by the traditions of the family, the codes of the occupational groups (known as *samaya*) and, if necessary, by those of the judiciary. Theft was considered a serious crime and next to it were adultery and murder. Punishments were very severe and there were separate staff to implement the sentence. There was also a provision for appealing to higher authorities. Either the king himself or his nominees convened assemblies to settle disputes arising out of boundaries, rivers, streams etc.

A variety of taxes were collected like taxes on houses, lands, crops, produce, live-stock, occupations, shops and trade. The collection of the taxes went into the hands of the officials of the kingdom, thereby reducing the powers of the village chief.

The governments also standardized various units of measurement. For example, during the reign of Ganapati Deva of the Kakatiya dynasty, 'Kesari Khada' was the standard unit of length.

Class divisions and distinctions increased by manyfold during this early medieval period. The factors that led to such proliferation of sub-divisions were also many. Separate identities within a caste on the basis of territorial divisions like Veginadu, Velanadu, Kammanadu and Telangana, professional specializations like artisans working with gold, brass or iron; the nature of employment (as in the case of Brahmins divided into Niyogis and Vaidikis). etc. In addition to puranic gods that the entire society worshipped, people belonging to many of these divisions and sub-divisions had their own community gods and goddesses. This was particularly so in the artisan classes. Gradually legends developed around such deities linking them with the origin or the profession of the sub-division. Even alien settlers in Andhra such as Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas amalgamated themselves with the local people and claimed their origin and social status to puranic heroes. Pahlavas, for example, claimed to be the descendents of the Brahmin warrior of *Mahābhārata*, Drona.

Even while the Vedic faith was gaining strength in the Andhra region, Jainism enjoyed both royal and public patronage in the Telangana area. A number of Jain shrines and *basatis* were constructed. Literary activity also flourished at Jain centres.

14th c.-16th c.

During the later-medieval period (early 14th c. to early 17th c.) a significant political change was the fall of the Kakatiya kingdom in the hands of the Muslim invaders from the North. This resulted in a violent assault on the people's faith as the invaders indulged in religious conversions and a systematic destruction of the cultural base of the natives. In course of time the Muslim community formed into a cognisable section of the society. This necessitated the formulation of two separate legal systems in the administration of justice.

The mid-14th c. witnessed a people's movement against the invaders to protect their own cultural and political supremacy. This movement was led by Kapaya Nayaka and Prolaya Nayaka, an uprising which ultimately flowered into the formation of the Vijayanagara empire. The contribution of Saivism as a unifying socio-political force that promoted a sense of courage among the people was significant.

The life of the common man did not undergo substantial changes during this period. New specializations in occupations and new types of employment in the ever-widening administration added to the class divisions. The common man had to pay several types of taxes, almost on anything he possessed or anything he produced. Income-yielding services like those of a washerman and a barber attracted taxation. In addition, the people had to subscribe to religious institutions to which they belonged and to public causes. Each caste or sub-caste had at least one other dependent sect which was exclusively meant for maintaining caste records and legends. The people of that caste or sub-caste had also an obligation to subscribe to the sustenance of the sect dependent on them.

There were four types of villages, expecially during the Vijayanagara period - 'amara' villages (villages specially given to Amara Nayakas for maintenance of army), 'ambali' villages (villages gifted to ministers, poets, etc.), 'brahmadeya' villages (donated to scholarly Brahmins or to temples) and 'bhandara vadu' villages (villages the income from which went to the roayl treasury).

Education was wide-spread, though literacy was not. Education included knowledge of scriptures, classical epics and disciplines like logic, grammar and jurisprudence. This type of instruction was offered by the Brahmins and the religious heads. Instruction in the poetic art was also prevalent as royal patronage to poets increased. On the other hand, a different type of education consisting of imparting hereditary skills in architecture, sculpture, etc. was generally confined to the artisan classes. People were educated in the values of life and morals through popular narratives and folk forms, combining instruction with entertainment. Music, dance, painting, etc. were taught in the 'gurukula' system and received patronage from the rulers as well as temples.

17th-19th c.

For about 200 years, after mid-17th c., life in general appears to be chaotic in the absence of a strong central government. Administration went into small rulers, whether they be 'palegars' or 'zamindars'. In addition to the constant squirmishes among these petty rulers, the interference in the power politics by self-seeking foreign trading companies disrupted normal civic life. Contemporary literature provides ample testimony to the dormant state of society on one hand, and on the other the abuse of power by the officials at several levels. In the absence of a strong empire, there was no effective agency to improve the lot of the farmers or the artisans. It was only after the East India Company established its rule over the Circars and the Ceded districts that an effort was made to streamline the administration. Some of the welfare measures undertaken by the British were copied by the Asifjahi rulers of the Hyderabad state.

With the advent of the British rule there came a substantial change in the life of the people. Facilities for education and medical care were provided to the people at large without any distinction of caste or creed. The schools also encouraged education of the girls.

The educational system introduced by Lord Macaulay, though started to train local people for jobs in the administration, opened up new vistas by exposing the educated to new concepts of equality, fraternity and liberty, of individual freedom, etc. and enthused them to spread the same among fellow Indians. This resulted in the dawn of a Renaissance all over the country including Andhra.

The latter half of the 19th c. can be rightly called the Age of Reforms in all the spheres of human activity. Social and religious reforms were on the anvil. Kandukuri Veeresalingam, writer and social reformer, championed the cause of social reforms, especially in the areas of child marriages and widow re-marriages. Not content with the mere propagation of ideas through his varied literary activity, he jumped into the fray, facing several hazards. During the same period, Brahma Samaj under the leadership of Kandukuri and Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu initiated a fresh liberal outlook on religious matters. The munificence of the Maharajah of Pithapuram, Surya Rao, came in handy to implement some of their projects.

The caste-system, which was never rigorously pursued in Andhra, began losing whatever rigidity that was practised during the past two hundred years. New education gave the people the necessary courage to question and defy the tradition if it was found unjustifiable. Since a long time there was a class of people outside the four-fold caste system who were treated as untouchables and were deprived of the normal social rights. Some of them willingly accepted the religion of the rulers, Christianity, which gave them a new respectability. The society took notice of the unfortunate conditions of these people and tried to eradicate the social evil of untouchability. It is noteworthy that Chilakamarti Laxminarasimham started a free school for Harijans with his meagre resources in the early years of the century.

In fact, educating the masses was felt to be the only way for social uplift. In addition to the efforts of the government in starting schools many individuals promoted educational institutions for boys and girls. In order to impart modern knowledge to people, books in simple style covering a wide range of subjects, periodicals and journals began appearing. To make these books and periodicals available and also to create interest in reading, setting up of libraries was taken up as a movement.

The efforts to bring in social reforms were further intensified by the starting of several caste-based associations to concentrate on the particular problems of the caste people and to ameliorate their conditions. A significant example for this is the effort to wean away the girls from institutional prostitution and settle them in married life.

All these movements for reforms coalesced and became an integral part of the struggle for political freedom.

LIFE IN FAMILY AND COMMUNITY

Life in Family

Family has always been the nucleus of an organized society. In Pre-historical times, whatever family life that existed is believed to have been centred around the mother and hence the society was matriarchal. This probably must have led to the primitive concepts of Mother Goddess and the associated fertility rites. As and when the notion of property developed and occasions arose to protect the property, headship of the family would have passed over to the male members. In course of time, when agriculture became the dominant mode of livelihood, a need was felt to divide the duties of outdoor work in the fields and family care within the home. This further strengthened the dominant role of the man and the resultant patriarchal system.

Till the advent of modern times joint-family system was in vogue. Under this system, the family consisted of the parents and all the male members of the family along with their wives and their children. Usually this continued until the parents were alive. There were occasions when the brothers continued to live under the same roof even after the death of the parents.

The over-all authority was vested with the eldest male member, though there were occasions when the aged mother, even after the demise of the father, wielded authority. Daughters were married and were sent away to the in-law's houses, though they also had a considerable influence over the affairs of their parental homes. Affluent families or families without an able male member used to invite the daughter and son-in-law to come and live with them. The practice is known as *illarikam*. The son-in-law and his relatives enjoyed a special honour and were treated with special consideration by the girl's family. It was customary to invite them on festive occasions and offer them gifts. It was also felt obligatory to provide shelter to daughters and sisters, if widowed early in life. Such women exercised an authority in household affairs. Age was generally venerated, both in the case of men and women and that sentiment was considered a virtue.

All property was considered as joint-property and the eldest male member was the custodian of it. It was not usual to formally divide the joint property among the brothers as long as the parents were alive. In some families women had ownership of their property, usually gifted by the parents or acquired by them from their mothers.

As long as the head of the family was able to carry on the family occupation, his grown-up sons would assist him in the work, thereby learning the intricacies of the profession. When he retired from hard work, he would still supervise or guide the sons' work. The tradition was that he then would turn his attention to spiritual interests. The lady of the house, similarly, would devote her time to an over-all supervision of the household management, allowing the daughter-in-law to take over the various crores of the house. The older couple would still be responsible for maintaining the family traditions, observation of customs and rituals, etc. They also would take care of the children and impart training in pre-school education through songs and stories. The joint-family system provided an ideal environment for the children to grow up in an ideal atmosphere.

One of the important obligations of the joint-family was to provide hospitality. Alms - giving was considered an act of merit. Sankranti, the harvest festival was a special occasion to gift away a considerable amount of their produce to household servants, dependent sections (the family barber, washerman, etc.), of society, nomadic entertainers and mendicants.

There used to be a number of festive occasions to celebrate innumerable events, stage by stage, in the life of the child until it grew up. *Sīmantam* to bless the pregnant woman, *bāla sāre* to bless the newly-born child and the mother, *nāmakaraṇam*, naming the child, *anna prāśanam*, giving the first solid food to the child, the first tonsuring of the child, *akṣarābhyāsam*, the initiation of the child into formal education, etc. are some of the festive occasions celebrated in the family with the participation of kith and kin.

Festive occasions for women folk of all ages were aplenty. Puberty rites were celebrated elaborately. Girls, especially the newly-married ones, observed the Tuesdays and Fridays of the *Śrāvaṇa*, a month in the lunar calender, as sacred days to worship Goddess Gauri and Laxmi. Some of the festive occasions involved elaborate worship of goddesses like Boddemma, Batakamma and Gobbemma.

Early marriages were common. They were mostly arranged marriages. Cross-cousin marriages were popular and were thought to be obligatory. *Mēnarikam*, marriage alliance between the son of a sister and the daughter of a brother, was felt desirable. Marriages were celebrated, as they are mostly done even today, at the bride's place. The maternal uncle played an important role in most of the festive occasions including marriages. He had to offer gifts like new clothes on these occasions. The marriage ceremony came to include a variety of customary practices, which, in later years, became a burdensome necessity. But, in the course of the marriage event itself there were several practices special to this region. Tying the *mangaḷa sūtra* and *talambrālu* (which means showering turmeric rice with petals of flowers on each other's head by the bride and the bridegroom) are the most important of such age-old practices.

Life in Community

As patterns of settled life emerged with the consolidation of agriculture as a viable occupation, need arose for a variety of services like the barbers, the washermen, etc. and rural industries like pottery, carpentry and smithy. Self-sufficient villages contained people belonging to these various occupations who generally resided in blocks. The village square, *raccabanḍa*, with a pial under a shade-giving tree, usually a *rāvi, a marri* or *a vēpa* tree, offered a meeting place for the villagers. Community entertainments or assemblies were convened here. Some of the festivals observed by the entire community together (for example, 'gokulashtami') were celebrated here.

There would be at least one temple in each village, but mostly a temple for Siva and another for Vishnu were common. In some villages temples for other deities like Hanuman, Vinayaka and Veerabhadra were also found. Almost all the principal temples for Siva and Vishnu also contained subordinate shrines for *parivāra* gods or goddesses. For example, Vinayaka, Kumaraswamy, Parvati, etc. in a Siva temple, Rama, Venugopala, Garuda, Laxmi, etc. in a Vishnu temple received worship. The temples were maintained by the revenues from the lands gifted to them.

Till recently annual festivals in the form of the deities' marriages and other auspicious occasions like Sivaratri were conducted with pomp and gaiety. In medieval times temples played a significant role in imparting religious education through musical renderings and dramatic performances. Richer temples functioned like institutions in which the services of people belonging to several occupations were utilised. Even today major temples like that of Venkateswara at Tirumala have been promoting widely diverse economic activities through which a large number of families thrive.

Though *gurukula* system continued to impart specialised and advanced education, especialy in fine arts, literature and traditional sciences, a more broad-based, general education was catered through the 'pial schools'. The training in these schools mainly included reading, writing and arithmetic and basic information necessary for day-to-day life. Moral instruction through popular *śatakams* and select episodes from classics was the common content. The system served the purpose until the British type of education was introduced.

The village life went on smoothly due to an unwritten code of conduct that emerged as a consensus of age-old traditions. Any crime of a serious nature was rare. Disputes, if arose, were solved by the elders of the village. All the sections of the society lived amicably in a cohesive way, maintaining equanimity and dignity in the village. In spite of the caste divisions people referred to and addressed each other in kinship terms. Except for inter-dining and inter-marriages, people of all caste and group denominations lived an intimate life.

However, the life of those treated as untouchables remained pitiable. They lived outside the village in seclusion and were not allowed to draw water from the village wells or to enter temples. They served mainly as farm labour. The situation prevailed until the beginning of the present century when educational facilities gave them social status.

The life, in general, was dominated by certain supersititious beliefs that the society seemed to have inherited from its tribal ancestry, like in any society anywhere in the world. They can be broadly categorized as follows :

1. Supernatural beliefs in spirits, ghosts, etc.
2. Social beliefs regarding good and bad omens, dreams, etc.
3. Beliefs concerning birds and animals : that a journey should not be carried on when a cat crossed the way, etc.
4. Beliefs about things in nature: that certain trees or plants are inauspicious if they grow in the courtyard.
5. Beliefs concerning eatables and dining manners.

The auspicious and inauspicious things in life came to be associated with some practices and materials. To use them in interchanged context remained a taboo.

During the British rule, the village with its economy and industry, suffered a set-back. Modern education led the young men and women to towns and cities for employment. As a consequence urbanization gained momentum, reaching an alarming state. Urban life brought in qualitative changes in the social outlook and mode of life. In the place of joint families came the unitary family. This disturbed the strong bonds that hitherto existed among the kith and kin. Along with it changed the social customs and beliefs as well.

FESTIVALS

Festivals are special days marked for celebrating mostly the birthdays of gods and goddesses and also for commemorating their victory over evil forces. There are also seasonal festivals. There are festivals earmarked for women and children. All these festivals occur with regular periodicity, calculated according to the almanac. In early India as well as in Andhra there existed several modes of reckoning almancs, based on the movements of astronomical bodies like the Sun, the Moon, the Jupiter and the stars. Vavilala Kuchanna (13th-14th c.), a noted Andhra astrologer belonging to the Kakatiya period, standardized the present system based on the luni-solar calender. This system is also followed by the Kannadigas and Maharastrians.

Most of the Hindu festivals like Dasara and Deepavali are celebrated in Andhra, mostly in the same way the others in India do, except for some local variations. The New Year Day falls on the first day of the bright fortnight of the lunar month Chaitram. It is customary to prepare a *paccaḍi*, a mixture of several ingredients like the sour mango, the bitter neem flower, new tamarind and jaggery and taste it as the first thing in the morning. This is to remind one of the complex nature of life which is an admixture of the bitter and the sweet aspects. In olden days, elderly people of the village used to assemble in order to learn what the coming year held for them accodring to the astrological implications of the almanac. In the medieval period, kings celebrated a festival of the spring, *Vasantōtsava*, for nine days starting from the New Year Day. The celebration was also an occasion for the poets and artists to meet and display their skills.

Srirama Navami, which occurs during the same month, is widely celebrated in Andhra as the birthday of Rama as well as an occasion for the performance of his marriage with Sita. In some places the occasion is also marked by the enthusiasm of the agriculturists organizing bullock-races. The most important pilgrim centre for celebrating the festival with great pomp and devotion is the Srirama temple at Bhadrachalam. Lakhs of devotees converge on the place to witness the marriage ceremony of the Lord.

The month of *Srāvaṇa* is replete with festive activity, specially for the women. The major festival coming in this month is *Krishna Aṣṭami*, the birthday of Krishna. The chief attraction of this festival used to be netting a butter-pot hung high in a public place against odds.

Mangaḷa Gaurī Vratam, celebrated on all the Tuesdays of this month, is still a must for the newly married girls. One of the Fridays, preferably the one before the Full-Moon day, is the day on which Varalaxmi (the Goddess Laxmi who gives boons) is worshipped, mostly by married women. Honouring elderly women with living husbands as a representative of Goddess Laxmi or Gauri is common on those days. They also offer social occasions for women to congreagate at each one's house and receive *pasupu* (turmeric), kumkum, betel leaves and fruit. Such congregations are called *Pērantams*.

The major festival of the *Bhādrapada* month is *Vināyaka Caviti*, which offers a merry occasion for youngsters in gathering the various kinds of leaves and flowers prescribed for the *pūja*. Following the Maharashtra tradition, initiated by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, in recent years this festival has gathered around it some social dimensions also, especially in cities.

Dasara, celebrated for ten days in *Aśwayuja*, is a festival of Goddess Durga. In some of the major temples the Devi's idol is attired in succession as one of her manifestations everday. In olden days, the village gods used to be carried to the border of the village and brought back to the temple. *Śamī-pūja* was conducted in memory of the Mahabharata story, marking the closure of the *ajnātavāsa* of the Pandavas. Until recently, children of the schools were led in a merry procession along the streets singing special songs for the occasion. The teachers used to take them to various houses of the village where the teachers and their disciples were treated with gifts and eatables.

Deepavali, which means a festival of lights, is also a festival of sounds made by all types of crackers. Specially organized 'combats' with crackers and the like used to be conducted in some places as an expression of bravery.

Makara Sankranti, which falls usually on January 13-14 of every year and marks the beginning of "Uttarayana", is a major festival in Andhra and is called *pedda panḍaga*. Apart from the astronomical importance it has, it coincides with bringing home the harvest. Sun-god is worshipped during this festival with the preparation of new rice boiled in milk. Liberal alms-giving and sharing of the produce with those that render traditional services mark this festival. It is customary to invite the son-in-law married within the last one year home and celebrate his visit. This festival is also an occasion for the worship of cattle, the pride possession of the farmer.

Maha Sivaratri is a major festival celebrated at all Saivite temples. The festival is a day of fasting and keeping awake all night in meditation. At Kotappakonda in Guntur district and some other places, the festival is celebrated with devotees bringing *prabhas*, tall, cloth-covered bamboo structures erected on bullock-carts, displaying Saivite legends and symbols on them. Villagers vie with each other in preparing such *prabhas* as tall as they could.

Major agricultural operations are resumed again after summer. The formal beginning of these operations are made on the Full-Moon day of Jyesta, which is called 'Yeruvaka Punnami'.

Other festivals include "Naga Panchami" (in *Srāvanam*) and "Nagula Chaviti" (in *Kārtikam*), both connected with the worship of the serpent-god. "Sravana Purnima" associated with the initiation of Vedic studies in the olden days, "Atla Tadiya" (in Bhadrapadam), a special festival for girls and women and "Mahalaya Amavasya" (in *Bhādrapadam*), an occasion for ancestral worship are other important festivals.

Some festive occasions like the *jayantis* of incarnations and saints are observed regularly by the connected temples. "Nrisimha Jayanti" and "Hanumat Jayanti" are quite popular. Almost all the days in the week came to be associated with one god or the other so that those days are observed as holy days and in some cases they are marked by fasting. Both Smarthas and Vaishnavites observe Ekadasi (the eleventh day of the month) as a day of fast. The entire month of *Kārtika* is considered holy by Saivites and they fast during the daytime.

Apart from these religious observances, special worships in various forms like the *hōmas, arcanas* (there are many such occasions during which worship is offered through *bilva* leaves, kumkum, wick-lights, etc.) to coincide with auspicious days.

PILGRIMAGES

Pilgrimages to holy shrines, either to fulfil vows or to visit for a *darşan* are very common. Pilgrims flock in large numbers during festive occasions of the god or goddess of the particular temple or on other general festival days. As far as Andhra is concerned, the most-visited temple is that of Lord Venkateswara at Tirumala-Tirupati. In fact, it attracts pilgrims from all over India and even abroad. Lord Venkateswara (Balaji) is considered as a manifestation of Lord Vishnu. In recent years temples for Venkateswara have come up at innumerable places both in India and abroad, especially where south Indians reside.

Satyanarayana or Satya Deva, another manifestation of Vishnu, is worshipped on all auspicious occasions including marriages and entering into newly-constructed houses. The most famous shrine for Satynarayana is at Annavaram. Sri Rama's is the most popular incarnation worshipped all over Andhra. The temple at Bhadrachalam is the most ancient and famous shrine of Sri Rama. There are no specific temples for Sri Krishna, though he is worshipped in the form of Venugopala Swamy. Andhra is specially rich in Narasimha Swamy temples. Simhachalam, Mangalagiri, Ahobilam, Yadagirigutta, Antarvedi and Vedadri are some important places for the worship of Nrisimha. It is interesting to note that almost all the shrines of Narasimha Swamy are located either on the top of the hills or in deep forests. There is one temple for Kurma (tortoise) incarnation of Vishnu at Sri Kurmam in northern Andhra. In Arasavelli, also in north Andhra, there is a temple for the Sun-god, but he is worshipped as Surya-Narayana.

Among the most-visited Saiva temples are those at Sri Sailam (Mallikarjuna), Sri Kalahasti (Sri Kalahasteeswara), Vemulavada (Rajarajeswara), Daksharamam (Bhimeswara), Amaravati (Amareswara) and Kotappakonda (Koteeswara). Among the *parivāra*-gods, Veerabhadra is worshipped in separate temples also. Mudigonda, Bontapalli, Lepakhsi and other places have such temples. Ganapathi is most populalry worshipped for any beginning of a ceremony or an event, though exclusive shrines for him are not widely found.

As temples were favoured as places of worship, during the medieval times, one can find the practice of constructing a temple for one main deity and also providing smaller shrines for other *parivāra*-gods (gods associated with the main deity : his consort, sons, chief devotees or other manifestations of the god). This principle is further extended in modern times specially to suit the convenience of the various sections of the city dwellers by constructing 'temple complexes' wherein a number of gods and goddesses of all the important faiths are worshipped at one place. Apart from the Saiva and Vaishnava deities, these complexes also provide for the worship of Hanuman and Navagrahas (the nine planets). As such complexes are mostly built by settlers of other regions of the country, their favourite deities also find representation. Among such deities are found Ayyppa, Skanda and the like.

Along with these gods, their consorts are worshipped with equal veneration. However, their temples are found usually in the same temple complexes. Only in Tirupati one finds a temple for 'Alivelu Manga', the consort of Venkateswara, away from the Lord's temple. Among the Saivite deities, widely known are Kanakadurga of Vijayawada, Bhramaramba of Sri Sailam, Raja Rajeswari of Vemulavada, Jnana Prasunamba of Srikalahasti and Manikyamba of Daksharamam, all manifestations of Sakti or the consort of Siva.

A unique and famous temple for goddess Saraswati is located at Basara on the bank of the Godavari. Temples for Nava-Brahmas were constructed at Alampur on the bank of the Krishna. There is a pilgrim centre at Mandapalli (the village of Saturn) where the transit of Saturn is celebrated with great reverence. The 'linga' here is supposed to have been worshipped by 'Manda' or 'Sani'. The worship mainly consists of the ritual bathing of the 'linga' with sesame oil and is believed to mitigate the malevolent influence of the transit of Saturn.

Some special modes of worship and characteristic customs have developed around the deities of some place. For example, tonsuring is the most common mode of offering at Tirupati. Similarly, offering of *pānakam* (jaggery along with some condiments mixed in water), is a must at Mangalagiri where the deity derived the attribute, Panakalaswamy on account of the practice.

Several local goddesses, some of them having tribal origins, are worshipped in almost every village of Andhra. Many of them are manifestations of Sakti and some even of Laxmi. These include epidemic, protection and fertility goddesses also. Some of them are Ganga or Ganganamma, Yellamma, Pochamma, Mysamma, Nukalamma, etc. Pydi Talli and Kanaka Mahalaxmi mostly found in northern Andhra are manifestations of goddess Laxmi. Draupadi (of the *Mahābhārat*) is worshipped as a Sakti in most places in Rayalaseema and Nellore. Temples for caste deities like Kanyaka are not uncommon.

It can be seen that during the long history of religious worship by the successive faiths, new concepts were imposed on old and popular deities changing their names and modes of worship. It is believed that the idols of "Pari-Nirvana Buddha" in reclining position were converted as idols of Ranganatha, the reclining Vishnu. Such transformations are attributed to the deities of some temples.

RELIGION

As already observed, the society in Andhra emerged out of an amalgamation of many races and groups that came together during the pre-historic and early historic times. As a consequence, this region had been a melting pot for a variety of faiths, beliefs and customs. It is also significant to note that Andhras had contributed fresh thoughts and interpretations to such of the faiths that came from outside the region and the influence of which, in turn, was felt outside the region.

Apart from the worship of different gods and goddesses by respective tribes, worship of the serpent-god ('Naga') seems to be prevalent throughout the region in the early times. This tradition might have prompted to attribute association of 'Nagas' (like Adi Seshu, Vasuki, etc.) with the puranic gods. Even now on *Nāgula Caviti* (which falls on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the lunar month, *Aśwayuja)*, milk is offered at the ant-hills. References to worship of serpents are abundant in the folk ballads.

One can find a pattern in the plethora of tribal gods and goddesses, many of whom are still worshipped in the rural Andhra even today. Many of the elements and forces of Nature have been worshipped in feminine form, probably a relic of the matriarchal society. Mother Earth, guardian goddesses of the forests, hills, and the dwellings as well as the goddesses of fertility are some of the examples of such worship. The idea of guardian deities was extended to tanks, forts, embankments and village borders in the early civilised life. Protection from various epidemics was assigned to such other goddesses. There are also gods, comparatively fewer than the goddesses. Some of these gods and goddesses were worshipped regularly in appropriate seasons, which were mostly cyclic. Others were worshipped as and when a necessity arose as in the case of the goddesses of epidemics.

Vedic faith came into Andhra with the advent of Aryans in the Megalithic age. Vedic faith had undergone major changes until it settled down during the Puranic age. In the process there had been shifts in the emphasis on the rites, customs and concepts regarding divine worship.

Andhras evinced interest in Buddhism even during the life time of the Buddha. Soon it had spread all over the land. Over a thousand years it had been the predominant religion practised here. Jainism, which could have entered Andhra roughly around the same time, exercised a deep influence on the socio-cultural life of the people. One of the reasons for the populairty of these religions could be the fact that they were propagated through the language of the land, whereas Vedic faith doesn't seem to have made such an attempt. However, none of these early texts written in the local language has survived. During the early half of the first millennium A.D. a need might have arisen for the Buddhists and Jains to defend their own theological concepts in the scholarly world to retain their hold and keep their religion alive among the masses. This evidently was the reason why the Jain and Buddhist teachers took to Sanskrit to explicate their concepts. The most noteworthy among the Jain scholar-teachers was Kundakunda Acharya (1st c.B.C.) who wrote, among other texts, *Dāsa Bhakti Mūlācāram*, considered an authoritative one. He trained a number of scholar-propagators like Balaka Pincha, Kunda Kirti and Samatha Bhadra.

Jainism

Jainism which continued its sway until the Kakatiya period functioned through a number of *sanghams* spread over the land. Arhabali (Bezwada : 1st c.A.D.) was said to be the most influencial acharyas of such *sanghams*. Out of the 24 *Tīrthankaras* revered in Jainism, Seetala Nadha is said to be an Andhra. The Jain scholars were well-versed not only in their religious lore but also in such subjects like astrology and medicine.

Though Jainism was based on agnosticism in the beginning, it came to incorporate idol worship of several gods and goddesses and rituals connected with worship in course of time. Similarly, in the place of its original concept of castelessness, it adopted the caste divisions and the manifestations therein. It came to deny *dīkṣa* to the fourth caste, thereby reaping the apathy of the largest section of the society. A section of the Jains, *Yāpanīyas*, also called *Gōpyas*, leaned towards tantric cults. All such practices contributed to the unpopulairty of Jainism and when Saivism emerged with a militant force, it was almost wiped out. Among the few surviving places of Jain worship, the temple at Kolanupaka in the Telangana region is the most prominent.

Though a systematic and intensive study of the influence of Jainism on the socio-cultural life of Andhra is yet to be made, it may generally be observed that it had exercised a penetrating influence on the general way of life and patterns of thought of the people. Scholars are of the opinion that Jainism had strengthend the concepts of *karma* and *punarjanma*. Similarly, a number of variations found in the episodes of Ramayana versions of Andhra are said to be due to the influence of Jaina Ramayana. The faith was more popular among the trading community. According to some the Telugu word 'komati' (from *Gōmaṭha*) comes to designate a trader. As such they held important positions in administration dealing with accounts and records, almost until the Kakatiya period.

The other important contribution of the Jains was imparting functional education to one and all. It was customary to initiate a child into formal education by making him to trace the letters *Ōm Namah Śivāya, Siddham Namah* (Salutations to Siva and salutations to Siddha). While the early part refering to Siva is of Saivite influence, the latter part referring to Siddha is Jain. Saivism which could wipe out Jainism as a religion, could not touch this tradition.

Buddhism

Buddhism flourished in Andhra until the 6th c., when Adi Sankara propounded his ***adwaita*** philosophy. His philosophical tenets, in fact, are said to be a further development of the speculative philosophy initiated by Nagarjuna. If Sankara demolished the base of Buddhist thought, the *Kālāmukha* Saivites violently attacked the Buddhist strongholds, protesting against the degeneration which had set in that religion by that time (6th-7th c.).

Buddhism had a sway over the Telugu land for over a thousand years. It was popular with masses as well as with the members of the ruling houses like the Satavahanas, Ikshvakus, Salankayanas and Vishnukundis. It is believed that the Buddha visited Andhra and preached his faith at Dhanyakataka and Giridharkuta. Nagarjuna, Arya Deva, Bhava Viveka, Buddha Ghosha and Dharma Kirthi were some of the intellectuals who commented upon and reinterpreted Buddhist tenets and philosophy. It was from the Andhra coast that Buddhism travelled to Srilanka and several countries of south-east Asia. A point to be noted in this context is that the variety of Buddhism now practised in countries like Japan and Korea owes its origin to the great Buddhist teachers of Andhra. Thousands of learners came from these countries to join the Buddhist University at Nagarjunakonda and carried back with them the sacred faith.

Like Jainism, Buddhism also preached a casteless society and condemned the elaborate rituals of the Vedic faith. It was also silent on the existence of god. In course of time, however, a sect of Buddhism, Mahayana, allowed idol worship in order to concede to a popular practice that existed among the common folk. This goes to prove that in the process of finding a wide base for their religion, every religion had accepted certain popular rituals and beliefs, though in different forms.

In course of time Buddhism began providing several opportunities to the public to fulfil their vows by allowing them to participate in 'acts of merit' (offerings of votive *stūpas*, idols of the Buddha and the like) at the *stūpas* and *caityas*. The lore that developed included several gods and goddesses. The concept of Avalokiteswara seems to have had its origin near Dhanyakataka.

A sustaining contribution of the Buddhists to the Andhra culture is their interest in the promotion of various fine arts, especially architecture, sculpture and painting. The *stūpa* at Amaravati was the culmination of their perfection in architecture and sculpture. The early caves of Ajanta stand as a fitting testimony to their mastery over the art of painting. The earliest known phase in the history of Andhra fine arts is thus linked with Buddhist achievements. When Vedic faith was later revived as Puranic religion, a majority of the Buddhist customs and practices were incorporated into the Hindu system of worship.

Though there was an intellectual and theological activity promoted by eminent thinkers and assemblies of monks from time to time, the religion was burdened with various sectarian schisms. Ritualism and tantric practices soon led to a corrupt mode of life in the Buddhist seats. A systematic revolt and demolition of Buddhist sites grew up as a result. As said earlier, this revolt was organized by the *Kālāmukha* Saivites who signed *utpatti piḍugu* as the authors of demolition at such places of destructon. *Utpatti Piḍugu* is interpreted as thunder-bolts *(piḍugu)* striking at *utpatti*, meaning *utpatha* (aberration from the right path). Puranic Hinduism, however, made the Buddha an incarnation of Vishnu, thus relegating the significance of the Buddhist faith to one of the innumerable facets of a larger faith.

Saivism

Saivism which believes in Siva as the supreme god was known to the Andhras for the last two thousand years. Some of the Ikshvaku, Salankayana and Vishnukundi kings were devotees of Siva. The Vishnukundis declared themselves as "parama maheswaras" and as devotees of Sri Parvata Swamy. The temple of Chitraratha Swamy was one of the oldest temples dedicated to Siva Saivism during the early centuries of the first millennium is generally said to bé "Purana Saivam" As it gradually gained prominence, it began owning the local gods as manifestations of Siva. With Siva as the main god, there grew around him many associate gods and goddesses *(parivāra dēvatas)* such as Parvati, Ganapati and Skanda. Some of the Andhra rulers issued coins protraying the images of Vrishabha (nandi or Siva's bull) and Skanda.

Saivism flourished in Andhra in several forms like *Kālāmukha, Lakulīsa* and *Pāśupata*, maintaining the supremacy of Siva as the common factor. The spiritual heads of these sects conducted services to the society running educational institutions and hospitals. All of them called for an unswerving faith in the Lord, relegating the rituals to a secondary place. This singular commitment to the godhood led to a militant spirit both at the individual and societal levels and resulted in the demolition of Buddhist and Jain places of worship and dwellings. Palkuriki Somanatha's *Basava Purāṇam* contains stories of a number of clashes between Saivites and the followers of others religions and the ultimate success of the former.

During the time of Basaveswara (12th c.) of Karnataka, Saivism reached its pinnacle and turned into *vīra* Saivism which propounded a casteless society and did away with distinctions of sex and age in the modes of worship. It upheld Saiva agamas and questioned the relevance of Vedic rituals. It established *bhakti* as the supreme virtue and the devotee was equated with godhood. During this period Panditaradhya led a movement for the propagation of Saivism in Andhra. His school is known as *ārādhya* Saivam which respected the authority of the Vedas as well as the four-fold caste system. The single-minded devotion inculcated a spirit of abandon and sacrifice in the society. It helped the Kakatiya kings' to defend the country from the onslaught of the Muslim invaders. Once the non-Vedic faiths like Jainism and Buddhism disappeared, Saivism continued as a religion tolerant of other faiths like Vaishnavism. It remained a dominant religion until the 15th c. and continues even today as one of the principal faiths.

Vaishnavism

Vaishnavism, which holds Vishnu as the supreme god, is an old faith but appears to have come a little later to Andhra than Saivism. Some of the Salankayana kings called themselves "parama Bhagavathas" - meaning, great devotees of Vishnu. However, Ramanujacharya (11th-12th c.) was responsible for the wide-spread populairty of this religion. Sri Krishnadeva Raya (early 16th c.) is known to be the first king to have embraced Vaishnavism. In his *Āmuktamālyada* he had incorporated stories of Vaishnava teachers who propagated their religion by winning over the scholars of the other faiths. This text propagated the *Viśiṣṭādwaita* of Ramanuja. Some of the earlier rulers including the such Velamas and the later ones such as Nayaks of Tanjore followed this faith.

Vaishnavism received a boost when Chaitanya Mahaprabhu initiated the *madhura bhakti* cult and personally propagated it in Andhra. Vallabhacharya, born in Andhra, was also a great teacher of Vaishnavism and later settled in Gujarat, where his influence can still be seen.

Madhwacharya (13th c.) founded the school of *Dwaita* which also held Vishnu as the supreme god. However, the Dwaitas worship Anjaneya as *mukhya prāṇa dēva*. Adherents of this faith are not many in Andhra but worship of Anjaneya is more widely found in the Telangana area of Andhra.

There are two traditions of Vaishnavism that are prevalent in Andhra - Tengal (South) and Vadagal (North), the former being numerically strong.

Puranic religion of Vaishnavism brought out the glory of Vishnu through his incarnations of which those of Rama and Krishna gained immense popularity. The Bhakti movement that surged in the middle ages centered round the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the incarnations of Rama and Krishna described therein. Owing to this 'Vaishnavism' in Andhra mainly manifested itself in the worship of these gods and other deities considered as manifestations of Vishnu (such as Venkateswara and Satyanarayana Swamy).

The elaborate rituals found in the Vaishnava temples and a vast literature that grew around the gods popularised the faith among the masses. Even the *pada* and *kīrtan* literature about the incarnations and their subsequent use in the dance traditions of Andhra contributed to the popularity of the faith.

The two dominant faiths among the people, Saivism and Vaishnavism, existed in Andhra simulataneously and the people following these faiths lived amicably. We do not find militant conflicts between them as are found between Vedic and non-Vedic faiths. However, the occasional discord found in their respective practices reflected in the story of the battle of Palnadu. Several attempts were made to remove the discord. At one stage Saivites accepted Vishnu as the greatest devotee of Siva, while the Vaishnavites made Siva an ardent devotee of Vishnu. As this did not assuage the feelings of both, a concept was floated that Siva and Vishnu were the one and the same. A concrete shape to this was given by Tikkana, who celebrated the indistinguishability in dedicating his work to "Hari-Hara-Natha", who donned the attributes of Siva as well as Vishnu. Though this did not last as a cult for long, the Smartha view of equating Siva and Vishnu prevailed and all the puranic gods came to be equally worshipped by one and all, except in a few stray cases.

Islam

Islam came to Andhra as early as the 11th c. through the Arab traders who reached the Malabar coast. Baba Fakruddin and his disciples were responsible for the spread of Islam at that time. A ruler of Penugonda (11th-12th c.) adopted Islam and constructed a mosque there. However, it was after the northern Muslim invaders in the early fourteenth century occupied some parts of Andhra that the religion established itself as an important faith of the land. Though the Kakatiya kingdom defended itself against Muslim onslaught for quite some time, it finally succumbed. As the early invaders and their representatives attached a greater importance to proselytizing than to other aspects of administation, they began promoting their faith by every conceivable way including force. They also resorted to vandalism and wanton destruction of temples and Hindu institutions.

Sporadic conflicts of violent nature have been a common feature marring Hindu - Muslim amity. However, attempts have been made several times to promote a healthy harmony between the two communities. It is heartening to note that, even during the days of bitter conflicts for political gains, such attempts were made. For example, Srikrishnadeva Raya had Muslims in his army for whom he built mosques. The Golconda Qutb Shahis provided facilities for administration of justice to both the communities according to their own respective codes. Abul Hassan Tana Shah made gifts to the Sri Rama temple at Bhadrachalam. Some of the Muslim rulers encouraged the Hindu arts and literature and even invoked the Hindu gods and goddesses in their literary works. Notwithstanding the fanaticism in both the sections showing its ugly head now and then, a generally peaceful co-existence and amicability prevailed.

The Sunnis, the Shias and the Wahabs are the major sects found among the Muslims of Andhra. One can find mosques in all major villages. In course of time the Muslims in Andhra Pradesh, especially in the rural areas, adapted many of the Hindu customs in the matter of dress, food, marriages and festivals. Hindus participated in Muslim festivals like Muharram and made offerings at Dargas. Names like Pakeeraiah and Mastanayya are not uncommon among Hindus. Some of the Muslims, specially of the Dudekula sect living on cotton-carding, bear Hindu names. To cite an instance, Siddappa, an illustrious member of this community, became the spiritual successor of Veerabrahmendra Swamy and contributed many spiritual songs *(tattvams)*.

Christianity

Though Christiany enterted South India in the 1st and 2nd century A.D., there is no proof to show that it entered the Andhra during the period. A church was constructed at Machilipatnam in 1670, only for the use of Portugese soldiers. The earliest known case of conversion to Christianity was from Punganur in Chittoor district, in which a Velama family adopted Christianity at the instance of Father Mandvit of the Karnatic Mission. Gradually more and more families in the Anantapur, Chittoor and Cuddapah districts accepted Christianity. Some of the Reddy converts of those Rayalaseema districts were responsible for promoting the faith in some villages of the Guntur district. During 1750 to 1776 there was resistance to Christianity in Rayalseema, but the faith continued to flourish in Guntur district. D'souza, a Goan missionary, (with a pseudonym 'Adikanandaswami') tried to revive the religion in the Rayalaseema districts in the 19th c.

The earliest to establish Christian missionaries in Andhra were the Catholic missions (Hyderabad : 1834, Visakhapatnam, 1845). Guntur district is regarded as the stronghold of the Catholics. Protestants started their activities in Andhra in 1805 under the auspices of London Mission and established their first centre at Visakhapatnam. With the help of one Subbarayudu, a Brahmin-convert, they got Bible and other religious literature translated into Telugu. They extended their activity to Cuddapah district in 1822.

Teaching of English was felt as an effective way of propagating Christianity. Alexander Duff of the Scottish Mission encouraged the teaching of English in High schools. In Machilipatnam, Noble of the Church Missionary Society started an institution for this purpose, which later came to be known as Noble college. He ran the college only for higher caste people in the initial stages and could convert some Brahmins to Christianity. Encouraged by this example, the Lutheran Mission started an education instituion in Guntur (the present Andhra Christian College). Among the other missions that successfully propagated the religion, mention may be made of the American Baptist Mission, the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, the Canadian Mission, the Telugu Baptist Home Mission Society and the Indian Missionary Society.

More than actual conversions, the success of Christianity lies in the pervasive influence of the basic tenets of the faith on the common people. It has emphasized the social values of service and compassion. Besides, it was instrumental in promoting reformist movements within the Hindu faith. It could reach the people even at the lowest strata of society through its educational and medicare activities. A large section of teachers, specially at the primary level, have been Christians thanks to the educational activities of the missionaries. It also helped the uplift of the downtrodden sections of society, especially the so-called untouchables, though in the process it came to bear a stigma as a religion of the 'lower' classes of people.

Chiristianity did not come into violent conflict with the local faiths. In some of the popular places of Christian worship (for example, the Mary Mata shrine near Gunadala), we still find Hindus not only participating, but also fulfilling their vows. Some traditional and modern writers treated Christian teaching and stories in their literature, which cannot be said of Islam.

Brahmo Samaj

Brahmo Samaj was one of the wide-spread religio-reformist movements of India and was propounded by Raja Ramamohan Roy. Very soon the movement found its admirers and adherents in Andhra. Damodaraiah founded a Brahmo centre at Machilipatnam in 1878. Another centre was started in Bapatla in 1878 on account of the efforts of Varanasi Ramabrahmam. Mannava Buchaiah Pantulu, Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu, Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu and Desiraju Peda Bapaiah are some of the stalwarts who were responsible for strengthening the movement in Andhra.

Arya Samaj

Arya Samaj, founded by Dayananda Saraswathi, remained an active force in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. Its activities included simplifying and popularising the essential Hindu rites and organizing reconversions of those Islamic and Christian converts who wished to come back into the Hindu fold.

Other Cults

One can find representation in Andhra for followers of various cults within the domain of Hindusim like Divya Jnana Samaja, Radha-Saomi Satsang, Harnath Baba, Mehar Baba and Sai Baba. Institutions belonging to these cults have been striving to revive spiritualism in the society and are also engaged in socio-cultural activities. The organizations connected with Sri Satya Sai Baba are many and are promoting not only the spiritual needs of the people, but also the practical needs of the society such as higher education, specialized medicare, etc. In recent years many devotees are found worshipping deities like Ayyappa and Santoshi Ma.

A general survey of the history of religious cults in Andhra reveals that certain basic underlying concepts regarding faith and social structure have persisted throughout in spite of the ups and downs of several religious movements that rocked the society. Probably as elsewhere in the world, the primitive concepts of godhood, the belief in life after death, etc. have continued, any amount of sophistication notwithstanding. Similarly the caste groups, originally based on the occupations pursued, gained solidarity as means of social security and power. Any attempt to remove such caste distinctions, made periodically, did not meet with complete success. Such religions as Buddhism and Jainism which initially propagated casteless society, as well as the other faiths which, though recognised castes, called for equality among them, equally failed over a course of time. Even in Christianity and Islam in Andhra, the converts carried with them the distinctions of their original caste inhibitions. In view of the social and economic advantages and political power, the concept of caste can be seen to be continuting even today.

Yogic-Cults

Yoga has been recognised as an integral part of the faith and an effective means for salvation. There are several schools like *haṭha, tantra, jnâna, bhakti, karma, kriya* and *râja* yogas. It is believed that Dakshina Murthy was the first to teach the Yoga system in the hoary past.

The cult propagated by Dattatreya held some influence in Andhra. Paramananda Yati (c.1650-1750) and Parasuramapanthula Lingamurty (the author of *Sītârâmânjanêya Samvâdam* : 1720-80) are well-known exponents of this tradition. Sivarama Dikshita (1700-50) propagated *acala* yoga and had considerable following in Andhra.

The influence of 'Nathas' (Matsyendra and Goraksha) is considerable in Andhra as can be seen from literature connected with the Nathas and their cult. Matsyendra Natha is said to be the founder of *haṭha* yoga. Srisailam was one of the noted centres of this school. Three important works in Sanskrit describing the *haṭha* yoga were contributed by Andhras. Atmarama (1534-1634) from north Andhra was the author of *Haṭha pradīpika*. Srinivasa Bhatta Maha Yogendra (1625-95), the author of *Haṭha Ratnâvali*, hailed from the Krishna District. Prabhala Yogeswara Yogi (1700-50) the author of *Yōga Ratna Pradīpika* was a devotee of Sri Saila Mallikarjuna. *Haṭha* yoga, as a means of therapy, is quite popular.

Vemana (16-17th c.) occupies a unique place in the Telugu yogic world. In his famous stanzas, he had again and again referred to a variety of yogic practices, often shrouded in mystic expression.

Pothuluri Veerabrahmendra Swamy (1608-93), an exponent of *swara* yoga, popularised the school through several of his philosophical songs *(tattvams)*. Even now there are many followers of Veerabrahmendra Swamy in Andhra. Siddappa (1665-1735), a disciple of Veerabrahmendra Swamy, also advocated religious tolerance among Hindus and Muslims in his *tattvams*.

Among the 'Yoginis', Balapapamba (17th c.), Tarigonda Venkamamba (1730-1817) and Eswaramma, the grand-daughter of Veerabrahmendra Swamy (1703-1803) were some of the noted ones.

Some exponents of Yoga, though of Andhra origin, lived outside the state and had become equally famous outside Andhra. Mention may be made of Trilinga Swamy (1607-1887), Sadguruswamy, Jnanendra Saraswati, Sivananda Natha, Ganapati Muni (1878-1936) and Kanchupati Venkata Swamy Rao (Master C.V.V. 1868-1922) who have achieved eminence and had a large following.

ANDHRAS' CONTRIBUTION TO RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

During its long history extending over twenty five centuries, Andhra had produced many great philosophers and religious teachers, whose precious contribution is significant not only in the context of the Andhra land but also outside it in India and abroad. A brief resume about some of those outstanding men of eminence is attempted here.

Kundakunda : Acharya Kundakunda of the 1st c. B.C., also known as Padmanandi, Vakragriva, Griddha Pincha or Elacharya, was a Digambara Jain preceptor given a place of honour along with Mahavira and Gautama. His *Anēkānta Vāda* in the context of Jainism is considered as precious as Nagarjuna's *Śūnya Vāda* in the context of Buddhism. Several of his disciples were responsible for the spread of the faith all over the land. *Dāsabhaktī Mūlācāram*, one of his many works, is held as an authority.

Nagarjuna : Acharya Nagarjuna (1st and 2nd c.) was a Mahayana Buddhist and the first systematic exponent of an important school, called the 'Madhyamika' (or the middle path). His theory is also known as *Śūnya Vāda*. His works include *Mādhyamika Śāstram* (also called *Mūla Mādhyamika Kārikāvaḷi), Vigraha Vyāvartani, Ratnāvaḷi* and *Suhṛllēkhā*. Some of his works are now available in the form of Chinese and Tibetan translations only. It is said that the 'School of Contradictions' which Zen Buddhism developed in China and Japan had its source in Nagarjuna's dialectic, which for the first time in the history of world's philosophy tried to show the self-contradictory nature of every concept and doctrine about reality. He initiated speculative philosophy which tradtion was continued by later philosophers and preceptors.

Aryadeva : A disciple of Nagarjuna, Aryadeva (2nd-3rd c.) was a great Buddhist scholar and preacher, as important to Sri Lanka as to Andhra. He was also an author of Buddhist treatises.

Buddhaghosha : Acharya Buddhaghosha (4th-5th c.) propagated Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Myanmar (Burma) and is held in esteem in those countries. Through his commentaries and original works, he strengthened the *Thēra Vāda* school of Buddhism.

Bhava Viveka : Bhava Viveka (5th-6th c.) lived near Dhanyakataka and furthered the Buddhist speculations on the question of reality of the physical world.

Dharmakirti : Born in Tirupati, Acharya Dharmakirti (6th-7th c.) studied at the Nalanda University. He was well-versed in epistemology and brought world fame to Buddhist logic. In his scholarly works, he discussed the problems of cause and effect relation, momentariness *(Aniyata dharma)* and *Vignāna Vāda*. He held that anything that is produced is not because of a single cause but a product of many causes and refuted the existence of God and soul on that basis.

Kumarila Bhatta : Kumarila Bhatta (7th c.) was an ardent supporter of the Vedic Dharma. He refuted the non-vedic faiths like Jainism and Buddhism. His commentary on the *Pūrva Mīmāmsa Sūtras* of Jaimini, *Tantra Vārtika Bhāṣya* helped to restore the glory of the Vedic faith, specially, the *karma* path. Prabhakara and other disciples of Kumarila Bhatta propagated his views.

Nimbarka : Also known as Nimbaditya or Niyamananda, Nimbarka lived probably later than Madhwacharya (13th c.). He was a follower of the Vaishnava tradition holding Srikrishna as the supreme lord. He wrote a commentary on the *Brahma Sutras* of Badarayana, entitlted *Vēdānta Pārijāta Saurabham*. His philosophy is a type of *Bhēdābhēda vāda*. Follwers of Nimbarka are mostly found in the north.

Sayana : Sayana Acharya (1282-1386), was a minister of Kampana, the ruler of the present Nellore area. Along with his elder brother Madhava, Sayana participated in attempts to revitalise the Vedic faith against the onslaught of Islam. Sayana wrote a number of *Bhāṣyams* to interpret vedic texts and is venerated on that account.

Annam Bhattu : Annam Bhattu (15th c.) was a great scholar hailing from the present Mahaboobnagar district. He is remembered for his authoritative work on Indian logic, *Tarka Samgraha*. He wrote on *Mīmamsa, Vēdānta* and *Vyākaraṇa* also. *Tarka* is important because it is by the method of logical reasoning, discussion and debate that *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* enable a person to enquire into the nature of matter.

Vallabha : Vallabha (1478-1530) was a contemporary of Chaitanya and like him propagated *Madhura bhakti* with a slight variation. The enchanted devotion of the *gopis* towards Krishna was held by Vallabha as salvation. This came to be known as *Puṣṭi mārga* or *Śuddhādwaita*. Vallabha toured extensively and finally settled down in Gujarat. The seat of his cult is in Gujarat and followers of this cult are largely found there. Vallabha wrote commentaries on *Brahma Sūtras, Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and Jaimini's *Sūtras*.

Trilinga Swami : Trilinga Swami (1607-1887) was a great saint, who popularised the traditional faith and yoga, mostly in the north and the east. He was described as 'walking Visweswara' by Ramakrishna Paramahamsa.

In the recent times, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888-1975) had published numerous works reinterpreting the Indian schools of philosophy in a lucid way so that they may be understood by the moderns. He was great as a teacher, author, orator, thinker and scholar and received universal acclaim. Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895-1986) was another such illustrious personality. He was a spiritual genius and laid stress on the necessity of one's own efforts to realise truth within himself. He believed in the reality of the Spirit, which is not an object to be known through intellectual argument or conceptual tradition or through the help from a guru. K. Satchidananda Murti is a reputed and well-respected scholar and educationist who has been travelling wide and publishing several works in English interpreting Indian Philosophy. V. Madhusudana Reddy is another scholar-writer, who has several works to his credit explaining the Indian philosophy to the non-Indian.

CONCLUSION

In the earliest days of his community activity, man should have discovered his identity and affiliation with his own close circle of family. In due course, wider parametres, based on area of residence, kith and kin, clan, faith and speech, would have claimed his affiliation and gave him an identity and sense of belonging. Of these, language and the culture transmitted through the language seem to have emerged as more powerful than the others.

In Andhra Pradesh, the language is Telugu. In the course of its development this language has assimilated innumerable linguistic traits - primitive, medieval and modern. The earliest known Andhra empire was Dravidian in origin but by adoption it was Aryan. As it once spread far and wide in the country, it came into contact with many languages. Similarly, the rich and comfortable life provided by this riparian territory attracted several foreigners during its early historical period and thereby was enriched by a variety of languages and cultural streams. Estuaries of the major rivers of this land facilitated the people to travel by sea and establish cultural linkages with southeast Asian countries. It resulted in cultural advancement and colonization in those countries.

It is an admitted fact that the country lying to the south of the Vindhyas hardly received adequate attention from historiographers while studying aspects of society formation, social laws, cultural activities and associated developments. An appraisal of the contribution of the south to the Indian panorama is quite an essential aspect in order to analyse and assess the richness of Indian culture.

Andhra Pradesh, which is geographically situated in the centre of the country, had witnessed an inflow of three cultural streams, each of which brought distinct characteristics and together created a mosaic of civilisation composite in quality.

The north-eastern stream of cultural inflow is associated with innumerable ancient tribes, who, pushed by aggressors, moved in a south-west direction and gradually settled down on either side of the Godavari. This stream brought in what was best from the Gangetic valley and the sub-Himalayan region.

The second stream was from the north-west and it took a deep root in the Krishna valley. At this juncture, it may be difficult to identify the characteristics and cultural traits that flowed into Andhra Pradesh from these two directions. However, the Satavahanas, who founded the first known empire here are associated with the north-western stream of cultural flow.

The third stream was from the lower south-eastern tracts and it provided a strong basis for the edifice of South-Indian culture shared by the state.

During the immediate centuries before Christ, there were two great political forces in India - the Mauryan and the Andhra - that built empires exercising suzerainty over vast territories. As the fortunes of the Mauryans dwindled, the Andhras extended their authority over central and eastern India. At one time, the Andhras held their sway over the present Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. The state of Andhra Pradesh is historically very closely associated with those states even today.

The age of Satavahanas is a significant period not only in the Andhra history but also in the Indian history. There are some scholars who believe that efforts were made during this period to 'aryanize the Dravidian culture'. Others believe that there was a greater 'dravidization' of the Aryan culture in respect of concept, thought, practice, rituals, worship, social practices and social laws. Whichever way one looks at it, it is certain that there was a wide-spread fusion and a firm basis for a pan-Indian way of life was laid during this time. The Andhras were not merely influenced by the northerners but they practically intermixed with them and developed parallel patterns by producing *rsiś* and law-givers like Bodhayana and Apastamba.

One of the seven great cities of ancient India, Kanchipuram, was founded around this period. It is situated in the area then known as Aravanadu, called by the Tamils as 'northern country'. It flourished as a centre of great learning and of cultural confluence. It is said that Chanakya, the author of *Artha śāstra* and the shining jewel of the Mauryan empire was associated with Kanchi. Several Buddhist and Jain scholars besides Sanskrit scholars received their education and training here.

The word 'Dravidian' acquired a new and broader meaning after a cultural synthesis was achieved at Kanchipuram. It is a well known fact that the elitist society of the southern and northern cultural regions is divided into 'Pancha-Dravidas' and 'Pancha-Gowdas' (Pancha means five). To the former category belong the Andhras, the Tamils, the Kannadigas, the Maharashtrians and the Gujaratis. It may also be noted that the Pancha-Dravidas were strict vegetarians whereas the Pancha-Gowdas were not.

The contribution of the Andhras to the world, specially the eastern hemisphere, comprises their successful effort to carry the message of the Buddha along with their own perspective of his teachings. The famous Acharyas who were responsible to spread Buddhism abroad and whose unsurpassable acquisition of knowledge brought crores of followers to Buddhism in the far East (in countries like China and Japan) and several south-east Asian countries including Sri Lanka and Mayanmar (Burma) hailed from Andhra. For instance, Buddha Ghosha, an authority on Hinayana and Nagarjuna of the Mahayana fame are held in reverence in all those countries for their eminence and exposition of the Buddhist tenets. In short, their voice was treated as the voice of Lord Buddha and an estimated 350 millions or more in the far East follow Buddhism today.

Many Buddhist monasteries were built during the rise of the Andhra power. When this power was challenged by the Saka-Pallavas, the intellectual capital of the Andhras was shifted from Kanchipuram to Dhanyakatakam on the banks of the Krishna. A great and beautiful monastery, which acquired world-wide fame for its architectural and sculptural excellence and monastic discipline was built at Amaravati.

Full freedom was allowed to the people to embrace any religious cult they chose but in the early centuries Buddhism and Jainism went on ascendency on account of the religious zeal of the Buddhist monks and Jaina *Śramaṇas* and their disciplined life in the monasteries.

During this period, Prakrit was developed as a common language and it became prevalent throughout the south. Buddhists and the Satavahanas had subsequently developed Sanskrit as a language of higher learning. It was used for official purposes only in the 2nd c. A.D. The Satavahanas who ruled for over four centuries established a new era (*śaka*), *Śālivāhana Śaka*, which has been accepted by the Government of India for their official purpose.

Successive kingdoms in the Andhra area carried out the traditions laid down by the Satavahanas. Under the larger kingdoms or empires which extended beyond the linguistic boundaries, experiments were made to fuse the sub-cultures of the several regions into what in course of time, emerged as South-Indian culture. Contribution of the Andhras to its growth is enormous but yet has to be identified and assessed.

If Vedas were a gift of the north of the Vindhyas, Vedanta was a precious gift from the south. The Hinayana in general and the Mahayana in particular gave birth to speculative philosophy. Logic was developed to its heights while the Mahayana philosophy was in the process of growth. It was argued and propounded by Nagarjuna that the starting point for realization of one's own existence in relation to the world was *śūnya* (void). His logic and argument led to further thinking by rich and fertile minds such as that of Sankara, and later of Ramanuja and Madhwa. Several commentaries and interpretations were published on Brahmanical works and Buddhist and Jain scriptures.

Buddhism also brought to the fore the artistic instincts of the Andhras in the spheres of painting, sculpture and architecture. The art treasure of the Stupa at Amaravati and the early caves of Ajanta created a great impetus, providing a springboard for future development.

As the society developed, a lot of initiative was taken here in Andhra to organise social strata, professions and patterns of material culture. Aesthetics and utility were happily combined in the handicrafts; the enthusiansm nourished by a happy prosperous and confortable life at home resulted in adventure and maritime trade, touching China on the east and European countries on the west.

People from the Andhra region migrated to several parts of the country even during the Satavahana rule. Similar migrations along with the territorial spread of authority took place during the rule of Srikrishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar empire. As a result a noticeable percentage of the Telugu speaking people (about 17% according to conservative official estimates but really much more) are left outside the linguistic state of Andhra Pradesh when it was formed. Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Orissa, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh thus came to have numerous pockets and speakers of Telugu. It is a gratifying fact that the Telugus have been living in comfort and peace with others in the states of their adoption. They have also contributed vitally to the progress of those states in various fields like agriculture and industry.

During the British rule, the services of many Telugu speaking people were drafted under labour contracts to work in the plantations in countries like Mauritius, South Africa, Fiji and Malaysia. Telugus in very large numbers are found in Burma (Mayanmar) and Sri Lanka. Though the first and second generations of such immigrants had to face hardships, subsequent generations have prospered and started contributing to the prosperity of those countries.

Modern conditions of living have drawn many Telugus - mostly highly educated - to the industrial townships and administrative centres all over India. General characteristics of a Telugu include his friendliness, dedicated work and tolerance and as such Telugus are found welcome in any society. Another feature of the modern times is the migration of professionally talented people to advanced countries like the U.S., where the Andhras along with their compatriots have earned honour and status on account of their sincerity and hard work.

The factor that binds the Telugus all over the world is their language and culture. Like any other linguistic or regional group in India, the Andhras too have a rich cultural heritage the history of which is more than 25 centuries old. The attempt made in this volume is to present, in nut-shell, this variegated richness.

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Note : Terminal sound of U is optionally dropped in Telugu **e.g.** Bharatam(u); Veeresalingam(u).

Variation of spelling occur in Roman transcription of names based on individual preferences **e.g.** Laxmikantham - Lakshmikantham; Murti - Murthi - Murthy - Moorthy; Ramayya - Ramaiah; Rao - Row - Rau; Sreenivasarao - Srinivasarao.

It is common in Andhra to refer to a renowned person by his family name *(iṇṭipēru)* **e.g.** *Panuganti* Lakshiminarasimharao - **Panuganti**; *Munimanikyam* Narasimharao - **Munimanikyam.**

The most popular form is followed with cross reference wherever necessary.

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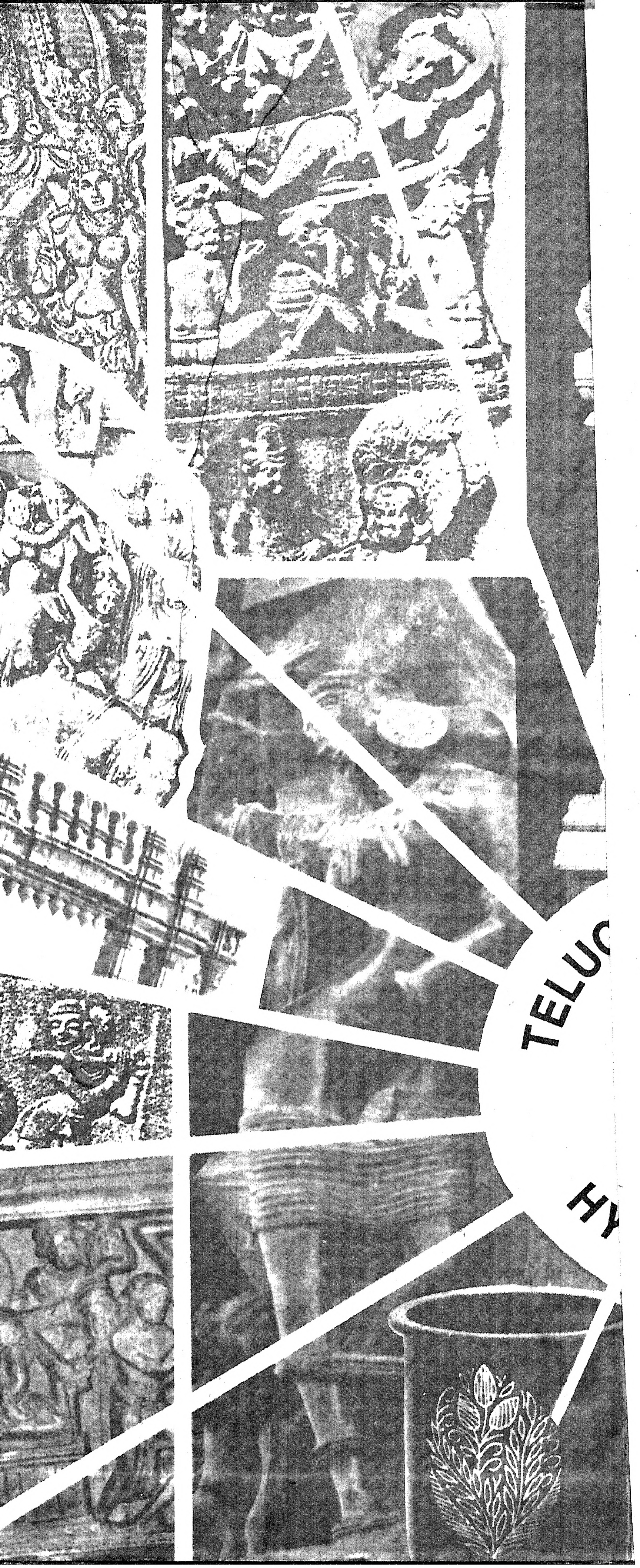

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describes the Vedic sacrifices of Satakarni I but begins with an invocation to Samkarshana and Vasudeva, the cult gods of Bhagavatism. The new system of religion is characterised by belief in the *puruṣārthas*, the doctrine of *karma*, the caste system, good acts like *vrata*, *dāna* and *tīrtha* and devotion to a personal god. Gautamiputra appears to have been the embodiment of the spirit of neo-Brahmanism. He is said to have been very careful in dividing the time and place between three *vargas*, the aims of human activity and to have been an upholder of caste system, promoter of Brahmin families and repository of the *Āgamas*. The *Saptasati* is a typical product of the times when a synthesis of different religious practices was attempted under the aegis of Brahmanical priests and sanctioned by a large quantity of theological literature. The *Saptaśati* makes only one reference each to Brahmanism and Buddhism, that too in no respectable terms. Referring to the former, it says that fire burns in a *yāgaśāla* as well as in a *pānaśāla*. With regard to the latter, it compares the prostrating Buddhist monks to fallen *kimśuka* flowers. On the other hand, it makes copious references to the incarnations of Vishnu - Trivikrama, Rama and Krishna, to Yasoda and the Gopikas, to *samudramathana*, to the marriage of Siva with Parvati and to the temples of Ganapati and village Goddesses. It is evident therefore that divergent elements ranging from very subtle systems of philosophy to the most primitive forms of animism got recognition in Puranic literature.

Jainism could not make headway in Andhra due to lack of royal patronage and the popular appeal of Buddhism to the rich artisan and merchant classes of Andhra. However, during this period, Kundakundacharya (c. 50 B.C. - 50 A.D.), one of the early Jain theoriticians, lived in Konakondla (Anantapur district). He was the founder of Mulasangha which became famous throughout the south. *Samayasāra* is the most renowned of his numerous works and it was read with respect both by Svetambaras and Digambaras.

None of the kings or their queens is known from inscriptions as a patron of Buddhism in Andhra. But still the period was a hey-day in the history of Andhra Buddhism. In fact, Buddhism had spread in Andhra as a popular movement supported by the *gāhapatis*, *kamaras* and *vaṇijas* and their womenfolk who formed the bulk of the people. The magnificent Buddhist monuments of Andhra were the result of their co-operative effort. Each of the innumerable *vihāras* received maintenance grants from their pious munificence.

Of all the Buddhist schools, the Mahasanghika school gained a strong foot-hold in Andhra. The Mahasanghikas came to be known as Caityakas also, as they developed the tradition of *caityas*. The Caityakas conceived the Buddha as superhuman *(Lōkōttara)* which led to his worship. Thus, the Caityakas transformed Buddhism, which was originally a simple code of morals for self-improvement into a picturesque religion satisfying the sentiments of the common man. The Caityakas were gradually divided into a number of local sects like the Purvasailiyas, Aparasailiyas, Uttarasailiyas, Rajagirikas, etc.

The concepts and practices of the Caityaka-Maha Sanghika schools paved the way for Mahayanism. The *Prajnāpāramita* literature, which formed the basis of Mahayanism, was produced in the *vihāras* of the Krishna valley. Acharya Nagarjuna (c. 160) compiled the *Prajnāpāramita* and gave a clear exposition of Mahayanism, basing it on the Madhyamika philosophy of Sunyavada. His disciple and successor Aryadeva further systematised Mahayana through his writings. Nagarjuna and Aryadeva breathed a new life into Buddhism and enabled it to meet the challenges of other religions.

Language and Literature

Complementary to the religious developments, there was remarkable literary activity during the Satavahana period. The princes of the age were highly enlightened. They were trained in subjects like *śabda* (grammar), *artha* (political economy), *nyāya* (logic), *gaṇita* (accountancy), *vyavahāra* (administration), *vidhi* (legal procedure), *lēkha* (script), *rūpa* (coinage) and *gāndharva* (music). Gautamiputra, in addition to the above, claimed himself as having mastered Vedic lore *(āgamānām nilaya)*. The Brahmanical education was limited to the *āśramas* or *gurukulas* whereas the Buddhists established great educational centres in the *vihāras* at Dhanyakataka and Sriparvata. The Buddhist *achāryas* showed interest even in secular subjects such as astronomy, logic and grammar. In his *Ratnāvaḷi*, Acharya Nagarjuna conceived a sort of a Welfare State. His *Suhṛllēkha* is a sound piece of advice to the ruler on matters of administration and religion. Acharya Nagarjuna is said to have collected a huge library in the Sriparvata *vihāra*. There are no references to Brahmanical libraries as the Brahmins did not yet start committing their knowledge to writing.

Prakrit

Prakrit attained the status of a *lingua franca* in India under Asoka Maurya. The Asokan edicts of Dhanyakataka, Rajulamandagiri and Yerragudi as well as the Bhattiprolu inscriptions are in Prakrit and in the southern variant of Brahmi script. The Satavahanas continued the use of Prakrit as the official language in which the inscriptions of their age were issued.

The Buddhists especially cultivated Prakrit and the Jains adopted the Ardhamagadhi variety. The Andhra Buddhists had their own versions of the *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma piṭakas* and *Digha* and *Majjhima Nikayas*. The *Jātaka* literature also was popular in Andhra as revealed by the Amaravati sculptures.

For a considerable time Prakrit enjoyed liberal patronage even at the court. Hala Satavahana was a distinguished poet in Prakrit and gathered around himself a large number of poets and poetesses, whose select writings were compiled by him as *Saptaśati*. Banabhatta praised the *Saptaśati* as "an immortal and refined repository of good sayings". Gunadhya, the scholar-minister, of Hala Satakarni, composed the *Bṛhatkatha* in Paisaci Prakrit. The work had been the source of all the later *Kathānika* literature in Sanskrit, including the famous *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva.